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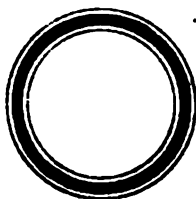
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES.



*As many RECEIPTS have been disposed of to
Persons, whose Names are not yet come to my
Knowlege, I must beg Leave to defer the List of
Subscribers till the Publication of the Second
Volume.*

Archibald Bower.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,
FROM THE
Foundation of the SEE of ROME,
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

VOL. I.

By ARCHIBALD BOWER, *Esq*;
*Heretofore Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Philosophy, in the
Universities of Rome, Fermo, and Macerata,
And, in the latter Place, Counsellor of the Inquisition.*

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TO THE
K I N G.

SIR,

IT is not only as having the happiness to be Your subject, that I beg Your permission to lay this Book at Your feet. In whatever part of the world I had been born, or had resided, I should have desired to present it to Your Majesty, as the Great Protector of the Reformed Religion, and worthily filling that Throne, which, above any in *Europe*, is the chief Bulwark against the Papal Power, and
all

DEDICATION.

all its pernicious attendants. The wonderful rise, and monstrous growth of that Power, almost to the ruin of all true Religion, and all the Civil rights of mankind, will be delineated in the course of this Work, which I flatter myself may be of some Use to the Protestant Cause. For, next to the light of the Gospel, there is nothing that Popery has more to fear, than that of historical Truth: It is a test which the pretensions and doctrines of *Rome* can never abide; and therefore she has used her utmost endeavours, not only to lock up the Gospel from the eyes of the Laity, and prefer her own Comments, Decrees, and Traditions, to the authority of the Scriptures, but to corrupt, disguise, and falsify History, in which necessary business her ablest pens have been employed. To take off those disguises, and discover those falshoods, is consequently a task becoming the zeal of a good Protestant; and my intention at least, though not my performance, encourages me to hope for Your Majesty's Gracious Protection.

IN the latter part of this History I shall have often the pleasure to shew, how great an Instrument under God the Power and Strength of
of

DEDICATION.

of this kingdom has been, to maintain and support the Reformation all over *Europe*. But I must also shew with concern, that from the death of our wise Queen *Elizabeth*, the Princes of the House of *Stuart*, instead of pursuing that glorious Plan, which she had traced out, were either remiss in the cause, or wholly forsook it; so that had not the Revolution providentially happened, and in consequence of it the House of *Brunswick* been called to the Throne of these kingdoms, the Reformed Religion would, in all probability, have not only been lost in *Great Britain*, or at least under a state of severe persecution, but would have been in great danger every-where else, from such a change in the Balance of Power as that event must have produced. The support of Your Royal Family is therefore most necessary, even upon motives of self-preservation, to every Protestant both here and abroad. May a due sense of that important connection between Your safety and Theirs, be always kept alive in their minds. May our Holy Religion continue to flourish under Your Majesty's care, and that of Your Royal Posterity, to the latest times. May neither the open attacks, nor secret machinations of *Rome* prevail

DEDICATION.

vail against it. And may it produce all the Fruits that ought to spring from it, the truly-christian spirit of Toleration, universal charity, good morals, good learning, freedom of thought, and candour of mind. I need add no other wishes or prayers to these: They comprehend all happiness to Your Majesty, to Your Royal Family, and to my Country; and they come from the heart of,

Sir,

Your Majesty's

Most Loyal,

Most Faithful,

And most devoted Subject,

ARCHIBALD BOWER.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE Work, which I now offer to the Public, I undertook some years since at *Rome*, and brought it down to the Pontificate of *Victor*, that is, to the close of the Second Century. As I was then a most zealous champion for the Pope's Supremacy, which was held as an article of Faith by the body I belonged to, my chief design, when I engaged in such a work, was, to ascertain that Supremacy, by shewing, century by century, that, from the Apostles times to the present, it had ever been acknowledged by the Catholic Church. But alas! I soon perceived that I had undertaken more than it was in my power to perform. Nay, while, in order to support and maintain this cause, I examined, with particular attention, the writings of the Apostles, and of the many pious and learned men who had flourished in the three first centuries of the church, I was so far from finding any thing that seemed the least to countenance such a doctrine, that, on the contrary, it appeared evident, beyond all dispute, that, during the above-mentioned period of time, it had been utterly unknown to the Christian world. In spite then of my endeavours to the contrary, Reason getting the better of the strongest prejudices, I began to look upon the Pope's Supremacy, not only as a prerogative quite chimerical, but as the most impudent attempt that had ever been made: I say, in spite of my endeavours

to the contrary; for I was very unwilling to give up a point, upon which I had been taught by *Bellarmino*, that *the whole of Christianity depended (a)*; especially in a country, where a man cannot help being afraid even of his own thoughts, since, upon the least suspicion of his only calling in question any of the received opinions, he may depend upon his being soon convinced by more cogent arguments, than any in *Mood* and *Figure*. But great is the power of truth; and at last it prevailed: I became a proselyte to the opinion which I had proposed to confute; and sincerely abjured, in my mind, that which I had ignorantly undertaken to defend.

Being thus fully convinced, that the Pope's so much boasted Supremacy was a bold and ungodly usurpation, I could not help censuring with myself the men of learning, who had countenanced such a pretension, especially the two great champions of the Papal power *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*. Did they not see what every man, who but dips into the primitive writers, must see; what is obvious to common sense? The poor shifts they are often put to; their ridiculous evasions and cavils, their unmeaning distinctions, their wresting several passages, contrary to the plain and natural meaning of the authors they quote, and, above all, their unsatisfactory answers to the objections of the adverse party, shew but too plainly, that they wrote not from conviction, nor aimed at truth, but, perhaps, at the *red Hat*, which was afterwards bestowed upon them, as a reward for betraying the truth. Few have written in defence of the Pope's Supremacy, that have not been preferred; and none perhaps who had not preferment in view. *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards *Pius II.* being asked, before he was raised to the Papal Chair, How it happened, that, in all disputes between the Popes and the Councils, many Divines sided with the former, and very few with the latter? *Because the Popes, an-*

(a) Bellar. Præf. de Sum. Pont.

swered he, *have benefices to give, and the Councils have none.* Had he been asked the same question after he was Pope, he would not perhaps have returned the same answer; but said, upon his being put in mind of it, as *Gregory XIII.* did afterwards on a like occasion, that, *being raised higher, he saw better and farther.* Those therefore who have stood up in defence of the liberty of the Church against Papal Usurpation, cannot be supposed to have had any other inducement to espouse the cause of truth, but truth itself. And this some have had the Christian courage to do even in *Italy*, and almost in the Pope's hearing, at the peril of their liberty, of their lives, of all that was dear to them; as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter. But to return, in the mean time, to the present History: I no sooner found myself in a Country where truth might be uttered without danger, than I resolved to resume and pursue, in my native tongue, as soon as I recovered the use of it, the work I had begun in a foreign language. On the one side I saw the only obstruction to an undertaking, which had already cost me no small pains and labour, happily removed; while I flattered myself on the other, that as a complete *History of the Popes* was still wanting, such a performance might meet with a favourable reception from the public. I am well apprised, that others have, at different times, and in different languages, treated the same subject: but whether any of their several works may deserve the name of a *complete*, or even of a *tolerable History*, I leave those to judge who have perused them; and shall only say in respect to myself, that, instead of diverting me from undertaking the same province, they have more than any thing else encouraged me to it. *Anastasius* and *Platina*, the two *Classics*, as they are deemed, in this branch of History, have indeed given us the *Lives of the Popes*, from the foundation of the See of *Rome* to their times, but in so broken, imperfect, and unsatisfactory a manner, that from them

them we learn but very little, even concerning those of whom they have said most. It was not their design to write a History, but only to draw, as it were in miniature, the portraits of the *Roman* Bishops, by relating, in a summary way, such of their actions, as appeared to them most worthy of being recorded; and, to say the truth, they have both betrayed no less want of discernment in chusing what they should relate, than of exactness in relating what they had chosen.

Anastasius the Monk, surnamed *Bibliothecarius*, that is, Library-keeper, Secretary, and Chancellor of the Church of *Rome* (for all these employments antiently centred in one person, and were comprised under the common name of *Bibliothecarius*) flourished in the ninth century, under *Nicholas I.* *Adrian II.* and *John VIII.* He wrote a succinct account of the Bishops, who governed the Church of *Rome*, from *St. Peter* to *Nicholas I.* who died in 867. But the memoirs he made use of were none of the best. In his time the world was over-run with forged or corrupted Pontificals, Martyrologies, Legends, &c. which were then no less universally received, than they have been since rejected by the learned of all persuasions. However, that from these the *Bibliothecarian* borrowed the greater part of his materials, at least for the six first centuries, is but too apparent from his overlooking, nay, and often contradicting, the unexceptionable testimonies of contemporary writers; as will be seen in the sequel of the present History. As therefore the records, which he copied, are so justly suspected, and his own authority can be of no weight with respect to those distant times, the reader must not be surpris'd to find, that, in this History, I have paid no manner of regard to an author, who has been hitherto blindly followed by those, who have written on the same subject. There may indeed be some truth in what he relates; but his frequent mistakes render that truth too precarious to be relied on, unless confirmed

firmed by the concurring testimonies of other more credible and less credulous authors. However, in the times less remote from his own, I shall readily allow his authority its due weight; the rather, as he seems not to have written with a design of imposing upon others, but to have been imposed upon himself by frauds and forgeries; for he wrote in an age, when the world lay involved in the thickest mist of ignorance, when superstition and credulity triumphed without controul, and spurious pieces, filled with idle and improbable stories, had thrust every grave writer, nay, and the Gospels themselves, out of doors.

Platina, so called from the *Latin* name of *Piadena*, a village in the *Cremonese*, the place of his nativity (for his true name was *Battista*, or *Bartolomeo Sacchi*) flourished six hundred years after *Anastasius*, that is, in the fifteenth century, under *Calixtus III.* *Pius II.* *Paul II.* and *Sixtus IV.* Under *Pius II.* he was Secretary of the *Datary*, the office where vacant benefices are disposed of; but, being dismissed by *Paul II.* tho' he had purchased the place, in the height of his resentment, he appealed to the *future Council*. What he suffered under that Pope, first in prison, and afterwards on the rack, we shall hear from himself, in a more proper place. *Sixtus IV.* the successor of *Paul*, well apprised of his innocence, took him into favour, and, having enlarged, endowed, and enriched the *Vatican* library with a great number of valuable books, in different languages, he committed the care of them to him. It was probably at this time that he wrote, or rather transcribed, the Lives of the Popes from *St. Peter*, whom he supposes the founder of that See, to *Paul II.* who died in 1471. I say *transcribed*; for, if we except the few Popes who lived in or near his own times, *viz. Eugene IV. Nicholas V. Calixtus III. Pius II.* and *Paul II.* he copied, almost verbatim, all he has said of the rest, only interweaving now and then the profane

fane history with the ecclesiastic (b). The Lives of the fourteen succeeding Popes, from *Paul II.* to *Pius V.* elected in 1566, were compiled by *Onuphrius Panvinus*, of the *Augustin* order, a man more commendable for his learning, than for his candor and veracity. These are, as we may stile them, the original compilers of the Lives of the Popes: *Platina* adopted *Anastafius's* concise method of writing, and *Panvinus*, *Platina's*, contenting themselves with bare hints; and thereby putting their readers to the trouble of consulting other writers, in order to gratify the curiosity they had raised. *Much has been said of the Popes by other Historians, but very little by their own*, as the learned *Pagi* observed, after comparing the authors I have mentioned, with the contemporary Historians of other nations. I might well add, that the *very little* they have said has been thought too much; whence some of them, and *Platina* in particular, have been made, in all their Editions since the middle of the sixteenth century, to speak with more reserve, and to suppress or disguise some truths they had formerly told.

As for those who in later times have engaged in the same province, we need only dip into their works to be satisfied, that to search out truth was not their business. Some are all praise and panegyric, others all satire and gall: some have made it their study to excuse the worst of Popes, others to arraign the best. That many of the Popes have been wicked men, abandonedly wicked, is undeniable, notwithstanding the pains that have been taken to extenuate their crimes; but neither are there

(b) The authors he thus copied were *Anastafius Bibliothecarius*, from *St. Peter*, or rather *Linus*, to *Nicholas I.* *Gulielmus*, likewise *Bibliothecarius*, from *Nicholas I.* to *Alexander II.* *Pandolphus Pisanus*, from *Alexander II.* to *Honorius II.* *Martinus Polonus*, from *Honorius II.* to *Honorius IV.* *Theodorus of Niem*, from *Honorius IV.* to *Urban VI.* and from *Urban VI.* to *Martin V.* who died in 1431, other writers, whose works are extant, but their names unknown. He likewise borrowed a great deal of *Ptolemæus Lucensis*, a *Dominican* Frier, who flourished, and compiled the Lives of the Popes, in the time of *Boniface VIII.* chosen in the year 1294.

wanting some good men among them, of innocent lives, and unblemished characters, whose only crime is their having been Popes; and to misrepresent or misconstrue the virtuous actions of these, as some have done, is no less blameable in an Historian, than to dissemble or gloss over the criminal actions of the others. This partiality may be easily accounted for with respect to one great period of the present History. During the quarrels and wars between the Popes and Emperors, which lasted many years, and occasioned, in seventy-eight battles, the destruction of an infinite number of innocent people, two powerful factions reigned, as is well known, both in *Germany* and *Italy*, distinguished by the names of *Guelphs* and *Ghibbelines*; the former being zealously attached to the Papal and the latter to the Imperial interest. In the midst of these distractions few writers stood neuter, but, siding, according to their different interests or inclinations, with one party or the other, drew their pens, each against the head of the party he opposed, with more rage than the soldiers did their swords. And hence it is, that we find the same facts related by contemporary authors with such different circumstances; the same persons, the Emperors especially and the Popes, painted in such different colours. Of this very few Writers in the later times have been aware; and therefore have, as their bias led them to favour one cause more than the other, adopted as undoubted truths the many groundless aspersions and undeserved reproaches which party zeal had suggested to the *Ghibbelines* against the Popes, or to the *Guelphs* against the Emperors. I wish I could intirely clear an eminent *Italian* historian of our own times from this imputation.

But, after all, as it was not merely with a view to supply the want of a complete History of the Popes, that I formerly undertook so laborious a task; neither is it now with that view alone I resume it. What I proposed to myself, when I first un-

dertook

dertook it, I have said already; but, being convinced that I laboured in vain, and convinced by such evidence as the strongest prejudice could not withstand, I thought it a duty owing to truth, to set it forth to others in the same irresistible light; and to defend, at least with as much zeal, the best of causes, as I had done the worst. A disloyal subject, who had taken up arms against his lawful Sovereign, would not be thought intirely to comply with his duty, by only laying them down: he ought, if actuated by a true spirit of loyalty, and truly convinced of the badness of his cause, to range himself under the banners of his injured Lord, and devote to his service and defence the sword he had drawn against him. By a like obligation, a writer, who has, even ignorantly, combated truth, is bound, not only to lay down his pen, as soon as he finds himself engaged in a bad cause, but, when occasion offers, to turn against error in favour of truth the very weapon he had employed against truth in favour of error.

But to give the reader some account of the History itself, and the method I have pursued in delivering it: I have intituled it, *The History of the Popes*; but might as well have styled it, *The History of Popery*; since it not only contains an account of the Lives and Actions of the Popes, but of every *Popish* tenet; when, by whom, on what occasion, and to serve what purpose, each of them was broached; those more especially which relate to the Pope as *Christ's Vicar upon earth*, as *the Supreme Head of the Church*, as *an Infallible Guide to salvation*; for these are the prerogatives he claims, as entailed upon, and inseparable from the *Roman See*. But that no such doctrines were known in the first and purest ages of Christianity; that the Bishop of *Rome* was then, nay and thought himself, upon the level with other Bishops; that the Catholic Church acknowledged no power, authority, or jurisdiction in the Bishop of *Rome*, but what was common to him with all other Bishops,

Bishops, will appear so plain from the following History, that I can hardly conceive it possible for any man, however prejudiced in favour of the *Papal Power*, and *Popish Religion*, to peruse it without abjuring the one and the other: I am but too well apprised of the strength of prejudice; but, strong as it is, it can never be proof against plain matter of fact. For who can believe, for instance, in the Pope's Infallibility, who can help looking upon such an article of belief as the grossest affront that ever was offered to human understanding, when he reads of a *Liberius* admitting and signing the *Arian* creed, or confession of faith, declared heretical by all his Successors; of an *Honorius* condemned by the Fathers of the sixth Oecumenical Council, as *an organ of the devil*, for holding the heresy of the *Monothelites*; of *John XXII.* preaching up and propagating, both by his Missionaries and his Legates *a latere*, a doctrine, which he himself retracted on his death-bed; of seven Popes (c) cursing and damning, in emulation of one another, all who denied a certain tenet (d), and another Pope (e) as heartily cursing and damning all who maintained it, nay and recurring to the *Ultima Ratio* of the later Popes, the *Fagot*, in order to *root out of the Church* (these are his very words) *so pestilential, erroneous, heretical, and blasphemous a doctrine?* This occasioned great scandal in the Church, inasmuch that some even took the liberty to represent to his Holiness, that the Decrees and Constitutions of one Pope could not be reversed by another. The Pope replied (and what other reply could he

(c) Gregory IX. Innocent IV. Alexander IV. Nicolas III. Martin IV. Nicolas IV. Clement V.

(d) That the *Franciscan* Friars had no property, in common or in private; a question, if any ever was, *de lana caprina*. What was it to mankind? what to the Christian religion, whether a few Friars had, or had not any property? No man was the better for believing they had, no man the worse for believing they had not. And yet to read the bulls of the Popes one would think, that the whole of Christianity had been at stake.

(e) John XXII.

make?) *That they were mistaken, since it might be proved by innumerable instances, that what had been decreed wrong or amiss by one Pope or Council, could be rectified and amended by another.* This answer silenced them at once, says our Historian: And well it might; I am only surpris'd, that the word *Infallibility* has ever been since heard of. The *Franciscan* Friars, who had occasioned the dispute, paid dear for it: As they continued to plead the Infallibility of seven Popes against that of one, and obstinately adhered to their doctrine, Pope *John*, losing all patience, ordered all to be burnt alive, who did not receive his Constitution; which was done accordingly, and many of those unhappy wretches chose rather to expire in the flames than to yield. These remarkable transactions are related by several cotemporary writers of unquestionable authority, and among the rest by *Nicolaus Eymericus*, who was Inquisitor of the province of *Tarragon*, and has inserted them in his *Directorium Inquisitorum* (f). Other facts without number, of the same nature, and alike irreconcilable with the other prerogatives claimed by the Popes, as well as with the chief articles of the *Roman Catholic* religion, will occur in this History, and all so well attested, that nothing, I think, can withstand the force of Truth thus displayed. Logical arguments and controversial reasoning cannot be well adapted to every understanding, and therefore are not always attended with the desired effect, however skilfully managed; but historical facts lie level to the meanest capacities, and the consequences thence deducible are to the meanest capacities plain and obvious. It is true, the Sticklers for the See of *Rome* have endeavoured to darken the clearest facts, since they could not

(f) Direct. Inquis. part. ii. quæst. 51. See also *Antoninus* in his *Summa theologiæ*, part. iv. tit. ii. c. 7. num. 5. *Petrus Alliacus Cameracensis*; *Continuator Nangii ad ann. 1333*; *Joannes Gerso* in *Ser. de Fest. Paschat.* *Longus* in *Monas. Cicester. Chronic.* and *Gobelinus Cosmodromii ætat. vi. c. 71.*

deny them, as being vouched by their own approved authors; but they have done it in so aukward a manner, with such absurd, ridiculous, and unintelligible interpretations, comments, distinctions, &c. that, were it not well known it was their interest to defend that cause, one would be apt to think they intended rather to ridicule than defend it.

But if the Popes were originally mere Bishops, upon the level with other Bishops; if they had no power but what was common to them with all other Bishops; by what means could they thus exalt themselves above their Collegues, nay, *above all that is called God?* What could induce their Collegues, and with them the greater part of the *Christian* world, to acknowledge such an unheard-of power, and submit to a yoke of all others the most heavy and tyrannical? For an answer to these questions I refer the reader to the following History, where he will find every branch of power, authority, or jurisdiction claimed by the Popes, traced from its first origin, and the various steps pointed out, by which they raised themselves from the lowest beginnings to the highest pitch of greatness; which is opening a school of the most refined policy, that ever was known or practised upon earth. In this respect we must own the Popes to have been, generally speaking, men of extraordinary talents, the ablest Politicians we read of in History, Statesmen fit to govern the world, and equal to the vast dominion they grasped at; a Dominion over the Minds as well as the Bodies and Estates of mankind; a Dominion, of all that ever were formed, the most wide and extensive, as knowing no other bounds but those of the Earth; nay, and not even those, since these mighty Princes claim to themselves all power in Heaven as well as in Earth, all power over the Dead as well as the Living. To establish the spiritual part of this wondrous Authority upon the Gospel of *Christ*, which contradicts it in every line, was an undertaking of no little difficulty, and that re-

quired no common skill: to establish the temporal dominion without a fleet, without an army; to subject to it not only the ignorant and superstitious multitude, but Kings themselves, nay and to prevail upon them to employ both their arms and their interest in promoting a power evidently derogatory to and inconsistent with their own; was a work not to be accomplished but by men of superior talents, thoroughly acquainted with all the arts of insinuation and address, and steady in pursuing, by the best concerted measures, the great point that they constantly had in their view.

Two things, however, concurred to facilitate, in some degree, the establishing the one and the other; *viz.* the profound ignorance of the times, and the matchless cunning of the persons employed by the Popes as their Emissaries and Agents; without which helps no imposture was ever carried on with success.

It was *in the night, while men slept*, while the earth was overspread with the darkest night of ignorance, that *the enemy came, and sowed his tares*. From the beginning of the Seventh Century to the time of the Reformation, Letters were utterly neglected; and in proportion to that neglect Credulity and Superstition, the inseparable companions of Ignorance, prevailed among the Laity even of the highest ranks: the little knowledge that still remained (and very little did remain) was wholly confined to the Clergy, chiefly to the Monks, men most zealously attached to the interest of the Pope, as well knowing, that by promoting his interest, they promoted at the same time their own. It was in this period of time, in this long darkness of ignorance, credulity, and superstition, that the Pope and his Agents introduced maxims and notions concerning the Papal Prerogatives, very different from those which the world had entertained to that time. In the beginning of the Seventh Century, that is, in the year 606, Pope

Boniface III. a man of great address, having craftily insinuated himself into the favour of *Phocas*, obtained of that Traitor and Murderer (g) the famous Rescript settling the Supremacy on the See of *Rome*, in opposition to the claim of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. As *Phocas* bore an irreconcilable hatred to *Cyriacus*, who was then vested with the Patriarchal dignity, he was the more easily prevailed upon to decide the Controversy, which had already lasted a long time between the two Sees, in favour of the See of *Rome*. If this hatred in the Usurper was owing to the zeal of *Cyriacus* in laying before him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to repentance, *Boniface*, nay and his predecessor *St. Gregory the Great* (b), knew better how to make their court to men in power, than to take the least notice of their sins, however public, or mention *Repentance* in their hearing. Be that as it will, it is certain, that to this monster of wickedness the Church of *Rome* owes her Supremacy. And it was this Grant from *Phocas*, that more than any thing else inspired the Bishops of *Rome* with pride and presumption; which increasing as their power increased, they were carried by degrees to all the excesses an unbounded ambition can suggest, when free from all curb of Conscience, Morality, and Religion.

Yet, after all, the Supremacy granted by *Phocas* was but a Supremacy of Order and Dignity; it gave no *new* power to the Bishop of *Rome*, but only raised him above his Collegues, especially his Rival, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and made

(g) *Phocas* settled himself on the Imperial throne by the murder of *Mauritius*, his lawful sovereign, and the massacre of his six children, and of all his friends and relations. Five of his children he caused to be inhumanly butchered in the presence of their father.

(b) *Gregory* styles him a most pious and religious Prince; caused his image, and that of his wife *Leontia*, who was no better than he, to be lodged in an oratory at *Rome*; and, congratulating him on his advancement to the throne, ascribes it to a particular Providence.

him,

him, as some express it, *the First amongst his Equals*. But his Successors, thirsting after power, and scorning to hold their dignity by so precarious a tenure as the Emperor's pleasure, which might hereafter revoke the decision of *Phocas*, and give the Precedence in rank to *Constantinople* instead of *Rome*, began to disown the favour they had received, to set up for themselves, and to claim the Supremacy, as inherent by Divine Right in their See, and derived from St. *Peter*, as Chief of the Apostles, and Head of the Church. Thus was the foundation of the Supremacy changed; and wisely changed, according to the rules of human policy. The old foundation was no ways proportioned to the immense superstructure, which they now began to design; since they could claim but very little power, if any at all, in virtue of the Emperor's Grant. But the new foundation was capable of bearing whatever the most unbounded and aspiring ambition could build on it. Besides, the Bishop of *Rome* could not challenge, by a Rescript of the *Roman* Emperor, any Superiority over the Churches, that had no dependence on the *Roman* Empire. But a Supremacy, inherent by Divine Right in the Papal Dignity, raised him at once above all the Bishops of the Catholic Church. What therefore now remained was, to improve this extensive Supremacy into a no less extensive Power and Jurisdiction. And here no time was lost, many circumstances concurring to promote and forward the execution of their attempt. Besides the ignorance of the times, and the influence of the Monks, which operated strongly in their behalf, the Princes of *Europe* were quarreling among themselves about the Western parts of the *Roman* Empire, and all glad to purchase, at any rate, the friendship of the Bishop of *Rome*, who, after the famous Donation of *Pepin* in 754, had taken great state upon him, and bore a considerable sway in all public affairs. As for the Bishops, and the rest of the Secular Clergy, they looked upon the Pope, especially

especially after he had added the Sword to the Keys, as their protector and defender ; and were on that consideration disposed to concur in strengthening his power, and rendering it formidable, tho' at the expence of their own ; chusing rather to subject themselves to an Ecclesiastical master, than to submit to the Civil authority. I might add, that some now began to mind the Fleece more than the Flock ; and with That it was some time before the Popes thought it proper to meddle ; but, when they did, they soon retrieved, by the haste that they made, the time they had lost.

Yet I do not believe, that they designed at first to run those lengths, or carry the Papal Prerogative to that extravagant height they afterwards did. The success, that attended them in the pursuit of one claim, encouraged them to set up and pursue another. Of this no one can doubt, who peruses with the least attention the Records of those ages, and compares the Popes in the beginning of the Seventh Century with the Popes in the latter end of the Eleventh. We shall find them, in the first-mentioned period of time, submitting with all humility to Princes ; claiming no kind of authority or jurisdiction whatsoever but in virtue of the Canons of Councils, or the Rescripts of Emperors ; glorying, or pretending to glory, in the humble title of *Servants of Servants* ; acknowledging themselves Subjects and Vassals of the Emperors, and patiently waiting the will and pleasure of their liege Lords to take upon them the Episcopal dignity, or exercise the functions of that office. Such were the Bishops of *Rome* in the beginning of the Seventh Century. How different from those in the latter end of the Eleventh ! They were then vested with the *Plenitude of all power*, both Spiritual and Temporal ; above Councils, and uncontrouled by their Canons ; the fountain of all Pastoral jurisdiction and authority ; and, by Divine sanction, impowered to enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, all Ecclesiastical Laws
and

and Constitutions: they were then become *Lords and Masters*, the most haughty and imperious Lords, the most severe Masters, mankind had ever groaned under: they no more begged but dispensed titles, boasting a power of setting up Kings, and pulling them down at pleasure; of calling them to an account, absolving their subjects from their allegiance, divesting them of their dominions, and treating in every respect as their slaves and vassals those, whom one of their best and greatest Predecessors (i) had acknowledged *superior to all Men*, and thought himself *in duty bound to obey*. This *Plenitude of power*, as they style it, was not acquired at once, but by degrees, as I have observed above; some of the Popes being more and some less active, crafty, and aspiring. But what is very remarkable, of the one hundred and fourteen between *Boniface III.* who laid the foundation of the Papal grandeur, and *Gregory VII.* who raised it to the highest pitch, not one ever lost an inch of ground his Predecessors had gained. And thus, by constantly acquiring, and never parting with what they had acquired, nay, and tying the hands of their Successors by the irreversible entail of a Divine Right, they became the sole Spiritual Lords, and had almost made themselves the greatest Temporal Lords of the whole Christian world.

But by what particular means they rose to such an height of grandeur and majesty, by what artifices and subtle contrivances they maintained what they had usurped, and strove to retrieve what they had lost, when it pleased Divine Providence to check and restrain within more narrow bounds their overgrown power, the reader will learn from the following History. Some of the arts they have made use of, are of the most refined, and some of the blackest nature; and both I have endeavoured, in this work, to set forth in their truest light, without disguise or exaggeration; those more especially which

(i) *Gregory the Great.*

the Popes and their Agents have formerly employed, and still employ, to bring anew under their yoke, such nations as have had the Christian courage to shake it off, and assert that *Liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free*. If I shall be so happy as thereby to keep awake and alive, in the breast of every true *Englishman*, that noble ardour, which has, on a late occasion, exerted itself in so distinguished a manner: if it shall please Heaven to second my Undertaking so far, as to alarm by it those Protestants (I wish I might not say those *many* Protestants), who are not aware of, nor sufficiently guarded against, the crafty insinuations, the secret views and attempts of the Papal Emissaries, I shall think the time and pains it has cost me abundantly paid.

I am well apprised of the reception a work of this nature must meet with, and of the treatment its author must expect, both at home and abroad, from the Popish Zealots. But let them vent their zeal in what manner they please, I shall neither answer nor resent their reproaches and censures, however malignant and groundless: nay, I shall hear them with as much pleasure and satisfaction as I should the praises and commendations of others; it being no less meritorious in a writer to have displeased the enemies of Truth, than to have pleased the friends. And these, I flatter myself, will find no great room for censure: it would grieve me if they should, since I have done all that lay in my power to leave none. I have advanced nothing, for which I have not sufficient vouchers: and these I have taken care to quote in the margin, that the reader, by recurring to the places pointed out in each author, may be convinced of my sincerity and candor. I have always preferred the cotemporary writers, when equally credible, to those who wrote after, tho' not without taking notice of their disagreement; and such as flourished nearest the times when the transactions happened, which they relate, to those who lived at a

greater distance. Pursuant to this rule, in delivering the Lives of the Bishops who governed the Church of *Rome* during the First Ages of Christianity, I have confined myself wholly to the Primitive writers, trusting no Modern any farther, than as he wrote from the Antients. From these there is no Appeal; it is by them, and them alone, that the Papal Supremacy must stand or fall. If they have all conspired to misrepresent the sense of the ages in which they lived (and it is only by this hypothesis that the Supremacy can be supported), in what other monuments shall we search for it?

The Partiality, which I have so much complained of above in the works of others, I have taken all possible care to avoid in my own; checking the very first emotions of that zeal, which, on my reflecting how long, and how grossly I had been imposed upon, would, if not carefully watched, have proved as strong a bias in me against the *Pope*, and the *Popish Religion*, as the opposite zeal has proved for them in others. The vices and vicious actions of the bad Popes I have not dissembled; but neither have I magnified them: the virtues and commendable actions of the good Popes I have neither lessened nor misconstrued; nay, I have more than once justified the conduct and character of some pious men among them, greatly injured by their own Historians, because they lived, and suffered mankind to live, in peace; applying themselves solely, as it became good Bishops, to the discharge of their Pastoral duty. These their Historians have strangely misrepresented, measuring the merit of each Pope by the great things they achieved, no matter by what means, for the exaltation of their See; which, in other terms, is measuring their Merit by their Pride and Ambition.

The Length of this History requires, I presume, no Apology. Every one knows, that the Popes acted, for several ages, as the Umpires of *Europe*, or rather as the Sovereigns; several
Princes

Princes being actually their vassals, and the rest affecting to pay them the same respect as if they were. This emboldened them to intermeddle in the public affairs of each State and Kingdom; insomuch that no remarkable event happened, no revolution, no change of government or constitution, which they did not either promote or oppose, as it suited their interest, with too many of them the only standard of right and wrong; and their authority, through the ignorance, credulity, and superstition of those unhappy times, was, generally speaking, of such weight, as to turn the scale into which it was thrown. Besides, they had, in every Kingdom and Nation, their Legates or Vicars, who, together with the Clergy, formed, as it were, a separate State, and one Kingdom or Empire within another. These, at the instigation of the Popes, their Lords and Masters, were constantly encroaching on the Civil Authority and Jurisdiction, on the Rights of the People, and Prerogatives of Princes. Hence arose innumerable disputes, which, if Princes did not comply with their demands, ended in anathemas, interdicts, civil wars, rebellions, private assassinations, and public massacres. Those who are versed in the Histories of other nations, as well as in that of our own, and know what a considerable part the detail of these fatal disputes takes up in the particular Histories of each State and Kingdom, will not find fault with the Length of this, which, if complete, and as such I offer it to the public, must comprise them all. Besides, I have given a summary account of the many Heresies that have sprung up in the Church; of the Councils that have been held; of the religious and military Orders; of their Founders, institutions, fundamental laws, &c.; subjects all, in some degree, connected with the History of the Popes.

I do not doubt, but this Work will meet with a favourable Reception from *Protestants* of all denominations; such a Reception, I mean, as is due to Truth. It will, I flatter myself, retard,

retard, at least, the daily increase of the Papal interest in these happy Kingdoms. As for the *Roman Catholics* here, would they but lay aside their prejudices, so far as to peruse it with the least degree of candor and attention, I am confident Truth would exert its power no less efficaciously upon some of them, than it has done upon me. They cannot surely be more biaſſed in favour of the errors they had been brought up in, than I was. In them Truth has but one enemy to contend with, Education; in me it had two, Education and Interest; and the latter is but too often the more powerful of the two. What I forfeited by adhering to Truth, most of the *Roman Catholics* in *England* well know; and I am very confident none of them can say, that I have ever yet reaped, or sought to reap, the least temporal benefit from it. If therefore the Power of Truth, when duly displayed, is so great, as to triumph thus over the combined force of Education and Interest, we may well hope, that it will, at least in some, triumph over Education alone: I most heartily wish it may in all.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,
OR
BISHOPS of ROME.

St. PETER.



It is out of some Regard to an antient Tradition, that I have placed St. *Peter* at the Head of the Bishops of *Rome*, though I am well apprised, that this, like most other Traditions, will hardly stand the Test of a strict and impartial Examination. To avoid being imposed upon, we ought to treat Tradition as we do a notorious and known Lye, to whom we give no Credit, unless what he says is confirmed to us by some Person of undoubted Veracity. If it is affirmed by him alone, we can at most but suspend our Belief, not rejecting it as false, because a Lye may sometimes speak Truth; but we cannot, upon his bare Authority, admit it as true. Now that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*, that he was Bishop of *Rome*, we are told by Tradition alone, which, at the same time, tells us of so many strange Circumstances attending his coming to that Metropolis, his staying in it, his withdrawing from it, &c. that, in the Opinion of every unprejudiced Man, the Whole must favour strongly of Romance. Thus we are told, that St. *Peter* went to *Rome* chiefly to

That St. Peter was ever at Rome, known only by Tradition.

*Tradition
not to be de-
pended upon.*

oppose *Simon*, the celebrated Magician; that, at their first Interview, at which *Nero* himself was present, he flew up into the Air, in the Sight of the Emperor, and the whole City; but that the Devil, who had thus raised him, struck with Dread and Terror at the Name of *Jesus*, whom the Apostle invoked, let him fall to the Ground, by which Fall he broke his Legs. Should you question the Truth of this Tradition at *Rome*, they would shew you the Prints of *St. Peter's* Knees

*Fabulous Ac-
counts of St.
Peter.*

in the Stone, on which he kneeled on this Occasion, and another Stone still dyed with the Blood of the Magician (A).

The *Romans*, as we are told, highly incensed against him for thus maiming, and bringing to Disgrace, one to whom they paid divine Honours, vowed his Destruction; whereupon the Apostle thought it advisable to retire for a while from the City, and had already reached the Gate, when, to his great Surprize, he met our Saviour coming in, as he went out, who, upon *St. Peter's* asking him where he was going, returned this Answer, *I am going to Rome to be crucified anew*; which, as *St. Peter* understood it, was upbraiding him with his Flight; whereupon he turned back, and was soon after seized by the provoked *Romans*, and, by an Order from the Emperor, crucified. These, and a thousand like Stories, however fabulous and romantic they may seem, we cannot, without great Incoherency, reject, if we admit *St. Peter* to have been at *Rome*; since the Whole is equally vouched by the same Authority, and has been upon the same Authority equally believed by those, who are called in by the Advocates for the See of *Rome*, to witness *St. Peter's* having preached the Gospel in that City. These are *Arnobius*^a, *Cyril of Jerusalem*^b, *Eusebius*^c, *Ireneus*^d, *Tertullian*^e, *Jerom*^f, and *Justin* the

*The greatest
Men imposed
upon by false
Traditions.*

Martyr^g. These have all supposed *St. Peter* to have been at *Rome*, and, together with *St. Paul*, to have planted Christianity in that great Metropolis of the World: but this they took upon Tradition, and consequently their Authority is of no greater Weight than Tradition itself, which had they duly examined, they would not perhaps have so rea-

^a Arnob. l. 2. in Gent. ^b Cyril. catech. 6. ^c Euseb. l. 2. c. 14. ^d Iren. l. 2. c. 20. ^e Tert. de anim. c. 24. ^f Hier. de vir. illustr. c. 2. ^g Justin. apol. 2.

(A) This Account seems to have been borrowed from *Suetonius*, who speaks of a Person that, in the public Sports, undertook to fly in the Presence of the Emperor *Nero*; but, on his first Attempt, fell to the Ground; by which Fall his Blood sprung out with such Violence, that it reached the Emperor's Canopy (1).

(1) Suet. l. 6. c. 12.

dily pinned their Faith upon it. False and lying Traditions are of an early Date, and the greatest Men have, out of a pious Credulity, suffered themselves to be imposed upon by them. How many Traditions, after having reigned for Ages without Controul, were upon the Reformation, when Men took the Liberty to examine what they believed, rejected by the Church, ashamed to own them, and degraded into popular Errors! But that of St. *Peter's* having been at *Rome*, and the first Bishop of that City, was a Tradition of too great Consequence not to be maintained at all Events, since upon that chiefly was founded the Claim of his pretended Successors to an uncontrouled Authority, and universal Jurisdiction; a Foundation infinitely too weak for such an immense Superstructure.

And here I cannot help observing the little Regard that the Popes themselves have shewn to Tradition, though received by the greatest Lights of the Church, when it did not promote the Honour or Interest of their See. Of this we have a glaring Instance in a parallel Case; for as St. *Peter*, according to Tradition, travelled to *Rome*, so did St. *Paul*, according to Tradition, travel into *Spain*: the former Tradition was received by the Writers I have quoted above, and the latter by some of the same Writers, viz. by *Cyril of Jerusalem*^b, and *Jerom*ⁱ, and by *Athanasius*^k, *Chrysostom*^l, *Theodoret*^m, *Gregory the Great*ⁿ, and many others; yet such a Tradition was rejected, perhaps justly, by Pope *Innocent I.* who would not allow St. *Paul* to have ever been in *Spain*^o. Have we not an equal Right to question, or even to deny, St. *Peter's* having ever been at *Rome*? Are not the Authorities at least equal on both Sides? Why then must the Travels of one Apostle be looked upon as an Article of Faith, and those of the other be deemed fabulous?

And truly, if we examine narrowly into this matter, the former Tradition will appear no less groundless to us, than the latter did to that Pope: for, in the first place, neither St. *Peter* himself, nor any of the Sacred Writers, give us the least Hint or Intimation of his having ever been at *Rome*. We are told of his being at *Antioch*, at *Jerusalem*, at *Corinth*, at *Babylon*^p; but of the great Metropolis of the Empire, where he is supposed to have fixed his See, not the

How little regard paid to them by some Popes.

No Mention in the Scripture of St. Peter's having ever been at Rome.

^b Cyr. cat. 17.
Hebr. præf.
tom. 2. p. 1245.
1 Cor. i. 12.

ⁱ Hier. in Isai. xi. 14.

^m Theod. in 2 Tim. iv. 17.

^k Athan. ad Drac.

ⁿ Greg. in Joh. xxiii. 22.

^l Chrys. ad

^o Concil.

^p Act. xi. 2. xv. 7. Gal. i. 18. ii. 9. Gal. ii. 11. 1 Pet. v. 13.

least Mention is made. And may we not from that Silence question, to say no more, his having ever been there? I know that by *Babylon*, from whence St. *Peter* wrote his first Epistle ^q, *Eusebius* ^r, *Jerom* ^s, the Venerable *Bedet* ^t, *Oecumenius* ^u, and *Grotius* ^w, understood *Rome*; but this is a bare Conjecture, and no better grounded than that of others, who thought that by *Babylon* was meant *Jerusalem* ^x. The learned Doctor *Pearson*, Bishop of *Chester*, seeing no occasion here to recur to a figurative Sense, is of Opinion, that the above-mentioned Epistle was written not from *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, which then lay in Ruins, but from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; and no Man has taken more Pains to make the World believe, that St. *Peter* preached at *Rome*, and founded that See ^y. But, in this Controversy, the Silence of St. *Paul* in particular, if duly attended to, must be thought, by every unbiassed Man, a far more convincing Proof of St. *Peter's* not having been at *Rome*, than all the Authorities that have been yet alleged, are of his having been there. For that Apostle, while at *Rome*, had frequent Opportunities of mentioning his fellow Apostle, and fellow Labourer; and yet, naming several others, he is quite silent as to him. From *Rome* he wrote to the *Galatians*, to the *Ephesians*, to the *Philippians*, to the *Colossians*, to *Timothy*, and to *Philemon*, without ever mentioning *Peter*, or sending any Salutation from him; nay, it is certain, that St. *Peter* was not at *Rome* when the Apostle of the Gentiles wrote to the *Colossians*; for, mentioning *Tychicus*, *Onesimus*, *Aristarchus*, *Marcus*, and *Justus*, he adds, *These alone, my Fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, who have been a Comfort unto me* ^z. *Peter* was not there, when St. *Paul* wrote his second Epistle to *Timothy*, where he says, *At my first Answer no Man stood with me, but all Men forsook me* ^a: nor was he there immediately before St. *Paul's* Death, when the Time of his Departure was at hand; for he tells *Timothy*, that all the Brethren did salute him; and, naming *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, *Linus*, and *Claudia* ^b, he omits *Peter*, whom we may thence conclude not to have been there. And yet it is a received Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, that St. *Peter* was then not only in that Metropolis, but confined and bound in the same Prison with St. *Paul*. As that Apo-

St. Paul, in the many Letters he wrote from Rome, never mentions St. Peter.

^q 1 Pet. v. 13. ^r Euseb. l. 2. c. 15. ^s Hier. vir. illust. c. 8. ^t Bed. tom. 5. p. 713. ^u Oecu. p. 526. ^w Grot. synopf. in Pet. ^x Vide Grot. ib. p. 1541. ^y Pearf. oper. posth. p. 56, & seq. ^z Coloss. iv. 11. ^a 2 Tim. iv. 6. ^b Ibid. iv. 21.

He, in writing from *Rome*, sends no Salutations from *Peter*, so in writing to *Rome* he greets many others, but never mentions him^c. Now who would not sooner chuse to reject such Traditions, than to suppose St. *Paul* guilty of such an unfriendly and unaccountable Omission?

From what has been hitherto said, every impartial Judge must conclude, that it is, at least, very much to be doubted whether St. *Peter* was ever at *Rome*; but, allowing him to have been there, it still remains to be proved, that he was Bishop of that See. This the Sticklers for the Papal Authority spare no Pains to make out, being well apprised, that the Whole of their Cause lies here at stake; and yet I find nothing alleged by them in so material a Point, but a few misinterpreted Passages out of the Ecclesiastical Writers: for the right Understanding of which it is to be observed, that such of the Antients as called *Peter* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Rome* the *Place*, the *Chair*, the *See* of *Peter*, meant no more than that he was Superintendant of that Church, that he founded it by converting Men to the Faith, and erected the Episcopal Chair, by appointing the first Bishops. That this was their true Meaning, is apparent from what we read in *Ruffinus*; who, having mentioned *Linus*, *Cletus*, and *Clemens*, as succeeding each other in the See of *Rome*, while *Peter* was still alive, thus accounts for their Episcopacy: They were, says he, appointed Bishops by *Peter*, to the end that, they taking upon them the Episcopal Charge, he might be at Leisure to discharge the Duties of his Apostolical Office. And this, he tells us, was not a Notion of his own, but the common Opinion^d. *Irenæus* speaks to the same Purpose: *The Apostles*, says he, *founding that Church, delivered the Episcopal Office into the Hands of Linus*^e. Hence the most antient Writers, who lived nearest the Fountain of Tradition, never stile St. *Peter* Bishop of *Rome*, but only say, that, by ordaining Bishops, he founded that Church^f. St. *Peter* therefore was not Bishop of *Rome* in the strict Sense, to which that Word is now confined, but in the more large Sense, of which I have taken notice above: and in that St. *Paul* has as good a Claim to the high-founding Titles of *Pope*, *Bishop of Rome*, &c. as St. *Peter*, since, together with him, he is said to have founded that Church. The Popes indeed will not allow him that Honour, nor condescend to reckon

St. Peter,
though at
Rome, not
Bishop of
Rome.

In what
sense St. Pe-
ter and St.
Paul styled
Bishops of
Rome.

^c Ad Rom. xvi. 3—15.
Euseb. c. 5, 6.

^d Ruffin. in præf. ad Clem. recogn.
^f Constit. Apost. 7. 46. Iren. 3. 3.

^e Iren. apud

*The Duties
of a Bishop
and an Apo-
stle incon-
sistent.*

him among their Predecessors; but *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius* have been more complaisant; of whom the former says, *Peter and Paul were the first at Rome, both Bishops and Apostles* ^s; and the latter, speaking of the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexander derived his Succession in the fifth Place from Peter and Paul* ^h. Both therefore were Bishops of *Rome*, or neither; both in the Sense of the antient Writers, but neither in that, which is now annexed to the Word *Bishop*. And truly the Office of an Apostle, and that of a Bishop, as the Word is now understood, are incompatible. An Apostle, says *Chrysostom* ⁱ, is charged with the Instruction not of any particular Nation or City, but of the whole World; but a Bishop must reside, says the same Writer ^k, and be employed in one Place: and therefore *St. Peter*, who knew these two Duties to be inconsistent, if he was ever at *Rome*, committed there, as he did in other Places, the Episcopal Charge to others, and pursued his Apostolical Office, which required a more extensive Care.

*Whether
James the
Apostle was
Bishop of Je-
rusalem.*

But *St. James*, say the Popish Writers, though an Apostle, was appointed Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and why might not *St. Peter*, though an Apostle, undertake the Episcopacy of *Rome*? It is surprising they should lay so much Stress as they do on this Objection, since they must know it to be grounded on an Uncertainty; as *Eusebius* the greatest Antiquary of former Times^l, *Hegesippus* the most antient Historian^m, *Epiphanius* ⁿ, *Jerom* ^o, *Gregory of Nyssa* ^p, *Chrysostom* ^q, and many others, reckon *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, not among the *Apostles*, but the Seventy Disciples. Of the same Opinion among the Moderns, are *Grotius* ^r, *Dr. Hammond* ^s, *Valesius* ^t, *Blondel* ^u, and *Salmasius* ^w. The last of these saying, after his positive and confident manner, *It is certain that he was not one of the Twelve*, I may at least say, it is not certain that he was; and consequently the Objection can be of no considerable Weight. But allowing him to have been one of the Twelve, as some of the Antients seem to think ^x, there was a special Reason, why one of the Apostles should be appointed to reside at *Jerusalem*, that City being the Metropolis, the Fountain, the Centre of the Christian Religion; our Faith had

^s Epiph. hæ. 7. ^h Euseb. l. 1. c. 2. ⁱ Chrys. tom. 8. p. 115. ^k Idem
Eph. iv. 11. ^l Euseb. l. 1. c. 12. ^m Heges. apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. ⁿ Epiph.
hæ. 78. ^o Hier. de vir. ill. ^p Greg. p. 279. ^q Chrys. in Mat. hom. 33.
^r Grot. in Jac. i. 1. ^s Hamm. dissert. Ignat. 4. 3. ^t Val. in Euseb. l. 1. 12.
^u Blond. in epist. Clem. ad Jacob. ^w Wal. Mess. p. 20. ^x Aug. cont. Cres. l. 2.
c. 37. Vide Pearf. Ann. Paulin. p. 58.

there

there had its Birth; the Church was there very numerous, consisting of many Thousands of believing *Jews*; and thither resorted great Numbers of those of that Nation, who were converted to Christ in other Countries. On these Considerations it might seem expedient that a Person of the greatest Authority should preside there. But there was no special Reason why an Apostle should constantly reside at any other Place, nor does it appear that any did: St. *Peter* especially could not reside at any one Place, since to him, as *the Apostle of the Circumcision*, was committed the Charge of converting the dispersed *Jews* in all Parts of the World.

As for the Appellations of the *Apostolic See*, *Chair*, *Throne*, &c. What meant by the Apostolic See, Chair, Throne, &c. given by the Antients to the See of *Rome*, they import no more than that it was erected by an Apostle; for they are bestowed indiscriminately on all the Sees, in which Bishops had been placed by the Apostles; viz. of *Ephesus*^a, of *Smyrna*^a, of *Alexandria*^b, of *Corinth*, *Thessalonica*, *Philippi*^b, &c. The Title of *Apostolic See*, common to many, was, in Process of Time, by the Ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, appropriated to their own. They had, as they thought, till the Year 1662. a pregnant Proof not only of St. *Peter's* erecting their Chair, but of his sitting in it himself; for till that Year, the very Chair, on which they believed, or would make others believe, he had sat, was shewn and exposed to public Adoration on the 18th of *January*, the Festival of the said Chair. But while it was cleaning, in order to be set up in some conspicuous Place of the *Vatican*, the Twelve Labours of *Hercules* unluckily appeared engraved on it. Our Worship however, says *Giacomo Bartolini*, who was present at this Discovery, and relates it, was not misplaced, since it was not to the Wood we paid it, but to the Prince of the Apostles St. *Peter*^c. An Author of no mean Character, unwilling to give up the holy Chair, even after this Discovery, as having a Place and a peculiar Solemnity among the other Saints, has attempted to explain the Labours of *Hercules* in a mystical Sense, as Emblems representing the future Exploits of the *Popes*^d. But the ridiculous and distorted Conceits of that Writer are not worthy our Notice, tho' by *Clement X.* they were judged not unworthy of a Reward.

^a Act. xxi. 20.^b Irén. l. 3. c. 3.^c Idem ib. & Tertull. de præf. hæret. c. 32.

Euseb. l. 3. c. 36.

^d Tertull. ib. c. 36.^e Bartol. Antichità sacre di Roma, p. 32.^f Luchefini cattedra restituita a S. Pietro.

St. Peter
how, or by
whom, placed
in the See
of Rome.

But to return to our Subject; it may be inquired, if St. *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, who placed him in that See? Did our Lord appoint him? Did the Apostles name him? Did the People choose him? Did he assume it himself? To these Queries no Answers have been yet given, but such as are so ridiculously weak, that it is not worth my while to relate them, nor the Reader's to hear them. *Bellarmino*, in one place, positively affirms, that *God commanded St. Peter to fix his See at Rome*^e; but elsewhere contents himself with saying, *It is not improbable that God commanded St. Peter to fix his See at Rome*^f. If it is no more than not improbable, it is uncertain; it may be a mere Conjecture, a Dream.

Other Bi-
shops of
Rome ap-
pointed by
St. Peter.

St. *Peter*, either alone, or jointly with St. *Paul*, as we read in *Irenæus*, and in the Apostolical Constitutions^g, appointed other Bishops of *Rome*. Now, when he appointed others, did he resign his Episcopacy, or retain it? If he resigned it, he did not die Bishop of *Rome*; which shakes the very Foundation of the Pope's Claim to Supremacy: if he retained it, there were Two Bishops on the same See at one time; which Pope *Innocent I.* in his Epistle to the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*, condemned as an Irregularity never known till his Time^h: he did not, it seems, recollect that it had been practised by his Predecessor Pope *Peter*. *Theodoret* tells us, in his Ecclesiastical History, that when the Emperor *Constantius* would have had *Felix* to sit in the See of *Rome*, together with *Liberius*, upon the Return of the latter from Banishment, the People of *Rome* would not consent to it, crying out, *One God, one Christ, one Bishop*. *Felix* died soon after, and upon his Death *Theodoret* makes the following Remark: *It was, says he, a special Providence, that Peter's Throne might not suffer Infamy, being held by Two Prelates*ⁱ. He did not consider, or rather did not believe, that it had been held by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, by St. *Peter* and by *Linus*.

St. Peter
Bishop at
Rome, not
of Rome.

To conclude, St. *Peter* was perhaps Bishop at *Rome*, not of *Rome* (B). He was Bishop at *Rome*, if he ever was there, being, in virtue of his Apostleship, impowered to discharge, at *Rome*, and every-where else, all Episcopal Functions; but was not specially Bishop of *Rome*, or any other Place; that is, he did not take upon him the Charge of

^e Bell. de sum. Pont. l. 4. c. 4. ^f Idem ib. l. 2. c. 12. ^g Iren. apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 6. et Const. Apost. l. 7. c. 46. ^h Inn. I. apud Soz. l. 8. c. 26. ⁱ Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 17.

(B) 'Tis a Distinction made by a Pope, King in Etruria, not of Etruria.

Linus.

BISHOPS of Rome.

9

any particular Bishop, the Administration of any particular Bishoprick, that being inconsistent both with the Dignity and Office of an Apostle, or universal Bishop.

NERO,
GALBA,
OTHO,

L I N U S,

VITELLIUS,
VESPASIAN,
TITUS.

First BISHOP of Rome.

THERE is a great Disagreement among the Antients about the first Bishops of Rome: *Tertullian* makes *Clement*, whom he supposes to have been ordained by St. *Peter*, the immediate Successor of that Apostle ^a. He was followed therein by *Ruffinus* ^b, and *Ruffinus* by the *Latins* in general; among whom that Opinion universally prevailed towards the End of the Fourth Century. But *Jerom*, rejecting the Opinion of the *Latins*, places *Linus* immediately after the Apostles, *Anacletus* next to him, and *Clement* in the third Place ^c. His Opinion is supported by the Authority of *Irenæus* ^d, *Eusebius* ^e, *Theodoret* ^f, and likewise of *Epiphanius* ^g, *Optatus Milevitanus* ^h, and St. *Augustin* ⁱ, with this Difference, that *Epiphanius* gives the Name of *Cletus* to the Successor of *Linus*, and both *Optatus* and St. *Augustin* place him after *Clement*; but in this they all agree, that *Linus* was the first, after the Apostles, who governed the Church of Rome. To the Authority of these Writers I may add that of the Apostolic Constitutions, telling us, in express Terms, that *Linus* was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. *Paul* ^k. As to what we read in *Tertullian* and *Ruffinus*, viz. that *Clement* was ordained by St. *Peter*, and named to succeed him, Dr. *Hammond* answers, That *Clement* governed with Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction the converted Jews, while *Linus* and *Anacletus* governed, with the same Power, the converted Gentiles. He adds, That, upon the Death of *Anacletus*, both Churches were united under him ^l. Thus he strives to reconcile the Opinion of the *Latins*, placing *Clement* immediately after the Apostles, with that of the *Greeks*, allowing him only

Year of
Christ 66.

Linus, and
not Clemens,
the first Bi-
shop of
Rome.

Whether
Clement
appointed by
St. Peter to
succeed him.

^a Tert. de præsc. hæret. c. 32.

^b Recog. p. 398.

^c Hier. vir. illust. c. 15.

^d Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

^e Euseb. l. 3. c. 2. 4. 21.

^f Theod. in 2 Tim. iv. 21.

^g Epiph. hæret. 27. c. 6.

^h Optat. l. 2. p. 48.

ⁱ Aug. ep. 165.

^k Const. Apost.

l. 7. c. 46.

^l Hamm. l. 5. c. 1.

the third Place: for, granting what he advances to be true, and Reasons are not wanting to support it, *Clement* was, agreeably to the Opinion of the *Latins*, the immediate Successor of the Apostles, with respect to the *Jews*; but, with respect to the Gentiles, he succeeded *Anacletus*, agreeably to the Opinion of the *Greeks* ^m. This Answer *Cotelerius* applauds as an ingenious, learned, and probable Solution; but, at the same time, rejects it as contradicting, in his Opinion, the Apostolic Constitutions, and not supported by the Authority of any ancient Writer ⁿ. The learned Dr. *Pearson* will admit no Opinion that supposes Two Bishops to have presided together in one City ^o, that being an Irregularity, according to St. *Cyprian* ^p, contrary to the Ecclesiastic Disposition, contrary to the Evangelic Law, contrary to the Rules of the Catholic Institution, and condemned as such by the Council of *Nice* ^q. It is very much to be doubted, as I have shewn above, whether St. *Peter* ever was at *Rome*, and consequently whether *Clement* was ordained, by him, Bishop of that City. His not succeeding him is a Proof, that he was not; for who can imagine, that the People and Clergy of those Days would have thought of chusing any other, or that any other, though chosen, would have accepted of a Dignity, to which *Clement* had been named by St. *Peter* himself, and which he was actually possessed of at the Apostle's Death? Be that as it will, *Linus* is now universally acknowledged both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* for the first Bishop of *Rome*.

Linus no
Martyr, tho'
placed among
the Martyrs.

As for the Life and Actions of *Linus*, all I can find in the Antients concerning him, is, that it was he whom St. *Paul* mentioned in his Epistle to *Timothy* ^r; that, upon the Authority of the Apostolic Constitutions, he was supposed, by some, to have been the Son of *Claudia*, whom the Apostle mentions in the same Place ^s; and that his Life and Conversation were much approved of by the People ^t. The Church of *Rome* allows him, in the Canon of the Mass, a Place among the Martyrs; but no mention is made of his having suffered for the Faith, either in the antient Martyrologies, or in *Irenæus*, who speaking of him, and his immediate Successors, distinguishes none but *Telephorus* with the Title of Martyr. *Baronius*, determined to maintain, right or wrong, the Credit of the sacred

^m Idem ib. p. 247. 258.

ⁿ Cotel. in not. Const. p. 298.

^o Pearf. posthum.

p. 159. 161.

^p Cypr. ep. 44. 46. 52. 55.

^q Syn. Nic. can. 8.

^r Iren. l. 3.

c. 3. Euseb. l. 3. c. 2. 2 Tim. iv. 21.

^s Const. Apost. l. 7. c. 46.

^t Tert. in

Marc. c. 3.

Canon, in Opposition to all the Antients, nay, and to his own System, cuts off one Year from the Pontificate of *Linus*, that he may place his Death under *Vespasian*, and not, as *Eusebius* has done ^u, under *Titus*, in whose Reign he owns none to have suffered for the Faith ^w. Had he remembered what he must have read in *Tertullian* and *Eusebius*, he had saved himself that Trouble; for *Tertullian* assures us, that *Vespasian* made no Laws against the Christians ^x; and *Eusebius*, that he did not molest them, though he caused a diligent Search to be made after those who were of the Race of *David*, which occasioned a dreadful Persecution against the *Jews* ^y. *Linus* governed the Church of *Rome*, according to *Eusebius* ^z and *Epiphanius* ^a, Twelve Years; so that, if we place, with them, the Death of *St. Peter* in 66. *Linus* must have died in the Year 78. of the Christian *Æra*. We have, under the Name of *Linus*, Two Books of the Martyrdom of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* ^b; but they are generally looked upon as supposititious ^c. *Trithemius* makes him the Author of the Life of *St. Peter*, in which a particular Account was given of the Dispute between that Apostle, and *Simon* the Magician. This Piece has not reached our Times, and was perhaps of the same Stamp with the other, since it is never mentioned either by *Eusebius* or *St. Jerom*. The Decrees, that are ascribed to him, are no-where to be found, but in *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and such-like Writers, whose Authority is of no Weight in Matters so distant, unless supported by the Testimony of the Antients.

TITUS, CLETUS, or ANACLETUS, DOMITIAN,

Second BISHOP of Rome.

LINUS was succeeded by *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, whom the *Greeks* constantly style *Anenclerus*, that is, *Irreprehensible*. An Opinion has long obtained in the Church of *Rome*, distinguishing *Cletus* and *Anacletus* at Two Popes, nay, as Two Saints; the

^u Euseb. l. 3. c. 13. ^w Bar. Annal. ad Ann. 80. ^x Tert. apol. c. 5.
^y Euseb. l. 3. c. 12. ^z Idem ib. c. 13. ^a Epiph. l. 27. c. 6. ^b Bib. Patr.
tom. 7. ^c Vide Baron. ad Ann. 69. et Voss. Hist. Græc. l. 2. c. 9.

Cletus and
Anacletus
not two, but
one Pope.

How they
were first
distinguished.

Festival of the one being kept on the 26th of *April*, and that of the other on the 23d of *July* ^a. But this Distinction is now given up by the most learned Men of that Church, not only as groundless, but as plainly contradicting the most celebrated Writers of Antiquity, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerom*, to whom we may add *Caius*, a Priest of *Rome*, who, writing in the Beginning of the Third Century, reckoned *Victor* the Thirteenth Bishop of that City ^b. *Baronius*, however, spares no Pains to keep up that Distinction; but alleges nothing to countenance it, except the Poem against *Marcion*, ascribed to *Tertullian*, the Pontifical of *Anastasius*, and some Martyrologies ^c. Who was the Author of that Poem is not well known, but all agree, that it was not written by *Tertullian* ^d. Besides, the Author, whoever he was, places both *Cletus* and *Anacletus* before *Clement*; which *Baronius* condemns as a gross Mistake. As for the Pontifical, the Annalist often finds fault with it; and complains, in this very Place, that *Anastasius's* whole Chronology is overcast with an impenetrable Mist ^e. The Martyrologies he quotes are of too modern a Date to deserve any Regard, since none of them were heard of before the Ninth Century ^f. But how, says *Baronius*, was this Distinction first introduced? We may, perhaps, account for it thus: *Irenæus*, with all the *Greeks*, and *St. Jerom*, among the *Latins*, place *Anacletus*, as we have observed above, before *Clement*; whereas *St. Austin* and *Optatus Milevitanus* place him after. This, and his being called *Cletus* by *Epiphanius*, and in several Copies of *Ruffinus*, might induce some to imagine, that as the Names and Places were different, so were the Persons. Thus, as we conjecture, of one Pope Two Popes were made, Two Saints, and Two Martyrs; for, in the Canon of the Mass, he has a Place with *Linus* among the Martyrs; though neither was acknowledged for such by *Irenæus*, or any of the Antients; nay, *Anacletus* is said, in some Pontificals, to have died in Peace, that is, according to the Phrase of those Days, of a natural Death ^g. *Bollandus*, after having much laboured, but laboured in vain, to maintain the Distinction between *Cletus* and *Anacletus*, yields at last, and gives up the Point. But yet, unwilling to make the least Alteration in the Catalogue of the Popes, which places, with the Approbation of the holy See, *Clement* between *Cle-*

^a Martyrol. Roman. ^b Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. Pearson posthum. p. 147, 148. ^c Bar. ad Ann. 69. ^d Halloix in vit. Iren. p. 646. ^e Bar. ad Ann. 69. ^f Bolland. Pont. p. 217. ^g Vide Pearf. posthum. p. 19.

tus and *Anacletus*, he strives to save it with a new and pretty extraordinary Invention; for he pretends *Anacletus* or *Cletus* to have resigned the Chair to *Clement*, and *Clement*, in his Turn, to have yielded it to him again. Thus, according to him, though *Cletus* and *Anacletus* are one and the same Person, yet no Fault is to be found with the Catalogue; and *Clement* is rightly placed both after and before him ^h. This is a Speculation of his own, altogether groundless, and therefore not worthy of a Place here, were it not to shew what low Shifts and Subterfuges even Men of Parts, in the Church of *Rome*, chuse to submit to, rather than to yield to Reason, in Points that seem to derogate from the Authority of that See. *Anacletus* governed the Church Twelve Years, according to *Eusebius* ⁱ; to which some add Two Months, some Three, and some only one; so that he must have died in the Year 91. He is supposed to have been buried next to St. *Peter*, in the *Vatican*, where his supposed Body is shewn, and worshiped to this Day ^k. We find, in the Collection of *Isidorus Mercator*, Three Decretals, under the Name of *Cletus*; but such Decretals as are anterior to the Pontificate of Pope *Syricius*, who was elected in the Year 384. are now universally looked upon as bare-faced Forgeries ^l (A). *Decretals ascribed to him.*

C L E-

^h Bolland. Pont. p. 217.ⁱ Euseb. l. 3. c. 15.^k Bolland. 26 Apr. 410, 411.^l Vide Card. Bon. liturg. l. 1. c. 3. et Natal. Alexand. hist. Eccles. p. 743, &c.

(A) All the decretal Epistles of the Popes, before *Syricius*, are so filled with Absurdities, Contradictions, Anachronisms, &c. that they are now given up, even by the most sanguine Advocates for the Papal Supremacy. And yet these very Decretals, absurd as they are, and inconsistent with themselves, as well as with all the genuine Writings of those Times, whether sacred or profane, were, for several Ages, the main Stays of the whole Fabric of the Papal Power. By them that Power was established; by them it was supported; for, in the Days of Ignorance, they were universally received as the genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, in whose Names they were published. And, truly, were we to rank them, as they were ranked in the monkish and ignorant Ages, with the Decisions of the Oecumenical Councils, and the Canonical Books of the Scripture, no room would be left to question any

Branch of the unlimited Power claimed by the Popes. They were held in the greatest Esteem and Veneration from the Beginning of the 9th Century to the Time of the Reformation, when, upon the first Dawn of Learning, the Cheat was discovered, and the Stays removed, which till then had supported the unwieldy Edifice. But it was then in a Condition to stand by itself, at least till new Frauds were devised to prop it up; and this was accordingly done, without Loss of Time.

The Decretals of the first Popes are quoted by *Bellarmino*, to prove, that the Supremacy of the Bishops of *Rome* was universally acknowledged in the earliest Times (2): but, at the same time, he owns, that he dares not affirm them to be of undoubted Authority. And what can be more absurd than to quote a Forgery, or what he himself owns may be a Forgery, in Vindication of so darling a Point as the Supremacy?

(2) Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 14.

But

DOMITIAN,
NERVA,

C L E M E N T,

TRAJAN,

Third BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 91.
Clement
mentioned by
St. Paul.

CLEMENT, the Successor of *Anacletus*, is, according to *Origen*^a, *Eusebius*^b, and all the Antients, the Person whom *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*^c, names among those who had laboured with him in the Gospel, and whose Name were in the Book

^a Origen. in Jo. p. 143.^b Euseb. l. 3. c. 15.^c Philip. iv. 3.

But he did it for want of better Evidences, and must therefore be excused. *Baronius*, ashamed to lay any Strefs on such gross and palpable Forgeries, contents himself with only saying, that the Popes had no hand in forging them; and that they never made use of their Authority to support their own. That they were concerned in, or privy to, the forging of those Letters, I dare not affirm: but that they countenanced them, as they did all other Forgeries tending to the Advancement of their See; that they received them as genuine, and endeavoured to impose them upon others; nay, that they made use of them soon after their first Appearance in the World, to establish and promote the Authority of their See; are undoubted Matters of Fact: witness the Letter, which *Nicholas I.* wrote, in the Year 865. to *Hincmarus* Archbishop of *Rheims*, and to the other Bishops of *France*, who, refusing to comply with some exorbitant Demands of the Pope, had rejected the Decretals, on which those Demands were founded, as Writings that had been lately counterfeited. *Nicholas*, in his Answer to them, maintains the Authenticity of those Letters, exhorts all, who profess the Catholic Faith, to receive them with due Veneration, and claims, in virtue of such sacred and authentic Writings, an uncontrouled Authority over all the Churches of the World, as lodged from the Beginning in his See (3). And was not this making use of the supposed Authority of those Decretals to promote his own? *Nicholas* seems to have believed the Letters to be genuine; and, if he did, he

was certainly mistaken, and erred in proposing, as he does, spurious Pieces for a firm and strong Foundation of our Belief, as well as our Practice. If he did not believe them to be genuine, and yet endeavoured to persuade the Bishops of *France* that they were so; nay, and claimed, upon the Authority of such Pieces, a Power over them, and their Churches; a worse Epithet would suit him better than that of *fallible*, which is common to all Men.

The first who published these Decretals was, according to *Hincmarus*, *Riculphus* Bishop of *Mentz*, who was supposed to have brought them from *Spain*; because the Name of *Isidore* was prefixed to the Collection, and a famous Writer of that Name, viz. *Isidore* Bishop of *Seville*, had flourished in *Spain* some Centuries before. But such a mean and scandalous Undertaking is altogether unworthy of so great a Prelate; and besides the Author of the supposed Decretals has copied, *verbatim*, some Passages from the Council of *Toledo* in 675. and from the Sixth Council in 681. whereas *Isidore* of *Seville* died in 636. The learned *Ellies du Pin* lays this Forgery at the Door of some German or Frenchman, the Letters being all written in the Style of the Germans and French, of the 9th Century, and many of them addressed to Persons of these two Nations. *Hincmarus* was mistaken, in supposing the forged Decretals to have been first published by *Riculphus* of *Mentz*; for in some of them are found Fragments of the Council held at *Paris* in 829. and he died in 814. They were first ushered into the World, and

(3) Nic. I. Ep. 42.

forged

Book of Life. Hence *Chrysostom* concludes, that, together with *St. Luke* and *Timothy*, he attended the Apostle of the Gentiles in all his Journeys ^d. *Irenæus* assures us, that he had not only seen the Apostles, and conversed with them; but that, when he was appointed Bishop of *Rome*, he still heard their Voices sounding in his Ears, still had before his Eyes the Rules and good Example they had given him ^e. *Origen* styles him *the Disciple of the Apostles* ^f; *Ruffinus*, *almost an Apostle* ^g; and *Clement of Alexandria*, *an Apostle* ^h. That he was well versed in every Branch of Learning, especially in polite Literature, descended of a Senatorian Family, and nearly related to the *Cæsars*, is what we read in *Eucherius* ⁱ and *Nilus* ^k, who seem to have followed therein the *Recognitions*, a Book of no Authority. *Eucherius* perhaps confounded, as others have done, Pope *Clement* with *Flavius Clemens*, who was Son to *Flavius Sabinus*, ^{Some con-} found him ^{with Flavius} the only Brother of *Vespasian*, and suffered Death for the Christian *Clemens*. Religion in the Persecution of *Domitian* ^l; for Pope *Clement* was, as himself seems to insinuate, rather of the Race of *Jacob* than of the *Cæsars* ^m. Upon the Death of *Anacletus* he was unanimously ^{Chosen Bi-} chosen by the People and Clergy of *Rome* to succeed him. He had ^{shop of} been named, say some, to that Dignity by *St. Peter* himself, pre- ^{Rome.}

^d Chryf. in Phil. hom. 13.^e Iren. l. 3. c. 3.^f Orig. Pr. in l. 3. c. 3.^g Ruf. ad Orig. p. 195.^h Clem. Strom. 4.ⁱ Euch. ad Val. p. 19.^k Nil.

l. 2. ep. 49.

^l Dio, l. 65. Suet. in Dom. c. 15. Orig. in Cels. l. 1. p. 5.^m Clem.

ep. 1. c. 4.

forged too, in all likelihood, by one *Benedict*, Deacon of the Church of *Mentz*, though, in his Preface to that Collection, he would fain make us believe, that *Autcarius*, the Successor of *Riculphus*, found them in the Archives of that Church, and that they had been placed there by *Riculphus*, who had brought them from *Spain*. *Autcarius*, in whose Time *Benedict* published his Collection, is thought to have been privy to the Imposture. The Name of *Isidore*, which was then very common in *Spain*, was prefixed to it, to persuade the World, that the Decretals were brought from that Country, and not forged at *Mentz*, where they first appeared. However, they were suspected by some, even in that dark Age, and absolutely rejected by *Hincmarus* of *Rheims*, as Writings of no Authority. But the Popes, whose Pretensions they were calculated to favour, exerting all their Authority to bring them into Repute, they were in the End univer-

sally received, and inserted into all the Collections of Canons. At present they are so universally exploded, that there is not a single Writer, no, not even in the Church of *Rome*, who is not ashamed to patronize or defend them. But the Work is done, for which they were intended; and now that the Edifice can stand by itself, no matter what becomes of the Stays that supported it, when it could not. These Decretals may be justly looked upon as a standing Monument of the Ignorance, Superstition, and Credulity, that universally prevailed in the Church, from the Beginning of the Ninth Century to the Time of the Reformation. I shall conclude with observing, that, from these Decretals, *Anastasius the Bibliothecarian*, and after him *Platina*, have chiefly copied what they relate of the first Popes, supposing them to have really done what, in those spurious Pieces, they are said to have done.

scrably

*His famous
Epistle to the
Corinthians.*

ferably to *Linus* and *Anacletus* ⁿ; but had declined it, finding that the Faithful were not all equally disposed to submit to the Judgment and Authority of St. *Peter*. He therefore withdrew; and, as he was of a mild and pacific Disposition, led a retired Life to the Death of *Anacletus*, when he was forced to accept of the Dignity, which he had before declined. Thus *Ruffinus*, upon the Authority of the *Recognitions*; which appears to me, I must own, a very improbable Tale. During his Pontificate happened an impious and detestable Division, to use his own Terms, among the Christians of *Corinth*, which obliged them to have recourse to other Churches, especially to that of *Rome*; and on this occasion was written that famous Epistle to the *Corinthians*, so much magnified by the Antients, and publicly read, not only in the Church of *Corinth*, as *Dionysius* assures us, who was Bishop of that City in 180. but in many other Churches, to the Time of *Eusebius*, and St. *Jerom* ^o, and perhaps long after. It was by some ranked among the Canonical Books of the Scripture, and by all revered next to them p. It was written in the Name of the whole Church of *Rome*, and to the whole Church it is, in express Terms, ascribed by *Irenæus* ^q, and *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who calls it the Epistle of the *Romans* to the *Corinthians* ^r. However, it was composed by *Clement*, in the Name of the Church; for, in the primitive Times, Bishops did nothing by themselves, but every thing jointly with their Churches: *We advise, We exhort, We recommend*, &c. was their usual Style; which the Popes still observe, though they mean only themselves; for they scorn to join either with the People or Clergy. The Style of this excellent Letter is plain, clear, full of Energy, without any useless Ornaments; and the Whole written with the Simplicity, as *Photius* observes ^s, that the Church requires in Ecclesiastical Writers. There is so great an Affinity, both as to the Sense and the Words, between this Epistle, and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that some have concluded *Clement* to have been the Translator, nay, and the Author of that Epistle ^t. In *Clement's* Epistle *Photius* discovers, as he thinks, Three Faults; *viz.* that he supposes other Worlds beyond the Ocean; that he speaks of the Phoenix as a real Bird; and that he uses Words expressing the Humanity of our Saviour, and not his Divinity. But, as

*Unjustly criticized by
Photius.*

ⁿ Epiph. hæc. 27. c. 6.

^o Euseb. l. 3. c. 16. Hier. vir. ill. c. 15.

^p Vide

Iren. l. 3. c. 3. Euseb. l. 3. c. 16. et l. 4. c. 23.

^q Iren. ib.

^r Clem.

flom. 5.

^s Phot. c. 126.

^t Euseb. l. 3. c. 38. et l. 6. c. 25. Hier. vir. ill. c. 15.

to the first of these Objections, there can be no Difficulty now, that we know for certain what was but doubtfully advanced by the Antients: in speaking of the Phoenix he complies with the Opinion universally received in those Days by the Learned, both among the Christians and Pagans. As to the Third Objection, *Photius* must not have observed, that he styles our Saviour's Sufferings, the *Sufferings of God*, which was acknowledging his Divinity. This Epistle, the most precious and valuable Treasure the Church can boast, after the holy Scriptures, was for many Ages bewailed as lost; but in 1633 it was again restored to the Christian World, by *Patricius Junius*, a North Briton, who published it from a Manuscript, written by an Egyptian Lady, named *Thecla*, about the Time of the great Council of *Nice*, and afterwards brought over into *England*^u. That this Piece is genuine, appears from a great many Passages quoted out of it by the Antients.

The most remarkable Event that happened in the Pontificate of *Clement*, was the Persecution of *Domitian*; but what Part he bore in it we can learn from no credible Author. He died, according to *Eusebius*^w, in the Third Year of *Trajan's* Reign, that is, in the 100th of the Christian *Æra*. In the Canon of the Mass he has a Place, with his Two Predecessors, among the Martyrs; but *Telesphorus*, the Seventh Bishop of *Rome*, is the first, as I have observed above, who was acknowledged as such by *Irenæus*, whose Authority is of far greater Weight than that of *Ruffinus*, or Pope *Zosimus*, who suppose him to have died for the Confession of the Faith^x. In the Acts of *Clement*, to which *Gregory of Tours* gave an intire Credit^y, and after him many others, especially the Two credulous Annalists, *Baronius*^z, and *Alford*^a in his Annals of the *British* Church, we read, that *Clement* was banished, by *Trajan*, into the *Chersonesus*, beyond the *Euxine* Sea; that there he caused a Fountain to spring up miraculously, for the Relief of the Christians confined to the same unwholesome Region; that he converted the whole Country to the Faith, which provoked the Emperor to such a degree, that he ordered him to be thrown into the Sea, with an Anchor fastened to his Neck: it is added, that, on the Anniversary of his Death, the Sea retired to the Place where he had been drowned, though Three long Miles

^u Not. Jun. p. 3. Not. Cotel. p. 8.
p. 778. Concil. per Lab. t. 2. p. 1558.

^z Bar. ad Ann. 102.

^a Alf. ad ann. eund.

^w Euf. l. 3. c. 34.

^y Greg. Tur. de glor. martyr. c. 35.

^x Ruf. orig. t. 1.

from the Shore; that upon its retiring, there appeared a most magnificent Temple, all of the finest Marble; and in the Temple a stately Monument, in which was found the Body of the Saint; that the Sea continued thus retiring every Year on the same Day, not daring, for the Space of Seven Days, to return to its usual Bounds, that the Christians might, at their Leisure, and without Apprehension of Danger, perform their Devotions in Honour of the Saint: To crown the Whole, they add, that, one Year, a Mother having heedlessly left her young Child in the Temple, upon her Return, next Year, she found it not only alive, but in perfect Health ^b. No mention is made of such stupendous Miracles by *Irenæus*, who was brought up under *Polycarp*, Bishop of *Smyrna*, in *Asia*, at the very Time *Clement* is supposed to have suffered, and who speaks of him at Length. His Silence is a plain Demonstration that they were unknown to him; and they must have been known, had they been true.

*The Miracles
he wrought,
unknown to
Irenæus.*

*Other Writ-
ings ascribed
to Clement.
A second
Letter to the
Corinthians.
Five other
Letters.*

*His Itine-
rary.
The Recog-
nitions.*

Besides the Letter to the *Corinthians*, of which I have spoken above, several other Pieces are ascribed to *Clement*; viz. a second Letter to the *Corinthians*; which is, without all Doubt, very antient; but *Eusebius* doubts whether it was written by *Clement* ^c; and both St. *Jerom* ^d, and *Photius* ^e, absolutely reject it. Five other Letters, placed among the Decretals, whereof the first, more antient than the rest, was translated by *Ruffinus*, and is quoted by the Council of *Vaison*, held in 442 ^f. However it is generally looked upon as a spurious Piece; for the Author of it, whoever he was, acquaints St. *James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who died long before St. *Peter*, with St. *Peter's* Death ^g. *Clement's* Itinerary, which, in *Photius's* Time, was prefixed, by way of Preface, to the *Recognitions* ^h. The *Recognitions*, relating, under the Name of *Clement*, the Actions of St. *Peter*, his Interview with *Simon* the Magician, how *Clement* himself knew again his Father and his Brothers, whom he had forgot; whence the whole Work took the Name of *Recognitions*, that is, of knowing again: it is likewise called the *Itinerary of St. Peter*, the *Acts of St. Peter*, the *Acts of St. Clement* ⁱ. The *Recognitions* are quoted by *Origen* ^k, *Epiphanius* ^l, and *Ruffinus* ^m, as the Work of *Clement*; but these Writers, at the same time, own them to have been altered

^b Greg. Tur. ib. c. 113.

^c Euseb. l. 3. c. 38.

^d Hier. vir. ill. c. 15.

^e Phot.

^f Concil. per Labb. t. 3. p. 1458.

^g Vide Blond. Decret. p. 25. 28.

^h Phot. c. 113.

ⁱ Coteler. not. in script. Apost. p. 353.

^k Orig. Philocal. c. 23.

p. 81, 82.

^l Epiph. hæc. 30. c. 15.

^m Ruf. ad Orig. p. 195.

in several Places, and falsified by the Heretics; nay, *Epiphanius* tells us, that the *Ebionites* scarce left any thing sound in themⁿ. The Author was well versed in Philosophy, Mathematics, Astrology, and most other Sciences, but not so well acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church; whence his Work is absolutely rejected by *Athanasius*^o; and now generally looked upon as a Piece falsely ascribed to *Clement*. St. Peter's *Dialogues* with *Apion* were probably written in the Third Century, and, to gain Credit, fathered upon *Clement*; for *Eusebius* writes, that there had lately appeared a long Work, under the Name of *Clement*, containing Dialogues between St. Peter and *Apion* p. As to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, if that Work is different from the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, mentioned by *Athanasius* and *Eusebius*; *Epiphanius* is the first who speaks of it: it appears at least, from *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, that, in the Year 250. the *Constitutions* either had not yet appeared, or were of no Repute in the Church q. *Epiphanius* tells us, that many suspected them; but, as for himself, he received them, since he found nothing in them repugnant to the Faith, or the Discipline of the Church r. But as he quotes several Passages out of them, which are not to be found now, we may well conclude, that, since his Time, they have been either altered or curtailed. The *Greeks* indeed, in the Second Canon of the Council, that, in 692. was held at *Constantinople*, in a Tower of the Imperial Palace, called *Trullus*, that is, the *Cupola*, declare, that they had been falsified, in several Places, by the Heretics. *Photius* thinks that, with respect to the Style, they fall short of the *Recognitions*, but far excel them in the Purity of the Doctrine, adding, at the same time, that it is no easy Task to clear them from the Imputation of *Arianism* s. Dr. *Pearson* takes them to be a Collection of several Pieces, published in the earliest Times, under the Name of the Apostles, and containing, as was pretended, the Instructions they had given t. *Albaspineus*, Bishop of *Orange*, thinks the Matter they contain excellent, and the Whole agreeable to the Discipline observed by the *Greek Church*, during the Four first Centuries; but nevertheless he looks upon them only as a Collection of the different Customs, that were established, by degrees, in the Church, and some of which were disputed even in the Fourth Century u; so

ⁿ Epiph. hæ. 30. p. 65.^o Athan. sym. p. 154.^p Euseb. l. 3. c. 38.^q Ign. prol. c. 8. p. 54.^r Epiph. hæ. 76. p. 822.^s Phot. c. 113.^t Pearf.

in Ign. t. 1. p. 60, 61.

^u Alb. Obser. l. 1. c. 3. p. 37, 38.

*The Canons
of the Apo-
stles.*

that they can by no means be ascribed either to the Apostles, or to *Clement*. The *Constitutions* end with 85 Canons, long known by the Title of *The Canons of the Apostles*; but, as they contain several things that were not received in the Apostles Time, nor in *Clement's*, the ablest Critics are of Opinion, that they likewise are but a Collection of several Decrees made in the first Ages of the Church, and that they were not collected into one Body till the Third Century ^w: I don't find them quoted before the Council of *Constantinople* in 394. The *Greeks*, in the Council of the Year 692. mentioned above, bound themselves to the Observance of them; but they are all rejected by Pope *Gelasius*: however, *Dionysius Exiguus* having, not long after, placed the first Fifty at the Head of his Collection, they were received by degrees; but the other Thirty-five have not been admitted to this Day.

*Clement's
Infallibility
unknown to
him, and to
the Corin-
thians.*

Upon the Whole, of the many Writings ascribed to *Clement*, the first Letter to the *Corinthians* is the only one undoubtedly his: and what a wide Difference appears, as to the Spirit and Style, between that excellent Piece, and the Briefs, Bulls, Mandates, &c. of his Successors? He does not command, but exhorts; he does not threaten, but intreats; he does not thunder Anathema's and Excommunications, but employs the most mild and gentle Persuasives, even with the Authors of the Schism. Had he known himself to be the infallible and unerring Judge of Controversies, from whose Tribunal lay no Appeal; had the *Corinthians* believed themselves bound, on Pain of Damnation, to submit to his Decisions, there had been no Room for Reasons, Arguments, and Persuasives; he ought to have exerted the Power, with which he was vested, and put an End to all Disputes, in the peremptory Style of his Successors, *We declare and command all Men to comply with this our Declaration, on Pain of incurring the Indignation of the Almighty; and*, as if that were not enough, *of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul*. But it was not till some Ages after, that the Popes found out their Infallibility, or rather their flattering Divines found it out for them; so that this invaluable Privilege lying dormant, Men were obliged, for a long time, to make use of their Reason, in deciding religious Controversies.

^w Idem ib. et Ign. prol. c. 15. p. 103.

TRAJAN.

EVARISTUS,

Fourth BISHOP of Rome.

CLEMENT was succeeded by *Evaristus*, *Evaristes*, or *Aristus*, ^{Year of Christ 100.} as he is called in the most antient Catalogue of the Popes ^a, in the Third Year of *Trajan's* Reign, that is, in the Close of the First Century of the Christian *Æra*. He governed about Nine Years, that ^{Evaristus} is, to the Twelfth Year of *Trajan*, and the 109th of Christ ^b. *Eusebius*, in his Chronicle, supposes him to have died in the Year 107 ^c; and, in his History, says, that his Death happened about the Year 109 ^d: but, in the Series and Succession of the Popes, that Writer is every-where consistent with himself in his History, and quite otherwise in his Chronicle. Besides, the History ought to correct the Chronicle, as being posterior to it. To *Evaristus* are ascribed Two Decretals, the Distribution of the Titles or Parishes of *Rome*, on which *Baronius* makes a long Descant ^e, and an Order, that Bishops, when they preached, should be always attended by Seven Deacons ^f. But ^{Several things ascribed to him, without sufficient Foundation.} these, and many other things of the same Nature, we read only in *Baronius*, *Platina*, *Anastasius*, *Ciaconius*, &c. and my Design is, as I have declared in the Preface, to follow the Antients alone, in the History of the antient Popes; and therefore I shall take no notice of what the Moderns advance, unless I find it supported by the Authority of the original Writers.

TRAJAN,

ALEXANDER,

ADRIAN.

Fifth BISHOP of Rome.

SIXTUS is placed, by *Optatus Milevitanus* ^g, immediately after *Evaristus*; but that is certainly a Mistake, owing, in all likelihood, ^{Year of Christ 109.} to those who transcribed him, since *Irenæus* ^h, *Eusebius* ⁱ, *Epiphanius* ^k, and even St. *Augustin* ^l, who follows *Optatus* in every thing else relating to the Popes, place *Alexander* between *Evaristus* and *Sixtus*. *Irenæus* reckons *Alexander* the Fifth Bishop of *Rome*; so

^a Buch. p. 270. ^b Euseb. l. 3. c. 34. ^c Euseb. chron. l. 4. c. 1. ^d Idem, l. 3. c. 34. ^e Bar. ann. 112. ^f Idem, ann. 121. ^g Opt. l. 2. p. 48. ^h Iren. l. 3. c. 6. ⁱ Euseb. l. 4. c. 1. ^k Epiph. hæ. 27. c. 6. ^l Aug. ep. 165.

that

Alexander
not a Mar-
tyr.

The Institu-
tion of Holy
Water falsely
ascribed to
him.

that we agree with the most authentic and unexceptionable Writer of Antiquity in excluding *St. Peter*, and supposing *Cletus* and *Anacletus* to be one and the same Person ^m. *Alexander* governed Ten Years and some Months, and died in the Third Year of *Adrian*, and 119 of Christ ⁿ. We can learn nothing of the Antients concerning him: he is worshiped indeed by the Church of *Rome* as a Martyr; but that Title is not given him by *Irenæus*: and as for the Venerable *Bede*, who ranks him among the Martyrs, he was led into that Mistake by *The Acts of St. Alexander*, which, in the Opinion of Dr. *Pearson*, were composed in the Seventh Century, but are now universally rejected as fabulous. *Platina* ascribes to Pope *Alexander* the Institution of *Holy Water* ^o, which *Baronius* takes very much amiss of him, since he thereby robs the Apostles of an Honour due to them; for by the Apostles, in his Opinion, was first introduced the Use of *Holy Water* ^p. But if we trace up this *Holy Water* to the Fountain-head, we shall find that it arises from an unhallowed Spring, from the *Lustral Water* of the Pagans; for Peace being restored to the Church by *Constantine*, the Christians began, as a modern Writer well observes ^q, to adopt the Ceremonies of the *Gentiles*. Several Cities in *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, &c. pretend to have Reliques of this Pope, inso-much that, were they all put together, they would form at least twenty intire Bodies ^r.

ADRIAN.

S I X T U S,

Sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 119.

THE Successor of *Alexander* is named *Sixtus* by *Optatus* ^s, and *St. Augustin* ^t; but by *Irenæus* ^u, *Eusebius* ^w, *Epiphanius* ^x, and *Jerom* ^y, *Xystus*: which Word has some Signification annexed to it in *Greek*; whereas *Sixtus* has none either in *Greek* or *Latin*. He presided Ten Years, according to *Eusebius* ^z, but not complete; for he was raised to the See in the Third Year of *Adrian*, of Christ 119. and died in the Twelfth Year of the same Prince, about the latter End

^m Euseb. l. 5. c. 6.

ⁿ Idem, l. 4. c. 5.

^o Platin. in ej. vit.

^p Bar.

ad ann. 132. N. 3.

^q Le Sueur, hist. de l'Egl. & de l'Emp. ad ann. 108.

^r Vid. Bolland. 3. Maii, p. 370. & Baillet vies de Saints, 3 de Maii.

^s Opt. l. 2.

p. 48.

^t Aug. ep. 53.

^u Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

^w Euseb. l. 4. c. 4.

^x Epiph. hæ. 27. c. 6.

^y Hier. chron.

^z Euseb. l. 3. c. 3.

of

Telephorus.

BISHOPS of Rome.

23

of the Year of Christ 128 ^a. He is ranked among the Martyrs in the Canon of the Mass, and in all the Martyrologies: but his immediate Successor is the first to whom that Title is given by *Irenæus*. To *Sixtus* are ascribed two Decretals, but both forged in latter Ages, as *Decretals* plainly appears from *De Marca*, from *Baluzius*; and above all, from *falsely ascribed to Sixtus*. the haughty Title of *Universal Bishop*, which *Sixtus* is made to assume in one of them: a Title, as *F. Pagi* is forced to confess, unknown to the Bishops of the primitive and best Times ^b. The Title of *Universal* would be better adapted to the Reliques of this Pope, *His Reliques*. than to his Episcopacy; for they are dispersed all over the Roman Catholic World: but *Baillet* himself looks upon them as false, and unworthy of the Worship that is paid to them, not excepting even those that were given by *Clement X.* to Cardinal *De Retz*, who caused them to be placed with great Solemnity in the Abbey of *St. Michael* in *Lorrain* ^c.

ADRIAN,

TELESPHORUS,

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Seventh BISHOP of Rome.

SIXTUS was succeeded by *Telephorus* (or, as some style him, *Thelephorus*), the Seventh Bishop of the See of *Rome* ^d. To *Year of Christ 128.* him is ascribed, in some Editions of the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, the Institution of *Lent* ^e; but in none of the best Editions Mention is made of such an Institution, and scarce in any Manuscripts ^f. *Baronius* endeavours to prove, that this Fast was instituted by the Apostles, and that *Telephorus* established it for ever by a Decree; but his Arguments are so weak, that he deserves rather to be pitied than answered. He introduces too early the Bishops of *Rome* issuing Decrees, and prescribing Laws to the whole Church. *Telephorus* was the first Bishop of *Telephorus Rome* who suffered Death for the Christian Religion, seeing *Irenæus* ^{the first Bishop of Rome} distinguishes him with the Title of Martyr ^g, which this Author gives *Martyr*, to none of his Predecessors; but as to the Particulars of his Death the

^a Euseb. l. 4. c. 4, & 5.

^b Pagi in vit. Sixt.

^c Baill. ib. 6. d'Avril.

^d Iren. l. 3. c. 3. Euseb. l. 4. c. 5.

^e Bar. ad ann. 154.

^f Not. Scal. in

chron. 216. Not. Pont. in chron. p. 612.

^g Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

Antients

Antients have left us quite in the Dark. He suffered in the Eleventh Year of his Pontificate, the First of *Antoninus Pius*, and 139 of Christ ^h.

ANTONINUS PIUS. **H Y G I N U S,**
Eighth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 139.

The Two He-
retics, Va-
lentine and
Cerdo, come
to Rome.

HYGINUS, the Successor of *Telesphorus*, governed the Church but Four Years, and those not complete; for, in 142, we find *Pius* already in that See ⁱ. In his Time the two famous Heretics, *Valentine* and *Cerdo*, came to *Rome*; the former from *Egypt*, and the latter from *Syria*, to display their new Doctrine in that great Metropolis. *Hyginus* no doubt opposed them with all the Zeal of a primitive Bishop; but, in spite of his Zeal, they gained a great many Profelytes to their heterodox Opinions ^k. His Infallibility, had it been then known and believed, would have soon put a Stop to the growing Evil. The Church of *Rome* honours *Hyginus* among her Martyrs, but none of the Antients give him that Title. To him is ascribed the Use of Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptism, and the Ceremony of Consecrating Churches; but upon no better Grounds than the Two Decretals are fathered upon him, which are, by all the Learned, rejected as spurious. *Hyginus* died in the Year 142, the Fourth or Fifth of *Antoninus Pius*; and is supposed to have been buried near *St. Peter* ^l.

ANTONINUS PIUS. **P I U S,**
Ninth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 142.

ANICETUS is placed next to *Hyginus* by *Optatus* ^m, *St. Augustin* ⁿ, and *Epiphanius* ^o: But who would not, with *Eusebius* ^p, rather follow *Irenaeus* ^q, and *Hegesippus* ^r, naming *Pius* immediately after *Hyginus*, since the former wrote in the Time of *Eleutherius* the Se-

^h Euseb. l. 4. c. 10.

ⁱ Idem, l. 4. c. 11.

^k Iren. l. 3. c. 4. Philas. c. 44.

Epiph. hær. 41. c. 1.

^l Bolland. April. p. 22.

^m Opt. l. 2. p. 48.

ⁿ Aug. ep. 53.

^o Epiph. hær. 42.

^p Euseb. l. 5. c. 24.

^q Iren. l. 3.

c. 3.

^r Apud Euseb. l. 4. c. 22.

cond Bishop after *Anicetus*; and the latter lived at *Rome* in the Time of *Anicetus*, and continued there till the Pontificate of *Eleutherius*.

In the Time of *Pius*, *Marcion*, a Native of *Pontus*, and the Son of a Bishop of the holy Catholic Church, says *Epiphanius* ¹, being ^{Marcion comes to Rome.} excommunicated by his Father for debauching a Virgin, and finding he could by no means prevail upon the venerable Prelate to receive him again into the Church, abandoned his native City, supposed to be *Sinope*, and fled to *Rome*. Upon his Arrival there, he applied to the Elders of that Church, intreating them to admit him to their Communion. But those holy Men, who had been taught by the Disciples of the Apostles, instead of complying with his Request, returned him this Answer; We cannot admit you without Leave from your holy Father; nor can we, as we are all united in the same Faith, and the same Sentiments, undo what our holy Collegue your Father has done.—Thus *Epiphanius* ^u. Had *Bellarmino* lived in those Days, he had taught them another Doctrine, a Doctrine which, however necessary, the Apostles had forgot to deliver to their Disciples; viz. That the See of *Rome* was raised above all other Sees; that the Appeals of the whole Catholic Church were to be brought to it; that no Appeals were to be made from it; that it was to judge of the whole Church, but be judged by none. *Marcion* did not apply to *Pius*, as the Reader must have observed, or at least did not apply to him alone, but to the Elders, who disclaimed all Power of reversing the Sentence of a particular Bishop or Judge. And is not this an evident and incontestable Proof that the Power of receiving Appeals was not known, or thought of, in those Days? And yet, who would believe it? *Bellarmino* has the Assurance to allege this very Case as an Argument to prove in the Pope a Power of receiving Appeals ^w. But what would become of this Prerogative, should the Pope return the same Answer to every Appellant? ^{The Power of receiving Appeals disowned by the Church of Rome.}

Pius governed the Church for the Space of Fifteen Years, and died in 157. the Twentieth of *Antoninus* ^x. The *Roman* Martyrology tells us, that he was martyred in the Persecution of *Antoninus Pius*; but in that Prince's Reign there was no Persecution; nor is the Title of Martyr given him by *Irenæus*. *Baronius* ascribes to this Pope a Decree, commanding the Festival of *Easter* to be kept on *Sunday*, and quotes the Chronicle of *Eusebius* ^y. This Decree is indeed men- ^{Pius no Martyr.} ^{Writings ascribed to him.}

¹ Epiph. hæret. 42. c. 1.
l. 4. c. 11.

^u Idem ib.
^y Bar. ad ann. 159.

^w Bell. l. 2. c. 21.

^x Euseb.

tioned in some Editions of that Writer; but *Scaliger* assures us, that no Mention is made of it in any Manuscript Copy; and therefore he has left it out in his Edition^z. As to the Celebration of *Easter*, it is manifest from *Irenæus*, that though *Pius*, as well as his Predecessors *Sixtus*, *Telesphorus* and *Hyginus*, differed from the Bishops of *Asia*, yet they did not on that Account separate themselves from their Communion^a. On this Pope are fathered several spurious Pieces, viz. some Decrees, Two Letters ranked among the Decretals, and Two more written to *Justus* Bishop of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*. The Decrees, as well as the Decretals, are universally rejected; and yet *F. Pagi* quotes one of them to prove the real Presence in the Sacrament^b. The two Letters to *Justus* are deemed genuine by *Baronius*^c, by Cardinal *Bona*^d, and by *Blondel* in his Treatise of the Sibyls^e, who nevertheless suspects them elsewhere^f. On the other hand, they are absolutely rejected as false by Dr. *Pearson*^g, by *Cotelerius*^h, and *Natalis Alexander*ⁱ, who discover several Expressions in them that were not in Use till some Ages after, and a great many Incoherences. To say with *Le Sueur*, That they were written originally in *Greek*, and in latter Times translated into *Latin*^k, is but a poor Evasion. As for the Fable of *Hermes*, the Brother of *Pius*, who, by the Command of an Angel appearing to him in the Disguise of a Shepherd, is said to have written a Book shewing, that *Easter* ought to be kept on *Sunday*, I refer the Reader to *Platina*, and such-like Writers.

ANTONINUS,

ANICETUS,

M. AURELIUS.

Tenth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 157.
St. Polycarp
comes to
Rome, and
reclaims
many from
the Errors of
Marcion.

P *PIUS* was succeeded by *Anicetus*, in whose Time *Valentine* the Heretic, who came to *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Hyginus*, and had gained many Profelytes under *Pius*, continued sowing his pestilential Errors among the Members of that Church: but many whom he had seduced, were reclaimed by St. *Polycarp*, formerly the Disciple of St. *John* the Evangelist, and then Bishop of *Smyrna*. His declaring to

^z Euseb. chron. not. Scal. p. 119.^a Euseb. l. 5. c. 24.^b Pagi in Pio, n. 2.^c Bar. ad ann. 166.^d Bona rer. liturgic. l. 1. c. 3.^e Blond. l. 2. c. 6.^f Idem de la primauté.^g Pearf. in Ign. l. 2. p. 170.^h Cotel. not. in script.

Apoff. p. 42, 43.

ⁱ Nat. Alex. t. 1. p. 89.^k Sueur. hist. de l'Egl. &c. ad

ann. 149.

them,

them, that the Doctrine taught by the Church was the Doctrine he had learnt of the Apostles, made such an Impression on their Minds, that they abjured the Errors of *Valentine*, and returned to the Communion of the Faithful ^l. They preferred the bare Word of *Polycarp*, who claimed no Infallibility, to the infallible Authority of *Hyginus*, *Pius*, and *Anicetus*. This is a plain Proof, that the Popes had not yet begun to exert their Infallibility; or, if they had, that it was not acknowledged. What brought St. *Polycarp* to *Rome* was the Controversy about the Celebration of *Easter*, which at this Time began to grow very warm between the Eastern and Western Churches ^m. All the Churches of the East, and amongst the rest that of *Smyrna*, kept *Easter* on the 14th Day of the Moon of the first Month, in Conformity to the Custom of the *Jews*: on the other hand, *Anicetus* would neither conform to that Custom himself, nor suffer any under his Jurisdiction to conform to it, obliging them to celebrate that Solemnity on the *Sunday* next following the 14th of the Moon. That this Dispute might not occasion a Schism in the Church, *Polycarp* undertook a Journey to *Rome*, in order to confer with the Bishop of that City, who was the chief Opposer of the *Quartodecimans* ⁿ. But it happened in this, as it does in most religious Disputes, they parted, each retaining his own Way of thinking; but at the same time, what happens but seldom, without the least Breach of that Charity which is the great and fundamental Law of our holy Religion. In Token whereof they communicated together at the holy Sacrament; nay, *Anicetus*, out of Respect to St. *Polycarp*, yielded to him the *Eucharist* ^o; that is, gave him Leave to consecrate the *Eucharist* in his own Church: after which they parted in Peace, though both determined to follow the antient Practice of their respective Churches ^p. St. *Polycarp*, though well acquainted with the Doctrine of the Apostles, was a Stranger, it seems, to that of *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, &c. viz. that the whole Catholic Church is bound to conform to the Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of the Church of *Rome*.

In the Time of *Anicetus*, *Hegesippus*, and the celebrated Martyr *St. Justin*, came to *Rome*, upon what Occasion is uncertain. The former continuing there to the Pontificate of *Eleutherius*, wrote a Book on the Doctrine which in that Church had been conveyed down from the Apostles to *Anicetus*, and was still observed, says he, in all its

Anicetus and he disagree about the Celebration of Easter, but part without Breach of Charity.

Hegesippus and St. Justin at Rome.

^l Iren. l. 3. c. 3. & l. 1. c. 24.
l. iv. c. 14.

^o Euseb. l. 5. c. 23, 24.

^m Euseb. l. 4. c. 13.

^p Idem ib.

ⁿ Iren. apud Euseb.

original Purity ^q. The latter opposed with great Zeal *Marcion*, and his Followers, publishing a Book against his pernicious Tenets, and against Heresies in general ^r. It was at *Rome* that he had frequent Conferences with *Crescens* the *Cynic*, a Man of some Note at that Time; but, according to the Genius of his Sect, proud, surly, conceited, and a declared Enemy to all who professed the Christian Religion, which he painted in the blackest Colours ^s. The Malice of this *Cynic* procured in the End for our zealous and learned Apologist what he had long and most ardently wished, the Glory of sealing with his Blood the Truth, which he had so strenuously defended and promoted with his Pen ^t. He suffered under *Marcus Aurelius* and *L. Verus* about the Year 167. towards the End of the Pontificate of *Anicetus*.

To this Pope are ascribed by *Anastasius*, *Platina*, *Ciaconius*, and other modern Writers, several Ordinances and Decrees; but as they are not mentioned by any of the Antients, we do not think them worthy of our Notice. *Anicetus* governed the Church, according to *Eusebius* ^u, Eleven Years, from the Year 157. to the 8th Year of *M. Aurelius*, that is, to 168. of the Christian Æra. *Raban*, *Florus*, and *Anastasius*, suppose him to have died for the Profession of the Faith; which was, it seems, unknown to *Irenæus*. He was buried, according to some, near *St. Peter*, in the *Vatican*, according to others, in the Burying-place of *Calixtus* ^w; out of which, though it is uncertain whether he was buried there or no, his Head was taken in *His Reliques*. 1590. and given by *Urban VII.* to the *Jesuits* of *Munich* in *Bavaria*, where it is yearly, with great Solemnity, exposed to public Adoration on the 17th of *April*, the Anniversary, as is supposed, of his Death: his Body was taken out of the same Place in 1604. and given by *Clement VIII.* to the Duke of *Altaemps*, who caused it to be conveyed to the Chapel of his Palace in *Rome*, and to be deposited there in a Marble Tomb, formerly the Tomb of the Emperor *Alexander*; where it is worshiped to this Day.

^q Euseb. l. 4. c. 11.

^r Just. Apol. 2. p. 70.

^s Tatian. orat. cont. Græc.

p. 160.

^t Euseb. l. 4. c. 16. Epiph. hæ. 46. c. 1.

^u Euseb. l. 4. c. 19.

^w Vide Bolland. April 17, & 22.

M. AURELIUS.

S O T E R,

Eleventh BISHOP of Rome.

SOTER, the Successor of *Anicetus*, is highly commended on account of his extensive Charity towards the Poor of other Churches, but more especially towards those who were condemned for the Confession of their Faith to work in the Mines ^x. These he is said not only to have relieved in their Distress with generous Gatherings made for that Purpose at *Rome*, wherein he followed the Example of his Predecessors, but moreover to have sent Letters to them in their afflicted Condition. This we learn from a Letter of *Dionysius*, then Bishop of *Corinth*, which was an Answer to a Letter from *Soter*, and the Church of *Rome*. *Dionysius* returns Thanks to the *Romans*, and their Bishop, for their Generosity to the Poor of *Corinth*; acquaints *Soter* that his Letter had been publicly read; adds, that he shall cause it to be read for the future; and closes his Epistle with great Encomiums on the *Romans*, who had so generously contributed to the Support of the indigent *Corinthians* ^y. This laudable Custom did not end with the Second Century of the Church; for *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, writing about the Year 254. to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, says, that all *Syria* and *Arabia* felt the good Effects of the Generosity of the *Romans* ^z. And some Years after, that is about the Year 260. Pope *Dionysius* being informed, that the City of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* had been ruined by the Wars, and many Christians carried into Captivity, he sent large Sums to ransom them, with a Letter to the Church of *Cæsarea*, which was still read in *St. Basil's* Time ^a. *Eusebius* tells us, that this Custom continued till the last Persecution ^b. How differently the immense Revenues of the See of *Rome* are employed now, those know who have seen the extravagant Pomp, Luxury, and Parade of that Court. In the Year 171. the Fourth of *Soter*, was broached the Heresy of the *Montanists*, so called from their Ringleader *Montanus* ^c. Against these *Soter* is said, by an anonymous Writer of some Antiquity, to have composed a Book, which was answered, according to the same Writer, by *Tertullian*, become

Year of
Christ 168.His Charities
to the
distressed
Christians.The Heresy
of Montanus
broached in
his Time.^x Euseb. l. 4. c. 23.^y Idem ib.^z Idem, l. 7. c. 5.^a Basil. ep. 220.^b Euseb. l. 4. c. 23.^c Euseb. chron.

He did not
die a Mar-
tyr.

the Defender of that Sect ^g: but, according to the best Chronologists, *Tertullian* did not turn *Montanist* till many Years after the Death of *Soter*; and, besides, both *Soter's* Book, and *Tertullian's* Answer to it, were quite unknown to *Eusebius*, and even to St. *Jerom*, who took great Delight in reading *Tertullian*. *Soter* presided Eight Years, according to *Eusebius* ^h; that is, from the Year 168. to 176. or to the Beginning of 177. the 17th Year of the Reign of *M. Aurelius*. The Title of Martyr is given him by the modern Writers, but not by *Irenæus*, or any of the Antients. To him are falsely ascribed Two Epistles, which have been placed among the Decretals. Where he was buried is uncertain; but his Body is worshiped, at present, in the Church of St. *Sylvester* at *Rome*, and in the Cathedral of *Toledo* in Spain ⁱ.

M. AURELIUS, **ELEUTHERIUS**, COMMODUS.

Twelfth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 176.

The Martyrs
of Lions
write to
Eleutherius.

ELEUTHERIUS was Deacon of the Church of *Rome* in 168. when *Hegesippus* came to that City ^a; but *Soter*, the Successor of *Anicetus*, being dead, he was chosen to govern the Church in his room ^b. It is certain, that his Election was known in *Gaul* before the Death of the Martyrs of *Lions*, so famous in ecclesiastical History; for the Controversy, which had been raised some Years before in the Churches of *Asia*, by *Montanus* and his Followers, concerning the prophetic Spirit, to which they pretended, making at that time a great Noise in the Church, the Martyrs of *Lions*, desirous to contribute, so far as in them lay, to the public Peace, wrote Letters, from their Prisons, to the Churches of *Asia*, and likewise to *Eleutherius*, Bishop of *Rome*, declaring their Judgment and Opinion in the Case ^c: for great Honour was paid, in those Times, to the Martyrs, and their Opinion was always received with Esteem and Veneration. It were much to be wished, that *Eusebius* had set down their Opinion at Length; but he contents himself only with saying, that it was intirely agreeable to true Piety, and to the orthodox

^a Auſt. anonym. de hæref. a Sirmund. edit. hæf. 26. 86. p. 28. 79. p. 153.

¹ Bar. in martyrol. 22 April. et Bolland. ad eund. diem.

c. 22. Hier. vir. ill. c. 22.

^b Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

^c Euseb. l. 3. c. 3.

^h Euseb. l. 5.

ⁱ Euseb. l. 4.

Faith d; which, in my Opinion, is enough to make us reject the Notion of Dr. *Pearson*, who takes it for granted, that they wrote in Favour of those Fanatics, and that for no other Reason but because they are said, by *Eusebius*, to have written for the Peace of the Church e. Was the admitting of false Prophets, and false Prophecies, giving Peace to the Church? The same Writer adds, that *Eleutherius* was induced, by the Reverence and Regard he had for the holy Martyrs, to receive the Prophecies of *Montanus*, and his Two Prophetesses f. But herein I must beg Leave to disagree with that learned Writer, and likewise with Dr. *Cave* g; for it was not, in my Opinion, *Eleutherius*, but his Successor *Victor*, who received the Prophecies of *Montanus*. *Tertullian*, the only Author who informs us, that the Dreams of that Enthusiast were approved by the Bishop of *Rome*, does not distinguish that Bishop by his Name; so that he is to be found out only by Reasoning and Chronology. Now, on one hand, we read in *Tertullian*, that *Montanus* had been opposed by the Predecessors of the Bishop, who embraced his Opinions h; and, on the other, in *Eusebius* i, that the Heresy of *Montanus* was first broached in the Year 171. the Eleventh of the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, and the Fourth of the Pontificate of *Soter*, the immediate Predecessor of *Eleutherius*; these Two therefore, and these alone, were the Bishops, who could oppose *Montanus*; and, since the first Broaching of that Heresy, the only Predecessors of the Bishop who embraced it. *Victor*, the Successor of *Eleutherius*, was greatly provoked against the *Asiatic* Bishops, on account of their refusing to comply with the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, in the Celebration of *Easter*; and therefore might, out of Spite to them, approve of the Opinions which they had condemned: for *Montanus*, and his Followers, had been already condemned, as *Eusebius* informs us k, by several Synods held in *Asia Minor*. No Opinion is now deemed heretical, unless condemned by the Bishop of *Rome*, who claims that Prerogative as peculiar to himself; but the Synods of *Asia*, the first mentioned in History, after that of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, condemned the Opinions of *Montanus*, and cut him off from their Communion, without consulting or even acquainting therewith, the Bishop of *Rome*. But, to return to the Martyrs; some are of Opinion, that they condemned, in their

Eleutherius
did not ap-
prove the
Prophecies of
Montanus.

Councils held
without con-
sulting the
Bishop of
Rome.

d Euseb. ib.
p. 164.

e Pearf. post. p. 255.

f Tert. in Prax. c. 1.

per Labb. t. 1. p. 599.

g Idem ib.

h Euseb. in chron.

i Cave Lives of the Fathers,

k Idem, l. 5. c. 16. Con.

Letters, the Tenets of *Montanus*, and his Followers; but, at the same time, wrote in their Favour, so far as to intreat the Bishops of *Asia*, and *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, to treat them with Indulgence, and admit them, upon Repentance, to their Communion ^l. This is but a bare Conjecture, not authorized by any of the Antients; and we don't find, that the *Montanists* ever shewed the least Inclination to return to the Communion of the Church.

Florinus
and Blaſtus
broach their
new Do-
ctrine.

It was in the Pontificate of *Eleutherius*, that *Florinus* and *Blaſtus* first broached their new Doctrine; which was readily embraced by many at *Rome*; for they were both Presbyters of that Church ^m. *Florinus* was first one of the Emperor's Officers in *Asia*, afterwards the Disciple of St. *Polycarp*, then famous all over that Province; and, lastly, Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*; but both he and *Blaſtus* were degraded on account of their heretical Opinions, and cut off from the Communion of the Faithful ⁿ. Against *Florinus*, *Irenæus*, then Bishop of *Lions*, wrote a Letter, intituled, *Of Monarchy, or that God is not the Author of Evil* ^o; and another Piece called, *De Ogdoede*, that is, *of the Eight*; meaning, perhaps, the Eight *Eons*, or Persons that composed the chimerical Divinity of the *Valentinians*; for *Florinus* fell at last into that Heresy ^p. Against *Blaſtus*, whom *Pacian* surnames the *Greek* ^q, *Irenæus* wrote a Book, intituled, *Of Schism* ^r. *Ado* ^s and *Bede* ^t tell us, that *Eleutherius* issued a Decree, ordaining *Easter* to be kept on the *Sunday* after the 14th of the first Moon; but as no mention is made of such a Decree, by any Writer of those Times, their Authority is of no Weight.

The Conver-
sion of Lu-
cius, a Bri-
tish King.

Lucius, a *British* King, is said, by *Bede*, to have written to Pope *Eleutherius*, intreating him to send a proper Person into *Britain*, to instruct him in the Mysteries of the Christian Religion; which the Pope readily granted ^u. But as this is vouched only by *Bede*, who lived many Ages after him, and by a Pontifical, supposed to have been written about the Middle of the Sixth Century, what Credit the whole History of *Lucius* may deserve, I leave the Reader to judge. Such a remarkable Event could not have escaped *Eusebius*, who, speaking of this very Period of Time, tells us, that, at *Rome*, many Persons, eminent for their Birth and Wealth, embraced the Christian

^l Vide Dupin. Biblioth. p. 287.

^m Euseb. l. 5. c. 14.

ⁿ Idem ib. c. 15. 20.

^o Idem ib.

^p Fleuri hist. Ecclef. l. 3. c. 26, 27. p. 395. 397.

^q Pacian. ep. 1.

^r Euseb. ib. c. 20.

^s Ado ad ann. 194.

^t Bed. chron. t. 2. p. 111.

^u Bed. hist.

l. 1. c. 4. et chron. t. 2. p. 111.

Religion, with their whole Families w. A solemn Embassy from a *British* King, and his Conversion, surely deserved a Place in the History of the Church. He informs us, that, in the Reign of *Commodus*, and the Pontificate of *Eleutherius*, the Christian Religion enjoyed a profound Tranquillity all over the World; that it flourished, and attracted, to use his Expression, the Minds of many People x. Had he not here a favourable Opportunity of mentioning our Royal Profelyte, who, in the Reign of *Commodus*, is supposed to have written to *Eleutherius*, and by his means to have been converted to the Christian Religion? To what can we ascribe the Silence of such an exact and accurate Writer, concerning an Event which would have greatly recommended both his History, and the Christian Religion? To an invincible Antipathy, says the Jesuit *Alford* y, which he bore to the Name of *Britain*, and which was so prevalent in him, that he chose rather to suppress the Conversion of *Lucius* than mention it. But what could thus set *Eusebius* against *Britain*? Had he been ever injured by the *Britons*? Does he not elsewhere mention both them and their Country? This jesuitical, absurd, and groundless Speculation, which must expose the Author of it to the Ridicule of every Reader; I should perhaps have let pass unobserved, had he not in this very Place insulted, beyond the Bounds of common Decency, the Reformers of Religion, for rejecting some idle Ceremonies, which he supposes to have been practised at the Conversion of *Lucius*. But, not to lay the whole Stress on the Silence of *Eusebius*, and other antient Writers, to whom King *Lucius* was utterly unknown, why should he have been at the Trouble of sending to *Rome* for an Instructor? Were there not many in his own Kingdom as capable of instructing him as any *Rome* could send? The Christian Religion had been planted in this Island long before the Reign of *Lucius*, in the Time of the Apostles, as *Gildas* seems to insinuate z, at least very early in the Second Century; for *Origen*, who flourished in the Beginning of the Third, tells us, that the Virtue of the Name of *Jesus* had passed the Seas, to find out the *Britons* in another World a.

The short Account, which *Bede* gives us of the Embassy and Conversion of King *Lucius*, has not only been greedily swallowed by the monkish Writers, who came after him, but has served as a Ground plot to the innumerable Fables with which they have filled this Part

*The whole
Account fa-
bulous.*

*Several
monkish Fa-
bles concern-
ing King Lu-
cius.*

w Euseb. l. 5. c. 21.
ex. c. 6. p. 116.

x Idem ib.

y Annal. ad ann. 182. p. 140.

z Gild.

a Orig. in Luc. hom. 6.

of their Histories. They even tell us the Names of the Embassadors sent by *Lucius* to the Pope, and of the Legates *a Latere* sent by the Pope to *Lucius*. The former were *Elvanus* and *Medwinus*, who, being ordained Bishops by *Eleutherius*, returned to *Britain*, and greatly contributed to the Conversion of this Island. These Fables gained Credit, by Degrees, in those Ages of Ignorance and Superstition, insomuch that the Two Embassadors were at last ranked among the Saints; and their Bodies, where or when found, nobody knows, exposed to public Veneration, in the Monastery of *Glassenbury*, on the First of *January* ^b. The Pope's Legates were *Fugacius* and *Damianus*, who, as we are told, went back to *Rome*, to obtain of *Eleutherius* a Confirmation of what they had done; and, from *Rome*, returned into *Britain*, with a Letter from the Pope to King *Lucius* ^c. As for the King himself, he is said to have quitted his Kingdom, and, turning Missionary, to have preached the Gospel in *Germany*, especially at *Ausburgh*; to have travelled from thence into the Country of the *Grisons*; and, lastly, to have been ordained Bishop of *Coire*, their Metropolis; and to have died there a Martyr ^d. To these monkish Fables King *Lucius* owes a Place among the Saints; for on the Third of *December* is kept, in the Church of *Rome*, the Festival of *Lucius*, King of the Britons, who died at *Coire* in *Germany* ^e: these are the Words of the *Roman Martyrology*; but *Bede* does not so much as mention him in his; a plain Proof, that what is said of his Preaching, of his Martyrdom, &c. was invented after that Writer's Time. And yet *Alford* has not only filled his Annals with these, and such-like fabulous Accounts, giving an intire Credit to them, but inveighs, with great Acrimony, against those who have not the Gift of Belief in the same Degree with himself, especially against *Dempster*, telling him, that till his Time the Conversion of *Lucius* had never been questioned by any Man of Sense or Learning ^f. And truly, the Story of King *Lucius* has been credited even by the greater Part of Protestant Writers, out of Respect to our venerable Historian; but as he wrote many Ages after the pretended Conversion of that Prince, and none of the Writers of those Days, whom such a remarkable Event could hardly have escaped, give us the least Hint of it, we may be well allowed to question the Whole, notwithstanding the Authority

^b Vide Ush. Brit. eccles. antiq. c. 4. et Bolland. 1. Jan.

land. 26 Maii. Ush. ib. p. 54. 102.

^c Bar. ad ann. 183. Bolland. 26 Maii. Ush. ib. p. 54. 102.

^d Vide Ush. ib. p. 137, 138.

^e Martyr. Rom.

3 Decem.

^f Alf. ad ann. 201. p. 201.

of *Bede*, which can be of no Weight with respect to Transactions that are said to have happened in Times so remote.

Eleutherius governed, according to the best Chronologers, Fifteen Years; and died in 192. the last of the Emperor *Commodus* 8. To him are ascribed a Decretal, addressed to the Bishops of *Gaul*, and a Decree, declaring against *Montanus*, and his Followers, that no Food was forbidden to the Christians; but both are deemed spurious. He was buried, according to some, in the *Salarian Way*, according to others, in the *Vatican*; but, in what Place soever he was buried, his Body is now worshiped in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, in the Cathedral of *Troia* in *Apulia*, and in several other Places ^b. The Title of Martyr is given him by the Church of *Rome*, but not by any of the antient Writers. Under him flourished *Hegesippus*, who wrote, in Five Books, an Account of what had happened in the Church since our Saviour's Death, to his Time ⁱ. He came to *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, who was chosen in 157. and, remaining there to the Time of *Eleutherius*, who succeeded *Anicetus* and *Soter* in 177. he wrote a Book on the Doctrine received by Tradition in that Church ^k; but neither of these Works has reached our Times.

COMMODUS,
PERTINAX,

V I C T O R,

SEVERUS.

Thirteenth Bishop of Rome.

VICTOR, the Successor of *Eleutherius*, is counted by a Writer, who at this very time lived in *Rome*, the Thirteenth Bishop of that City ^l: so that neither is *St. Peter* reckoned among them, nor is *Cletus* distinguished from *Anacletus*. In *Victor's* Time a new Heresy was broached at *Rome* by one *Theodotus* of *Byzantium*, denying the Divinity of *Christ* ^m. The *Theodotians* gave out, that *Victor* favoured their Doctrine ⁿ; which he did, perhaps, at that Time ^o; though he cut them off afterwards from his Communion. Be that as it will, he can by no means be cleared from another Imputation, namely, that of owning and approving the prophetic Spirit of *Montanus*, and his Two Prophetesses, *Prisca* and *Maximilla*: for *Ter-*

Peter not
in Rome

X

The Heresy
of Theo-
dotus.

Victor ap-
proves the
prophetic
Spirit of
Montanus.

^l Euseb. chron. Florent. p. 811.

^b Bolland. 26 Maii, p. 364.

ⁱ Hier. vir. ill.

c. 22. ^k Idem ib. et Euseb. l. 4. c. 11. 22.

^l Vide Euseb. l. 5. c. 28.

^m Epiph.

haer. 54. c. 1. Euseb. l. 5. c. 28.

ⁿ Euseb. ib.

^o Idem ib.

His Infalli-
bility, how
defended by
Baronius and
Bellarmine.

fallibility
of Pope.

tullian, his Contemporary, tells us, in express Terms, that he received their Prophecies; that, upon receiving them, he gave Letters of Peace to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*; but that one *Praxeas*, just come from those Parts, giving him a false Account of those Prophets, and their Churches, and remonstrating, that by approving them, he condemned his Predecessors, prevailed upon him to revoke the Letters, which he had already written in their Behalf. Thus *Tertullian*, who was then himself become a Follower of *Montanus* ^p. Here *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, the Two great Advocates for the Pope's Infallibility, are put to a Stand: they own, and cannot help owning, that the Pope was deceived, and imposed upon; but, for all that, will not give up his Infallibility. How great is the Power of Prejudice and Prepossession! They find the Pope actually erring, and yet maintain, that he cannot err. But this Apostasy from common Sense, if I may be allowed the Expression, is not, perhaps, so much owing to Prejudice, as to something worse; for no Prejudice, however prevalent, can withstand the indisputable Evidence of plain Matters of Fact. It is no new thing, says *Baronius*, nor what ought to cause in us the least Surprise, that a Pope should be over-reached by Impostors ^q. A Pope over-reached in Matters of Faith! What then becomes of Infallibility? or what is the Use of it? But the *Montanists*, says *Bellarmino* ^r, craftily concealed from the Pope what was erroneous and heretical in their Prophecies; so that he, discovering nothing in their Doctrine repugnant to that of the Church, believed they had been unjustly accused to, and condemned by, his Predecessors. But, in the first Place, *Tertullian* tells us, in express Terms, that the Prophecies of *Montanus*, and his Followers, were approved by the Pope; whereas the Prophecies, which he is supposed by *Bellarmino* to have approved, were not the Prophecies of *Montanus*, but others, quite different, and in every respect orthodox. In the second Place, if *Victor* believed, that the *Montanists* had been unjustly condemned by his Predecessors, he did not believe them infallible; so that, in every Light, this Fact oversets the pretended Infallibility. We may add, that, if the Pope's Infallibility depends upon a right Information, and neither he nor we can know whether he has been rightly informed, his Infallibility is thereby rendered quite useless; since, in every particular Case, we may

^p Tert. in Prax. c. 1.
c. 8.

^q Bar. ad ann. 173. n. 4.

^r Bell. de sum. Pont. l. 4.

doubt,

doubt, and that Doubt cannot be removed, whether the Information, upon which he acts, was right, or no.

But what most of all distinguished the Pontificate of *Victor* was, ^{The famous Controversy about the Celebration of} the famous Controversy about the Celebration of *Easter*, between the Eastern and Western Bishops; the former keeping that Solemnity on the 14th Day of the first Moon, on what Day soever of the Week it happened to fall; and the latter putting it off till the *Sunday* following. This, surely, could not be a Point of any Consequence, since the Apostles had not thought fit to settle any thing concerning it; nay, by observing the Paschal Solemnity themselves, some on the one Day, and some on the other, as it is manifest they did^s, they plainly declared, that it was quite indifferent on what Day it was observed. Accordingly, from the Apostles Time to *Victor's*, each Church had followed the Custom and Practice established by their respective Founders, without giving the least Disturbance to others, or being, on that Account, disturbed by them^t. Pope *Anicetus* even suffered such of the *Asiatics* as happened to be at *Rome*, to celebrate *Easter* after the manner of *Asia*^u: *Soter*, indeed, and his Successor *Eleutherius*, obliged those who lived at *Rome* to conform to the Custom of that Church; but that did not prevent their sending the *Eucharist*, or Sacrament, to the Bishops who followed the opposite Practice^w; for a Custom then obtained among Bishops to send the *Eucharist* to each other, especially at *Easter*, in Token of Communion and Peace; but this Custom was suppressed by the 14th Canon of the Council held in the Fourth Century at *Laodicea*^x. *Victor*, not satisfied with what his Two immediate Predecessors had done, took upon him to impose the *Roman* Custom on all the Churches that followed the contrary Practice. But, in this bold Attempt, which we may call the first Essay of Papal Usurpation, he met with a vigorous and truly Christian Opposition from *Polycrates*, at that Time Bishop of *Ephesus*, and one of the most eminent Men in the Church, both for Piety and Learning. He had studied, says *Eusebius*^y, the Scriptures with great Attention, had conferred with Christians from all Parts of the World, and had ever conformed his Life to the Rules of the Gospel. *Jerom* speaks of him as a Man of excellent Parts, and one universally respected^z. In the present Controversy, he peremptorily refused

Pope tries to impose his will on others.

Victor's haughty Conduct.

Is opposed by the Bishop of Ephesus,

^s Euseb. l. 5. c. 23. 25. Socrat. l. 5. c. 21. Epiph. haer. 70. c. 10. ^t Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. ^u Idem ib. ^w Idem ib. c. 20. ^x Concil. per Labb. t. 1. p. 150. ^y Euseb. l. 5. c. 22. et 24. ^z Hier. vir. ill. c. 45.

and by a
Council of all
the Bishops
of Asia mi-
nor.

He cuts them
off from his
Communion.

No Regard
had to his
Excommuni-
cation.

He is cen-
sured by Ire-
næus.

to relinquish the Practice of his own Church, which had been first introduced by the Apostles *St. John* and *St. Philip*, and had been handed down to him by Seven Bishops of his own Family ^a. Hereupon *Victor*, impatient of Contradiction, wrote a Letter, threatening to cut him off from his Communion, unless he forthwith complied with the Practice of the Church of *Rome* ^b. *Polycrates*, greatly surpris'd at the hasty Proceedings of his Fellow-Bishop, assembled in *Ephesus* a Council of all the Bishops of *Asia minor*, when it was unanimously resolv'd, that the Practice, which they had received from their Predecessors, ought not to be chang'd ^c. Agreeably to this Resolution, *Polycrates* writ to *Victor*, acquainting him therewith; and, at the same time, modestly insinuating, that, as to his Menaces, he had better forbear them, since they had no manner of Effect upon him, or his Brethren ^d. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Victor*, giving the Reins to an impotent and ungovernable Passion, published bitter Invectives against all the Churches of *Asia*, declared them cut off from his Communion, sent Letters of Excommunication to their respective Bishops; and, at the same time, in order to have them cut off from the Communion of the whole Church, writ to the other Bishops, exhorting them to follow his Example, and forbear communicating with their refractory Brethren of *Asia* ^e. They all complied, to be sure, with the Desire of the Head of the Church, who had Power to command; but, out of his great Moderation, chose to exhort and advise! No; not one followed his Example, or Advice; not one paid any sort of Regard to his Letters, or shew'd the least Inclination to second him in such a rash and uncharitable Attempt; but, on the contrary, they all joined, as *Eusebius* assures us ^f, in sharply censuring and rebuking him, as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church. Among the rest *Irenæus*, then Bishop of *Lions*, writ him an excellent Letter, putting him in mind of the Moderation of his Predecessors, and telling him, that though he agreed with him in the Main of the Controversy, yet he could not approve of his cutting off whole Churches, for the Observance of Customs, which they had received from their Ancestors. He writ, at the same time, to many other Bishops ^g, no doubt, to dissuade them from joining the Bishop of *Rome*. However that be, it is certain, that, by this means, the

^a Euseb. l. 5. c. 24.

^b Idem ib.

^c Idem ib.

^d Idem ib. Hier. vir. ill.

c. 45.

^e Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. Socrat. l. 5. c. 22.

^f Euseb. ib.

^g Euseb. ib. et

Socrat. l. 5. c. 22.

Storm was laid, a Calm was restored to the Church, and the *Asiatics* allowed to follow undisturbed their antient Practice ^b. But Pope *Victor*, says *Baronius* ⁱ, excommunicated the *Asiatics*, which he would never have ventured to do, had he not known, that he had Power and Jurisdiction over them. The Argument may be thus retorted against him: The *Asiatics* made no Account of his Excommunication; ^{Had no Power over the Asiatics.} which they would not have ventured to do, had they not known, that he had no Power nor Jurisdiction over them. Besides, *Victor* did not excommunicate them, as that Word is now understood; that is, he did not cut them off from the Communion of the Catholic Church; for all the other Bishops continued to communicate with them, as they had done before; he only separated himself from their Communion, which was no more than every Bishop had Power to do. *Victor* being thus baffled in his Attempt, his Successors took care not to revive the Controversy; so that the *Asiatics* peaceably followed their antient Practice till the Council of *Nice*, which, out of Complaisance to *Constantine the Great*, ordered the Solemnity of *Easter* to be kept every-where on the same Day, after the Custom of *Rome* ^k.

This Dispute happened, not in the Reign of *Commodus*, as we read in the *Synodicon* ^l, but in the Fourth Year of the Reign of *Severus*, as *St. Jerom* informs us ^m, of Christ 196. *Victor*, of whom we find nothing else in the Antients worthy of Notice, died Five Years after ⁿ, *Victor dies*, that is, in the Ninth of the Emperor *Severus*, and in the End of 201. or the Beginning of 202. of Christ, having governed the Church Ten Years. He is named, by *St. Jerom*, the first among the Ecclesiastical Authors that wrote in *Latin* ^o. He published a Piece, on the Controversy about the Celebration of *Easter*, and some other Books on religious Subjects, which were still extant in *St. Jerom's* Time ^p. As for the Two Decretals that are ascribed to him, and the Two Letters to *Desiderius* and *Paracoda*, both Bishops of *Vienne*, they are universally rejected ^q. The Church of *Rome* has placed *Victor* among her Saints; and truly, his Attempt, however unsuccessful to promote the Power and extend the Jurisdiction of that See, deserved no less a Reward.

^b Euseb. ib. Hier. vir. ill. c. 35. Phot. c. 120. Cypr. ep. 75. Anast. p. 445. ⁱ Bar. ad. ann. 198. n. 10. ^k Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 18. Soz. l. 1. c. 16. Concil. l. 3. c. 18, 19. p. 492. ^l Concil. Labb. t. 1. p. 601. ^m Hier. vir. ill. c. 43. et chron. ⁿ Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. Hier. chron. ^o Hier. de vir. ill. c. 34. 40. ^p Idem ib. ^q Pearf. posth. p. 91, 92. Bosquet. l. 3. c. 5.

Council of Nice
fixed date of Easter

His Works.

Pieces falsely
ascribed to
him.

Decrees
Rejected

He is sainted.

SEVERUS,
CARACALLA,
GETA,

ZEPHYRINUS,

MACRINUS,
DIADUMENUS,
HELOGABALUS.

Fourteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 201.A dreadful
Persecution
against the
Christians.Zephyrinus
opposes the
Theodotian
Heretics.The Heresy
of Praxeas.Origen at
Rome.

IN the first Year of the Pontificate of *Zephyrinus*, who succeeded *Victor*, a dreadful Persecution was raised against the Christians by the Emperor *Severus*, and carried on with great Cruelty in all Parts of the Empire. *Zephyrinus*, however, had the good Luck to escape it, and to see the Church, by the Death of that Prince, happily delivered from the Evils, which the Rage of her foreign Enemies had brought upon her. But her domestic Enemies gave her no Respite; the *Theodotian* Heretics continued sowing, and not without Success, their pestilential Errors at *Rome*. *Zephyrinus*, it seems, opposed them with great Vigour and Zeal; for they reproached him, as we read in *Eusebius* ^c, as the first who had betrayed the Truth, by maintaining against them the Divinity of *Christ*: hence he is ranked, by *Optatus*, with *Tertullian*, *Victorinus*, &c. among those who have successfully defended the Catholic Church ^b. *Baronius*, to extol *Zephyrinus*, ascribes to him the first Condemnation of *Praxeas* ^c, which was followed by a solemn Retraction under his own Hand. But it was in *Africa*, and not at *Rome*, that *Praxeas* was condemned, as appeared plain to me, from the Words of *Tertullian* ^d, before I had seen either *Pamelius* or *Moreau*, who understood them in that Sense. *Praxeas*, as we have observed above, had done an eminent Piece of Service to the Church of *Rome*, by reclaiming Pope *Victor* from the Heresy of *Montanus*: but the Good he had done on that Occasion was over-balanced by the Mischief his new Heresy occasioned both at *Rome* and in *Africa*; for in both Places he gained many Profelytes. He denied all Distinction of Persons in the Godhead, so that the Father being, according to his Doctrine, the same Person with the Son, it was he who took upon him human Nature, and suffered on the Cross; whence his Followers were called *Patropassians* ^e.

In the Pontificate of *Zephyrinus*, and, as *Eusebius* seems to insinuate, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Caracalla*, that is, towards the Year 211. or 212. came to *Rome* the celebrated *Origen*, being

^a Euseb. l. 5. c. 28.
in Prax. c. 1. p. 634.^b Opt. l. 1. c. 27.^c Cat. Græc. Patr. c. 53.^e Bar. ad ann. 196. n. 20.^d Tert.

desirous, as he himself declared, to see that Church, so venerable for its Antiquity and Renown; but, after a very short Stay there, he returned to *Alexandria*^f. About the same time happened, at *Rome*, *Famous Dis-*
the famous Dispute between *Caius*, a Presbyter of that Church, and *pute, at*
Proclus, a leading Man among the *Montanists*^g. *Caius* committed *Rome, be-*
to Writing the Reasons and Arguments on both Sides^h; but that *tween Caius*
Piece has not reached our Times, though it was well known to *Euse-*
bius, who styles it a Dialogueⁱ, and likewise to *Theodoret*^k.

It was during the Pontificate of *Zephyrinus* that *Tertullian*, the *Tertullian*
great Defender of the Christian Religion, fell off from the Catholic *falls off*
Church. His Fall, which was lamented by all the Faithful as a *from the*
common Loss, is ascribed, by *St. Jerom*, to the Envy and ill *Church.*
Usage he met with from the *Roman* Clergy^l. But how ill soever
he was used by them in those Days, he has perhaps met with
worse Treatment at their Hands in latter Times; for they call upon
him as an Evidence, to witness the Pope's universal Jurisdiction,
and to confirm to him the haughty Titles, which he assumes; but
with how little Reason, will appear from the following Relation:
A Catholic Bishop had, by a public Declaration, admitted Persons
guilty of Adultery and Fornication to a Place among the Penitents. *The Titles of*
As *Tertullian* was a strict Observer of Rites and Discipline, and a most *High Pon-*
zealous Asserter of the greatest Rigours of Religion, he could not *tiff, &c. whe-*
brook so much Moderation and Indulgence: and therefore, in his *ther, and in*
Book *De Pudicitia*, which he wrote on that Occasion, he extols the *what Sense,*
Severity of the antient Discipline, aggravates the Greatness of those *given by*
Offences, undertakes to confute the Arguments for Remission and *Tertullian*
Indulgence; and, speaking of the above-mentioned Declaration, he *to the Bishop*
calls it a *peremptory Decree*, and styles the Bishop, who made it, *of Rome.*
high Pontiff, and *Bishop of Bishops*^m. Hence the Advocates for the See
of *Rome* infer, that, even in those early Times, such Titles were
given to the Bishop of *Rome*, and that his Decrees were even then
deemed peremptoryⁿ; But in the first Place, it is uncertain whether
that Declaration was published by the Bishop of *Rome*, or by some
other great Bishop, perhaps of *Carthage*, of *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*;
for no Bishop is named by *Tertullian*. In the second Place, it is evi-
dent from the Context, that, in the above-mentioned Passage, *Tertul-*

^f Euseb. l. 6. c. 14.^g Euseb. l. 6. c. 14. Hier. vir. ill. c. 59.^h Idem ib.c. 20. ⁱ Idem, l. 3. c. 31.^k Theod. hæret. fab. l. 3. c. 2.^l Hier. vir. ill.c. 53. ^m Tert. de Pudic. c. 1.ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 216. n. 5, 6, &c.

lian speaks ironically; and consequently all that can be inferred from thence is, that he gave those Titles to the Catholic Bishop, whoever he was, by way of Derision; or if the Bishop had assumed them in his Declaration, he took from thence Occasion to expose his Vanity and Ambition. *Baronius*, and the Flatterers of the Bishops of *Rome*, triumph in this Passage of *Tertullian*; from which however nothing can be inferred in Favour of that See, unless they prove, which they can never do, that the above-mentioned Declaration or Decree was published by the Bishop of *Rome*; that those Titles, which raise him above other Bishops, were Part of the Decree; and lastly, that *Tertullian* mentioned them as due to him, and not by way of Sarcasm, ironically reflecting on his Pride and Ambition.

Zephyrinus
not a Martyr.

As to the Actions of *Zephyrinus*, the Antients have left us quite in the Dark; and we cannot depend on what we read in the modern Writers. He governed about Seventeen Years, and died in the first Year of *Helioabalus*, and 218. of the Christian *Æra*°. In the *Roman* Martyrology he has a Place among the Martyrs, which puts *Baronius* himself to a Stand p, since the Church enjoyed a profound Tranquillity from the Death of *Severus* to the End of his Pontificate.

HELIOGABALUS, CALLISTUS, ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

Fifteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 219.

The Emperor
Alexander
favourable to
the Christi-
ans.

Z*ephyrinus* was succeeded by *Callistus*, or *Callixtus*, as he is styled by *Optatus*^a, and *St. Austin*^b. In his Time the Church enjoyed a long, happy, and uninterrupted Peace, as *Tertullian* calls it^c, which lasted from the Death of *Severus* in 211. to the Reign of *Maximinus* in 235. as did also the State from the Death of *Macrinus* in 218. to the Year 233. *Alexander*, who succeeded *Helioabalus* in 222. proved extremely favourable to the Christians, and even allowed them, if I mistake not the Meaning of a profane Writer, the free Exercise of their Religion^d: it is at least certain, that he adjudged to them, against the Tavern-keepers, a Piece of Ground, which it is pretended they

^a Euseb. l. 6. c. 21. & chron. p. 48.
Alex. p. 121.

^b Aug. ep. 53.

^p Bar. ad ann. 221. n. 1, 2.
^c Tert. de cor. mil.

^a Opt. l. 2.
^d Lamprid. in vit.

had usurped upon the Public, saying, when he gave Sentence in their Favour, that it was better God should be served on it in any Manner, than that it should be occupied by Tavern-keepers^e; which was giving them Leave to serve God on it after their own Manner. On this Spot of Ground *Baronius* supposes *Callistus* to have built a Church in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, known at present by the Name of *Santa Maria in Trastevere*, that is, *Saint Mary beyond the Tyber*^f. But the Pontifical of *Damasus*, upon which alone he founds his Opinion, deserves no Credit, as I shall shew in the Life of that Pope.

Callistus is said by *Anastasius* ^g to have inclosed a large Piece of Ground on the *Appian Way*, to serve as a Burying place for the Christians. This Ground is frequently mentioned in the Martyrologies, and described at Length by *Arringhus*, who tells us, that 174000

Callistus's
Burying-
place.

Martyrs, and 46 Popes, were buried in it^h. Though *Alexander* was of all the Pagan Emperors the most favourable and indulgent to the Christians, as is evident from all the antient Writers, both Christians and Pagans, yet he is represented in the Martyrologies, and in the Acts of some Martyrs, especially of *Callistus*, to which *Bede* gave an intire Creditⁱ, as the most barbarous and inhuman Tyrant that ever shed Christian Blood. If we reject these Acts, and we must either reject them, or the Authority of the most unexceptionable Writers among

The Acts of
Callistus de-
serve no Cre-
dit.

the Antients, we expunge at once above 300 Martyrs out of the Catalogue of Saints worshiped to this Day by the Church of *Rome*, upon the bare Authority of such Acts. Among these are the Consul *Palmatius*, with his Wife, his Children, and Forty-two of his Domestics; the Senator *Simplicius*, with his Wife, and Sixty-eight of his Domestics: and, what will be an irreparable Loss, the so much celebrated St. *Cecilia*, in whose Honour Churches have been erected in every Christian Kingdom. *Baronius*, not presuming on one Side to question the Emperor *Alexander's* Kindness to the Christians, which would be giving the Lye to all the Antients, but, on the other, looking upon it as a Sacrilege to rob the Church of so many valuable Reliques, ascribes the cruel Usage they are supposed to have met with in that Prince's Reign, not to him, but to *Ulpian* the celebrated Civilian, who flourished under him^k. But in those Acts the Martyrs are said to have suffered unheard-of Torments, there minutely de-

Many Saints
ought to be
expunged out
of the Cata-
logue.

^e Idem ib. p. 131.

^h Arring. l. 3. c. 11.
ann. 226. n. 4.

^f Bar. ad ann. 224. n. 4, 5.

ⁱ Bed. Martyr. 10 Maii, 14 Oct.

^g Anast. in vit. Call.

^k Bar. ad

scribed, by the exprefs Command of the Emperor *Alexander*. Besides, could *Alexander* be said to have favoured the Christians, could the Christians be said to have enjoyed a happy Tranquillity under him, had one of his Officers persecuted them with the utmost Cruelty in his Name, and by his Authority? *Baronius*, not remembring, it seems, that in this Place he had charged *Ulpian* with all the Cruelties against the Christians, supposes elsewhere^l several Martyrs to have suffered in the Reign of *Alexander*, after the Death of *Ulpian*. *Bede*, 'tis true, has followed these Acts; but they are not on that Account at all the more credible, since he often follows Pieces which are now universally given up as supposititious. The very first Words of these Acts are sufficient to make us suspect the Truth of them; for they begin thus; *In the Time of Macrinus and Alexander*—How come these two Princes to be joined together? *Macrinus* reigned with his Son *Diadumenus*, and *Heliogabalus* between them and *Alexander*. Soon after the Consul *Palmatius* is said to have been condemned without any Form of Judgment, without so much as being heard; whereas *Herodian* assures us, that *Alexander* was a strict Observer of the Laws; and that no Criminal was condemned in his Reign, but according to the usual Course of Law, and by Judges of the greatest Integrity^m. *Callistus*, if we give Credit to his Acts, was kept a long time Prisoner in a private House, where he was every Day cruelly beaten by the Emperor *Alexander's* Orders, and at last thrown headlong out of the Window into a Well. The Acts are evidently fabulous, but *Callistus* nevertheless is worshiped among the Martyrs; and the Waters of the Well, which is to be seen at *Rome* in the Church that bears his Name, are said to cure all sorts of Diseases to this Day. He governed the Church Five Years, and died in the Latter-end of the Year 223ⁿ. the Third of the Emperor *Alexander*. His Body is exposed to public Adoration on the Tenth of *May*, in the Church of *St. Mary*, beyond the *Tyber*, at *Rome*^o, and in that of our Lady at *Rheims*^p. Two Decretals are ascribed to *Callistus*, and likewise the Institution of the Ember-Weeks, but without the least Foundation.

Callistus not
a Martyr.

ore Bunk

erect ungrounded.

^l Idem ad ann. 232. n. 11.

c. 21. & in chron.

Theod. l. 4. c. 1, 2. 6. 8.

^m Herod. l. 6. p. 575. 588.

^o Bolland. 10. Maii, 498, 499.

ⁿ Euseb. l. 6.

^p Arring. l. 2. c. 12.

URBANUS,

ALEXANDER.

URBANUS,

Sixteenth BISHOP of Rome.

ALL I can find in the Antients concerning *Urban*, the Successor of *Callistus*, is, that, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, both Church and State enjoyed a profound Peace under the Emperor *Alexander*; that he held the Chair near Seven Years, and died about the Middle of the Year 230⁹. Great and wonderful Things are related of him in his Acts, and in those of *St. Cæcilia*; but such Acts are evidently fabulous, since, in Opposition to all the Antients, they represent the Emperor *Alexander* as a most cruel Persecutor of the Christian Name. *Urban* himself is supposed to have suffered under him, and placed accordingly by the Church of *Rome* among her Martyrs. His Body is now worshiped in an Abbey of his Name in the Diocese of *Chalons* on the *Marne*, and in the Church of *St. Cæcilia* at *Rome* ^s.

Year of
Christ 223.The Acts of
Urbanus fa-
bulous.

ALEXANDER,

PONTIANUS,

MAXIMINUS.

Seventeenth BISHOP of Rome.

PONTIANUS succeeded *Urban* in 230. and governed, according to the Pontifical of *Bucherius* (A), Five Years, Two Months, and Seven Days; that is, from the 22d of *July* 230. to the 28th of *September* 235^t. In the Second Year of his Pontificate, the famous

Year of
Christ 230.

^s Euseb. l. 6. c. 26.
Bolland. 25 Maii.

^r Bed. Martyr. & Boll. 25 Maii.
Bolland. April. t. 1. p. 25.

^s Eric. l. 1. c. 12.

(A) This Pontifical, well known to *Cuspinian*, *F. Petau*, and other Chronologers, was published by *Bucherius* the Jesuit, in 1633. with the *Paschal Cycle of Victorius*. It is a Catalogue of the Bishops of *Rome*, from the Foundation of that See to the Time of *Liberius*, who was chosen in 352. As the Election of *Liberius* is marked, and not his Death, the Catalogue is supposed by some to have been written in his Time. His Election is marked thus; *Liberius fuit temporibus Constantii ex die xi. Kalendas Junias in diem — a Consulibus Constantio V.*

& *Constantio Cæsare*—By *Constantius Cæsar* is meant *Gallus*, the Son of *Julius Constantius*, who, by his Father *Constantius Chlorus*, was Half-brother to *Constantine the Great*. *Gallus* was raised by the Emperor *Constantius* to the Dignity of *Cæsar* in the Year 351. on which Occasion he gave him his own Name (1), and the following Year took him for his Collegue in his Fifth Consulship, as appears from *Idatius*, from *Prosper*, and from the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. The above-mentioned Pontifical is very faulty in the Times preceding

(1) *Aurel. Vict.* p. 518. *Socr.* l. 2. c. 28.

Origen de-
posed.

famous *Origen* was deposed and excommunicated by *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and the Sentence approved of by most other Bishops, especially by the Bishop of *Rome*, who assembled, it seems, his Clergy

ceding the Pontificate of *Pontianus*, who was chosen in 230. nay, if we believe *Bucherius*, *Anicetus*, *Eleutherius*, and *Zephyrinus*, are omitted in it. I said, *If we believe* *Bucherius*; for *Bollandus*, another Jesuit, who perused the same Manuscript, assures us, that he found there the Names of those three Bishops, which *Bucherius* assures us were not to be found there (2). Which of two Jesuits is the honefter is hard to determine in any Case, but impossible in this, unless the original Manuscript should be produced, which both perused. *F. Pagi*, the *Franciscan*, seems to favour *Bucherius*; for he complains of *Bollandus* for interpolating the Manuscript, and not publishing it with all its Faults and Chasms, as *Bucherius* had done. But then he does not tell us, that he had seen the original Manuscript. *Bollandus* on the other hand complains of *Bucherius* for undervaluing such an unvaluable Piece; and settles by it his whole Chronology of the Popes, pretending it to have been sent by Pope *Damasus* to St. *Jerom* (3). But for this the only Ground he has are some Letters from *Damasus* to St. *Jerom*, and from *Jerom* to *Damasus*, which, by the best Judges, are all thought supposititious. But even allowing it to have been sent by *Damasus* to St. *Jerom*, that ought not to recommend it more to our Esteem than it did to his; and he seems to have paid very little Regard to it: for in his Book of *Illustrious Men*, which he wrote after the Death of *Damasus*, he places *Clement* after *Anacletus*, though that Pontifical puts *Anacletus* after *Clement* (4).

What I have hitherto said is to be understood with respect to the Times preceding the Pontificate of *Pontianus*; for, from his Time, the Pontifical of *Bucherius* is almost quite exact to the End, that is, to the Election of *Liberius*; and the more exact, the nearer it comes to his Time. I said *almost*, for it is not even thenceforth free from all Faults; but it has fewer than any other antient Record that has reached us; and it is on this Consideration that, from the Time of *Pontianus*, I have preferred it to all

others. With respect to his Predecessors, I have adopted the Chronology of *Eusebius*, where it does not appear that he was mistaken; for that he was mistaken in some Points, is but too plain; and, for aught we know, he may have been so in many others. But as in those dark Times we have no authentic Records, no indisputable Authorities, to depend on, I thought it more adviseable to tread in the Footsteps of so famous and antient a Writer, than, by attempting to open a new Way, perplex and confound both myself and the Reader, as *Pearson*, *Dodwell*, and *Pagi*, have done. And it was not, I must own, without some Concern, that I found a Man of Dr. *Pearson's* Learning reduced, by undervaluing the Authority of *Eusebius*, to take for his Guide a Writer of no Authority at all, viz. *Eutychius* of *Alexandria*, who flourished so late as the Tenth Century, and is only famous for his Blunders, even in what relates to his own Church.

To the Pontifical were annexed, in the same antient Manuscript, several other small Pieces; viz. 1. A List of the Consuls from the Year 205. to 354. with the Epacts, Bissextile Years, and the Day of the Week, with which each Year began. There are some Mistakes in the Epacts, but the rest is done with great Exactness. 2. Another List of the Consuls and Governors of *Rome*, from the Year 254. to 354. 3. A short Necrology of the Bishops of *Rome*, in which are marked, according to the Order of the Months, the Day on which each of them died, and the Place where he was buried. It begins with *Lucius*, and ends with *Julius*. In this List, *Sixtus II.* and *Marcellus* are omitted; the latter probably by a Mistake of the Transcriber, confounding him with his Predecessor *Marcellinus*; and the former, perhaps, because he is set down in the Calendar of Martyrs annexed to the Necrology. These Pieces, as well as the Pontifical, all end at the Year 354. whence Cardinal *Noris* (5) and others are of Opinion, that they were written that Year.

(2) Bolland. Apr. t. 1. p. 22—24.
de vir. illustr. c. 15.

(3) Bolland. ib. p. 3. n. 10.
(5) Fast. consular. p. 23.

(4) Hier.

on that Occasion: For what else could St. *Jerom* mean, by telling us, that *Rome assembled her Senate against Origen*^u? The calm and quiet Days, which the Church had for some Years enjoyed, especially under *Alexander*, expired almost with the Pontificate of *Pontianus*; for that excellent Prince being assassinated in the Month of *May 235*. *Maximinus*, who succeeded him, out of Hatred to him, began to persecute with great Cruelty the Christians, whom he had so much favoured, especially the Bishops^x. *Pontianus* among the rest was banished *Rome*, and confined to the unwholesome Island of *Sardinia*^y, where he died the same Year on the 28th of *September*, but of what Kind of Death is not well known^z.

The Persecution of Maximinus.

Pontianus banished to Sardinia.

MAXIMINUS.

A N T E R U S,

Eighteenth Bishop of Rome.

ANTERUS, the Successor of *Pontianus*, presided only One Month and Ten Days, and died on the 3d of *January 236*^a. Year of Christ 235. Some modern Writers place one *Cyriacus* between him and *Pontianus*; but their Opinion, founded on the Authority of the fabulous Acts of St. *Ursula*, is sufficiently confuted by *Eusebius*^b, *Optatus*^c, St. *Augustine*^d, and *Nicephorus*^e, who all name *Anterus* as the immediate Successor of *Pontianus*. The Shortness of his Pontificate, and the cruel Persecution carried on by *Maximinus*, give us room to believe, that he died a Martyr, which Title is given him in the Martyrologies of St. *Jerom* and *Bede*^f. Anterus probably dies a Martyr.

MAXIMINUS,
GORDIAN,

F A B I A N U S,

PHILIP,
DECIUS.

Nineteenth Bishop of Rome.

FABIANUS, called by the Greeks, *Fabius*, by *Eutychius*^z, and in the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Flavianus*^h, was, according to *Eusebius*, miraculously chosen for Successor to *Anterus*; for he tells us, Year of Christ 236.

^u Ruf. in Hier. l. 2. p. 225. ^z Oros. l. 7. c. 19. ^x Vide Hallo. vit. Orig. p. 20. ^a Vide Boll. Apr. t. 1. p. 25. ^b Boll. pont. p. 28—32. ^b Euseb. l. 6. c. 22. ^c Opt. contr. Par. l. 2. ^d Aug. ep. 165. ^e Niceph. chron. ^f Vide Flor. p. 995—997. ^g Euty. p. 384. ^h Chron. Al. p. 630.

His miraculous Election.

That the People and Clergy being assembled in order to proceed to a new Election, a Dove, unexpectedly appearing, settled, to the great Surprize of all present, on the Head of *Fabianus*, who was not so much as thought of, being but a Layman, as appears from the Account, and not an Inhabitant of *Rome*, but just then come out of the Country. At this Prodigy the whole Assembly cried out with one Voice, *Fabianus is our Bishop*; and, crouding round him, placed him without further Delay on the Episcopal Throne.—Thus *Eusebius*ⁱ: and to his Account is owing the modern Notion, that the Pope is always chosen by the Holy Ghost. *What happened in the Election of St. Fabianus (says Cardinal Cusani) happens in the Election of every Pope. 'Tis true we do not see the Holy Ghost with our corporeal Eyes; but we may and must see him, if we are not quite blind, with those of the Mind. In vain therefore, O eminent Electors, are all your Intrigues; the Person, on whose Head the heavenly Dove is pleased to perch, will, in spite of them, be chosen*^k. In the Sequel of this History, we shall see such Monsters of Iniquity elected, and by such scandalous Practices, that to imagine the Holy Ghost any-ways concerned in the Election would be absolute Blasphemy.

Fabianus worthy of the Dignity to which he was raised.

As for *Fabianus*, he seems to have been well worthy of the Post to which he was raised; for the famous Bishop of *Carthage*, St. *Cyprian*, in Answer to the Letter, wherein the Clergy of *Rome* gave him an Account of the glorious Death of their Bishop, calls him *an excellent Man*; and adds, that *the Glory of his Death had answered the Purity, Holiness, and Integrity of his Life*^l. From the Pontifical of *Bucherius* we learn, that he appointed Seven Deacons over the Fourteen Regions, or Wards, into which *Rome* was then divided^m, to take care of the Poor, says *Baronius*ⁿ. We read in other more modern Pontificals, that he named Seven Subdeacons to overlook the Seven Notaries, who are supposed to have been first appointed by Pope *Clement*, and whose Province it was to commit to Writing the Actions and Speeches of the Martyrs. It is manifest from St. *Cyprian*^o, as Dr. *Pearson* well observes, that in the Time of *Cornelius*, the Successor of *Fabianus*, the Church of *Rome* had Seven Subdeacons, to whom St. *Cyprian* recommended the strictest Exactness in marking the Day of each Martyr's Death^p. As for taking down their Speeches, which

Some of his Regulations.

ⁱ Euseb. l. 6. c. 29. ^k Card. Cus. de meth. consistorii, c. 7. p. 85. ^l Cypr. ep. 4. & 31. ^m Buch. cycl. 271. ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 112. n. 9. ^o Cyp. ep. 37. p. ^p Pearf. posth. p. 19.

some seem to object to, the Art of writing in Short-hand was well known in those Times. *Eusebius* tells us, that by *Tiro*, *Cicero's* Freed-man, 'were first invented certain Marks, which stood not only for whole Words, but intire Sentences ^q. But this Invention is, by *Dio*, ascribed to *Mecenas*, who ordered his Freed-man *Aquila* to make them known to all who cared to learn them ^r. Of their wonderful Quickness in writing, with the Help of these Marks, *Martial* takes Notice, in one of his Distichs, saying, How fast soever the Tongue may run, the Hand runs faster ^s.

Baronius ^t and *Bollandus* ^u ascribe to *Fabianus* the Conversion of the Emperor *Philip*, and his Son; adding, from the Acts of *Pontius* the Martyr, that he pulled down the great Temple of the Romans, that he dashed to Pieces their Idols, and converted the whole City. What a Pity that such wonderful Feats should have been passed over in Silence by *Eusebius*, and all the Antients! As for the Conversion of *Philip*, and his Son, it is questioned by many, and very justly, the Silence of *Eusebius* alone being an unanswerable Evidence against it; but all agree, that if he was instructed and converted by *Fabianus*, he did no great Honour either to his Instructor, or his Religion. In the Latter-end of the Year 249. the Emperor *Philip* being killed by the rebellious Soldiery at *Verona*, *Decius*, who was raised to the Empire in his room, began his Reign with the most dreadful Persecution that had ever yet afflicted the Church. *Fabianus* was one of the first that fell a Victim to the implacable Hatred this Emperor bore to the Christian Name. He was put to Death on the 20th of January 250. while *Decius* was Consul the second time, together with *Gratus*, after having governed the Church Fourteen Years, one Month, and Ten Days ^w.

The Death of *Fabianus* was followed by a Vacancy, which lasted at least Sixteen Months, the Christians being either imprisoned, or so dispersed, that they could not assemble to chuse a new Bishop. During this Interval, the Clergy, that is, the Presbyters and Deacons, took upon themselves the Care and Administration of all Ecclesiastical Matters; and, being informed by *Clementius*, Subdeacon of the Church of *Carthage*, who came to *Rome* about *Easter* in 250. that St. *Cyprian* had been obliged, by the Fury of the Persecution, to withdraw for a

^q Euseb. in chron. ann. 246. n. 9.

^r Dio Olymp. 193. ann. 4.

^s Mart. l. 14.

^t Bar.

^u Boll. 20. Jan. p. 253.

^w Buch. cycl. p. 267.

Said to have converted the Emperor Philip.

Fabianus martyred in the Persecution of Decius.

The See vacant, Year of Christ 250.

Twentieth Bishop of Rome.

AFTER the See had been vacant for the Space of Sixteen Months, ^{Year of Christ 251.} *Cornelius*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, was at last elected ^z, on the 4th of *June* 251. according to the most probable Opinion ^a. He was, according to St. *Cyprian* ^b, a Man of an unblemished Character, and, on account of his peaceable Temper, his great Modesty, his Integrity, and many other eminent Virtues, well worthy of the Dignity to which he was raised. He did not attain at once, says the same Writer, to the Height of the Priesthood, but after he had passed through all the inferior Degrees, agreeably to the Discipline of the Church. He was so far from using Intrigues, from intruding himself by Violence, as some have done, that Violence was necessary to make him accept the Dignity offered him. He was ordained Bishop, continues St. *Cyprian*, by some of our Collegues, who, being then at *Rome*, conformed to the Judgment of the whole People and Clergy ^c. As *Decius* was still alive, who had declared, that he had rather bear with a Competitor to his Crown, than with a Bishop of *Rome* ^d, the Christians, in all Likelihood, laid hold of the Opportunity, which the Revolt of *Valens* gave them, to chuse a new Bishop; for this very Year *Julius Valens* revolting, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in *Rome* ^e; and though he held the Empire but a very short time, yet his Revolt might divert *Decius* for a while from persecuting the Christians.

Though *Cornelius* was chosen by the unanimous Voice of the People and Clergy, yet *Novatian*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, who aspired to the same Dignity, not only refused to acknowledge him; but having gained a considerable Party among the People, Five Presbyters, and some Confessors, he wrote in their Name and his own to St. *Cyprian*, and no doubt to many other Bishops, laying heinous Crimes to the Charge of *Cornelius*; namely, his having sued for a Protection from the Pagan Magistrates, which was ranking him among the *Libellatici*, who were excluded from all Dignities and

^a Euseb. chron. & l. 6. c. 33. Opt. l. 2. Aug. ep. 165, &c.
Cyp. an. p. 29. n. 6. ^b C. pr. ep. 52. ^c Idem ib.

^e Aur. Vict.

^a Vide Pearl.
^d Idem ep. 52.

St. Cyprian
calls a Council,

which acknowledges
Cornelius.

Resolutions of
the Council of
Africa concerning the
Lapsed.

Employments in the Church. St. *Cyprian* having received this Letter, and at the same time one from *Cornelius*, acquainting him with his Election, as was customary in those Times among Bishops, he caused the one to be read in a full Assembly of the People and Clergy, but suppressed the other, looking upon it as a scandalous Libel ^f. However, to prevent the Calumnies and false Reports that might be spread abroad by *Novatian* and his Partisans, he assembled a Council of all the Bishops of his Province, who, hearing of the Schism in the Church of *Rome*, resolved to send thither two of their Body, who should carefully inform themselves of what had passed in the late Election, and on their Return make a faithful Report of all they had learnt. Pursuant to this Resolution, *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, Two *African* Bishops, were dispatched to *Rome* with Letters from the Council to the Clergy of that City, and to the Bishops who had been present at the Ordination of *Cornelius*. The Bishops no sooner received these Letters than they answered them, assuring their Brethren in *Africa*, that *Cornelius* had been lawfully chosen; and at the same time commending him as a Person, on account of his extraordinary Piety, and exemplary Life, most worthy of the Dignity to which he had been raised. Their Testimony was soon after confirmed by *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus* returning from *Rome*, and likewise by *Stephanus* and *Pompeius*, Two *African* Bishops, who had assisted at the Ordination of *Cornelius*; so that he was universally acknowledged all over *Africa* &c.

The *African* Bishops no sooner acknowledged *Cornelius* than they acquainted him with the Resolutions, which they had taken in their late Council, with respect to the Lapsed. The Substance of these was, That such as had yielded to the Fury of the Persecution ought not to be abandoned, lest, giving themselves up to Despair, they should fall into a total Apostasy; but should be re-admitted to the Union of the Church upon a sincere Repentance, and after a long Penance: that the Time of their Penance should be shortened, or prolonged, according to the Nature of their Crimes; that is, the *Libellatici* should have a shorter Time assigned them; and the *Sacrificati*, called also *Thurificati*, who had actually offered Sacrifice, or Frankincense, to Idols, should not be admitted till they had expiated their Offence by a very long Penance; but that both the *Libellatici* and *Sacrificati*

^f Idem ep. 42.

^g Idem ep. 41, 42, 45.

should

should be taken in, before the Time of their Penance was expired, if at the Point of Death, or even thought to be in Danger ^h. As to fallen Bishops, they were to be dealt with in the same Manner; and, after due Penance, or, as it is sometimes called, Satisfaction, be admitted only in a Lay Capacity ⁱ. *Cornelius* did not, upon the Receipt of these Determinations or Decrees, step into his oracular Chair, and thence, as an infallible Judge, condemn or approve them. Such arbitrary Proceedings would not have been well relished by the Bishops of *Africa*, nor even by his own Clergy, who not long before had declared, That a *Decree could not be binding without the Consent and Approbation of many*. He therefore acted on this Occasion as *St. Cyprian* had done, as other Bishops did afterwards; that is, he assembled a Council, which *Eusebius* calls a *great Council* ^k; for it consisted of Sixty Bishops, and a great Number of Priests, Deacons, and Laymen, who, in those Times, were admitted to all Councils ^l. By this Venerable Assembly were the Decrees of the Council of *Africa* examined and approved, and then sent to be in like-manner examined and approved by other Bishops, till the whole Church had agreed to them ^m.

At the Council of *Rome* assisted among other Presbyters *Novatian*, but as he maintained, in Opposition to the whole Assembly, that the Lapsed were to be admitted upon no Terms or Satisfaction whatsoever, but should be left to the Divine Tribunal, he was himself cut off from that Communion, which with an invincible Obstinacy he denied to others ⁿ. Provoked at this Sentence, he readily gave Ear to the Insinuations of *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Carthage*, who had fled from thence to *Rome*, to avoid the Sentence of Excommunication, with which he was threatened by *St. Cyprian*, and the other Bishops of *Africa*, for his scandalous Doctrine, and irregular Practices ^o. *Pacianus* paints him in the blackest Colours: He stripped the Orphans, says he, plundered the Widows of the Church of *Carthage*, and appropriated to himself the Money belonging to the Poor and the Church ^p: He turned his Father out of Doors, and let him die of Hunger in the Streets, and would not even be at the Trouble of burying him after his Death. With a Kick in the Belly he made his Wife miscarry, and bring forth a dead Child: whence *Pacian* calls

^h Idem ep. 52. 54.
ep. 3.

ⁱ Idem ep. 68.

^k Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.

^l Pacian.

^m Euseb. l. 6. c. 24.

ⁿ Theodoret. hæ. fab. l. 3. c. 5.

^o Pa-

cian. ep. 3. Hier. vir. ill. c. 70. Cypr. ep. 49.

^p Pacian. ep. 3.

He gains many Followers, and some Confessors, to the Party of Novatian.

Novatian the first Anti-pope.

him a Traitor, an Assassin, the Murderer of his Father and Child ^q. As for his Doctrine, he held, while at *Carthage*, Tenets diametrically opposite to those he taught at *Rome*: for, at *Carthage*, he was for admitting to the Communion of the Church not only the Lapsed, but all other Sinners, let their Crimes be ever so heinous, without any Sort of Penance; and, at *Rome*, for excluding them, let their Penance be ever so long, let their Repentance be ever so sincere ^r. At *Carthage* he found *Felicissimus*, of whom I shall speak hereafter, inclined to Lenity; and *Novatian*, at *Rome*, to Severity: and therefore, as he was a Man of great Vanity, and no Principles, he suited himself to the different Tempers of such as he judged the most capable of raising him. At *Rome*, by a Pretence to an uncommon Sanctity and Severity, he gained a great many Followers, and among them some Confessors lately delivered out of Prison, from whom he extorted Letters directed to *Novatian*, wherein they consented to the Ordination of the said *Novatian*. In virtue of these Letters he was accordingly ordained, some say in *Rome* ^s, others in a neighbouring Village ^t, by Three Bishops sent for by *Novatus* out of the Country for that Purpose, and quite unacquainted with his Views. Being thus ordained Bishop, he was set up by the Party against *Cornelius*, whom they charged with relaxing the Discipline of the Church, and communicating with the Lapsed, especially with one *Trophimus*. This St. *Cyprian* calls a false and groundless Charge; for, as to *Trophimus*, though he was in the Number of the *Thurificati*, that is, though he had offered Frankincense to Idols, and even persuaded his Flock (for he was a Presbyter, if not a Bishop) to follow his Example, yet he had sufficiently atoned for his Crime, by a sincere Repentance, by a long Penance, and, above all, by bringing back his People with him, who would not have returned without him ^u. As for the others, 'tis true he communicated, with some who had not fulfilled the Time of Penance assigned them, but such only as, being admitted at the Point of Death, had afterwards recovered; which can no otherwise be avoided, says St. *Cyprian* ^w, but by killing those to whom we granted the Peace of the Church, when we apprehended them to be in Danger. *Novatian* having thus, by a pretended Zeal for the Discipline of the Church, and the artful Insinuations of *Novatus*, seduced a great many at *Rome*, who styled themselves the *Cathari*,

^q Id. ib. & ep. 2.
l. 3. c. 5.

^r Cyp. ep. 40. 49.

^u Cyp. ep. 54.

^w Idem ib.

^s Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.

^t Theod.

that

that is, the pure, undefiled Party; he wrote in their and his own Name to the other Churches, acquainting them with his Ordination, exhorting them not to communicate with the Lapsed upon any Terms, and bitterly complaining of the scandalous Lenity and Remisness of *Cornelius* ^x. At the same time *Cornelius* wrote to the other Bishops, giving them a faithful Account of all that had happened at *Rome*, especially of the uncanonical Ordination of *Novatian*. However, the Letters of *Novatian*, signed by several Confessors, who were greatly respected in those Days, made no small Impression on *Antoninus* an *African* Bishop, and *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch* ^y, but quite gained over to the Party *Marcianus* Bishop of *Arles* ^z. The other Bishops declared all to a Man for *Cornelius*, especially *St. Cyprian*, and those of his Province, who, being assembled in a Council when the Deputies of *Novatianus* arrived, excommunicated without farther Examination both him and them ^a; and well they might, since they had taken so much Pains to inform themselves of the Lawfulness of *Cornelius's* Election, as we have related above. The Deputies, though thus rejected with Scorn and Disgrace by the Council, did not abandon the Enterprize, but proselyting from Town to Town, nay, from House to House, inveigled a great many, under colour of communicating with the Confessors ^b. *St. Cyprian* therefore, whose Zeal was not confined within the Bounds, however extensive, of *Africa*, *Numidia*, and the Two *Mauritania's*, to withdraw this main Support from the Party, writ a short but nervous Letter to the Confessors, deploring the Fault they had committed, by consenting to the unlawful Ordination of *Novatianus*, and exhorting them to return with all Speed to the Catholic Church ^c. *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* writ them a pathetic Letter to the same Purpose ^d; and these Letters had at last the desired Effect; but not before *Novatus*, who had drawn them into the Schism, left *Rome*; which happened on the following Occasion:

Novatianus, being informed that the Deputies he had sent into *Africa* were every-where rejected and despised, resolved to send others, whom he judged, on account of their Rank and Authority, more capable of promoting his Design ^e. The Persons he pitched upon were *Nicostratus*, *Novatus*, *Evaristus*, *Primus*, and *Dionysius*. Of

^x Euseb. l. 6. c. 45. Socrat. l. 4. c. 28. Hier. vir. ill. c. 69.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 44.

^z Cyp. ep. 67.

^a Idem ib.

^y Cyp. ep. 52.

^e Idem ep. 44.

^b Euseb. l. 6. c. 46.

^c Cyp. ep. 48.

^d Idem ep. 47 79.

Their Characters.

ame "Pope" formerly common to all Bishops.

The Name of Pope antiently common to all Bishops.

The Deputies are everywhere rejected in Africa.

the Two last I find no farther Mention made in History; of *Novatus* I have spoken above; and as for *Evaristus* and *Nicostratus*, the former was a Bishop, and is supposed to have been one of the Three that ordained *Novatian*. *Nicostratus* was a Deacon of the Church of *Rome* ^f, and had been imprisoned with the Two Presbyters *Moses* and *Maximus*, for the Confession of the Faith ^g, which intitled him to a Place among the Confessors. To these Three St. *Cyprian* ascribes the excellent Letter, as he styles it, which the Confessors of *Rome* writ to those of *Carthage* ^h. He was likewise one of the Confessors, who writ to St. *Cyprian* himself, as appears from the Title of that admirable Letter, which runs thus: *The Presbyters Moses and Maximus, the Deacons Nicostratus and Ruffinus, and the other Confessors, who are with them, to Pope Cyprian* ⁱ. We may here observe, by the way, that the Name of *Pope*, which signifies no more than *Father*, was antiently common to all Bishops; but was afterwards, by a special Decree of *Gregory VII.* appropriated to the Bishop of *Rome*. To return to *Nicostratus*, the Character given him by St. *Cyprian* and *Cornelius*, bespeaks him quite unworthy of being joined with the others, who are named in that Letter, and were all Men of great Piety: for he had squandered away the Money belonging to the Church, that was lodged in his Hands, embezzled that of the Widows and Orphans, and defrauded a Lady, who had trusted him with the Management of her Affairs ^k.

These new Deputies met with no better a Reception than the former had done: for St. *Cyprian*, being informed of their Departure from *Rome*, by the Confessor *Augendus* ^l, and soon after of their Characters by the Acolyte *Nicephorus*, both sent, for that Purpose, by *Cornelius* ^m, he acquainted therewith the other Catholic Bishops, who, upon that Intelligence, rejected them with the greatest Indignation, as Apostates, and Firebrands of Sedition. Hereupon the Deputies having, by the Means and Contrivance of *Novatus*, procured some of their Party to be ordained Bishops, and *Nicostratus* among the rest, they named them to the Sees of the Catholic Bishops; which bred great Confusion and Disorder in the Church, it being a difficult Matter for the Bishops in the distant Provinces to distinguish between their lawful Brethren and the Intruders, and consequently to know whom they should admit to, and whom they should exclude

^f Id. m. ep. 49. ep. 48, 49.

^g Pu. h. p. 271.

^h Cyp. ep. 23.

ⁱ Idem ep. 26.

^k Idem

^l Idem ep. 48.

^m Idem ep. 49.

from,

from, their Communion. But against this Evil a Remedy was found by St. *Cyprian*, and the other *African* Bishops, who, to arm him against the Craft and Arts of those subtle Impostors, transmitted to him a List of all the Catholic Bishops of that Province ⁿ.

The Storm, which *Novatus* had raised in *Rome*, was laid by his Departure; for he was no sooner gone, than the Confessors, whom he had seduced, viz. *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Macarius*, signified to *Cornelius* their eager Desire of quitting his Party, and returning to the Communion of the Church. *Cornelius* questioned, at first, their Sincerity; but, being convinced of it at last, he assembled his Clergy, not caring to trust to his own Judgment, in order to advise with them, in what manner he should proceed, in the present Case. At this Council assisted, besides the *Roman* Clergy, Five Bishops, who either happened to be then at *Rome*; or, on this Occasion, had been invited thither by *Cornelius*. They were scarce met, when the Confessors, attended by a great Croud, appeared before them, testifying, with a Flood of Tears, the Sincerity of their Repentance, and begging they would forget their past criminal Conduct. The Council did not think it adviseable to come to any Resolution, till they had acquainted the People with the Request of the Confessors; which they no sooner did, than the People flocked to the Place, and, not upbraiding, but embracing, with Tears of Joy, their retrieved Brethren, and with the same Tenderneſs as if they had been just then delivered out of Prison, pointed out to the Council the Method they were to pursue. Accordingly *Cornelius*, having, with the Approbation of the Council, made them renounce the Errors of *Novatian*, and acknowledge him for the only lawful Bishop of *Rome*, readmitted them, without farther Satisfaction, to the Communion of the Church ^o. From this Account I should imagine, that those who accompanied the Confessors, at their first appearing before the Council, were *Novatians*, whom they had brought back with them; but I dare not affirm it, since St. *Cyprian*, in his Answer to *Cornelius*, speaks only of the Four above-mentioned Confessors. The Confessors being thus returned, to the inexpressible Joy of the whole People, *Cornelius*, impatient to impart the good News to St. *Cyprian*, writ to him, as soon as the Council broke up, to acquaint him with what had happened, and invite him to partake of the common Joy, to

The Confessors return to the Communion of the Church.

How received.

Cornelius acquaints St. Cyprian with their Return.

ⁿ Idem ep. 55.

^o Idem ep. 46. Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.

which he had so much contributed p. With this Letter *Nicephorus* the Acolyte embarked, without Delay, for *Africa*; and thence returned soon after with an Answer, wherein St. *Cyprian* assured *Cornelius*, that the Return of the Confessors had caused an universal Joy in *Africa*, both for their Sake, and because it might open the Eyes of many, and prove in the End the Ruin of the schismatic Party q. The Confessors themselves writ to St. *Cyprian*, upon their Return r, who immediately answered them s; and, in all Likelihood, to the other chief Bishops of the Church, since *Eusebius* informs us, that *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, writ twice to them after their Return t.

The Confessors write to St. Cyprian.

In what manner Novatian endeavoured to keep the rest steady.

In the mean time *Novatian*, seeing great Numbers, moved by the Example of the Confessors, daily fall off from his Party, to keep the rest steady by the most sacred Ties, used, in administering the Eucharist, to hold the Hands of those who received it, with the holy Bread in them, between his, and oblige them to swear, *by the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ*, that they would never abandon him, nor return to *Cornelius* u.

A Schism in the Church of Carthage.

As the Church of *Rome* was rent by the Schism of *Novatian*, so was the Church of *Carthage* by that of *Felicissimus*; and as the former, upon his being excommunicated by *Cornelius*, and the Council of *Rome*, had recourse to St. *Cyprian*, in like manner the latter, being cut off from the Communion of the Church by St. *Cyprian*, and the Council of *Carthage*, had recourse to *Cornelius*. But as the Doctrine of *Felicissimus*, though diametrically opposite to that of *Novatian*, was equally repugnant to the Catholic Truth, and to the Discipline established in the Church, as I have observed above, he was at first rejected by *Cornelius*, with great Steadiness and Resolution. But the Bishop of *Rome* had, at last, been frightened into a Compliance, had he not been animated and encouraged by St. *Cyprian*: for the Followers of *Felicissimus* having, in Imitation of the *Novatians*, appointed one of their own Faction, named *Fortunatus*, Bishop of *Carthage*, *Felicissimus* took upon himself to carry to *Cornelius* the Letters of the new and Third Bishop of that City. Accordingly he set out for *Rome*, attended by a Troop of seditious, desperate, and abandoned Men, says St. *Cyprian* w. *Cornelius* rejected them at first with great Firmness, and immediately acquainted St. *Cyprian* with what had passed; but *Felicissimus* threatening to read publicly the

p Cyp. ep. 46.

t Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.

q Idem ep. 47.

u Idem ib.

s Idem ep. 50.

w Idem ep. 55.

r Idem ep. 51.

Letters he had brought, if *Cornelius* did not receive them, and to discover many scandalous things, he was not a little intimidated. He therefore writ a second Letter to St. *Cyprian*, but betrayed in it a great deal of Fear and Weakness; however, the excellent Letter, which St. *Cyprian* writ in Answer to his, inspired him with new Vigour, and kept him steady *.

In the mean Time, *Decius* being killed, the Persecution was carried on, or rather renewed, with more Fury than ever, by *Gallus* ^{The Persecution renewed by Gallus.} his Successor. As the *Roman* Empire was, at this Time, afflicted with a dreadful Plague, *Gallus*, who, it seems, had not molested the Christians during the first Months of his Reign †, issued an Order, injoining Men of all Ranks and Professions to offer Sacrifice to the Gods, hoping, by that means, to appease their Wrath, and put a Stop to the raging Evil. It was on Occasion of this Plague that St. *Cyprian* writ his excellent Discourse on *Mortality*, wherein he so eloquently teaches a Christian to triumph over the Fears of Death, and shews with how little Reason we mourn for those Friends and Relations who are snatched from us. Such of the Christians as refused to comply with the Emperor's Edict, were either banished or executed. *Cornelius*, among the rest, was apprehended at the first breaking out of the Persecution, and made a glorious Confession of his Faith, as appears from St. *Cyprian*, who, on that Occasion, writ him a Letter of Congratulation ‡. What happened to him afterwards is uncertain; for his Acts are evidently fabulous, though they have been received by *Bede*, by *Ado*, by *Anastasius*, and many others, far more considerable for their Number than their Authority. We read in the Pontifical of *Bucherius*, that he was banished to *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita-vecchia*, and died of a natural Death, according to the Expression used there § (*Dormitionem accepit*). As to the Title of Martyr, with which he is distinguished by St. *Jerom* ¶, it was antiently given to all those who, for the Confession of Faith, died in Prison, which in all Likelihood happened to *Cornelius* (A).

Corne-

* Idem ep. 55. † Idem ep. 54. ‡ Idem ep. 57. § Buch. p. 271. ¶ Hier. vit. Paul. p. 237.

(A) *Cornelius* is reckoned, by St. *Jerom*, among the Ecclesiastic Writers, on account of the Four Letters, which he writ to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who seemed not to dislike the Tenets of *Novatian* (1). He writ several other Letters, whereof Two are still extant among those of St. *Cyprian* (2); and some Fragments of his

(1) Hier. vir. ill. c. 66. p. 290.

(2) Cypr. ep. 46, 48.

Cornelius died on the same Day of the Month and the Week, on which *St. Cyprian* was martyred Six Years after ^c; that is, on the 14th of *September* 252. according to the most probable Opinion, having held the Pontificate one Year, Three Months, and Ten Days.

His Reliques. His Body is supposed to have been translated from *Civita-vecchia* to the Cemetery of *Callistus*; for near that Place Pope *Leo* I. is said to have built, in Honour of *Cornelius*, a Basilic, or magnificent Church ^d. His Body was believed to be still at *Rome* in the End of the Eighth Century; for *Anastasius* tells us, that Pope *Adrian* placed it in a Church, which he had built in *Capracoro* ^e; but it was soon after removed from thence, and brought into *France*, by *Charlemagne*, as *Pameli* assures us, upon the Authority of a small Life of *St. Cyprian*, written, as he supposes, by *Paulus Diaconus* ^f (B).

Eusebius observes, that, in the Time of *Cornelius*, the Church of *Rome* was in a most flourishing Condition; for, not to mention the People, who were almost without Number, it consisted of 46 Presbyters, 7 Subdeacons, 42 Acolytes, 52 Exorcists, Lectors, and Janitors, or Door-keepers, and 1500 Widows, and other Poor, who were all maintained by the Alms and Offerings of the Faithful ^g.

^c Hier. vir. ill. c. 67. ^d Flor. p. 828, 830. ^e Anast. c. 46. p. 27. ^f Pamel. prolog. in S. Cyp. p. 19. ^g Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.

Fourth Letter to *Fabius* have been transmitted to us by *Eusebius*. As for the Letter to *Lupicinus*, Bishop of *Vienna*, which was found in the Archives of that Church, and published by Father *du Bosc*, the Cardinals *Baronius* (3) and *Bona* (4) think it genuine; but it is, without all Doubt, supposititious: for, according to *Ado* and *Baronius* himself (5), *Florentius*, whom *Lupicinus* is supposed to have succeeded, was raised to that See in the Reign of *Maximus*, or *Gordian*, about the Year 240. and held it till the Reign of *Valerian*, and about the Year 258. so that in 252. when *Cornelius* died, *Lupicinus* was not yet Bishop. Besides, in the Title of the Letter, which *Baronius* has suppressed, *Lupicinus* is styled Archbishop; which Title was not known then, nor long after. The Letter is therefore rejected by *Launoy* (6), and Dr. *Pearson* (7), as a forged and spurious Piece. *Erasmus* ascribes to *Cornelius* the Treatise on Charity (8); and *du Pin* both that, and the other on the public Shews, with the

Discourse against *Novatian* (9), which are all to be found among *St. Cyprian's* Works.

(B) There is a famous Abbey, bearing his Name, at *Compeigne* in the Isle of *France*, where his Reliques, and those of *St. Cyprian*, are supposed to be kept in the same Shrine. But how can we reconcile this with what we read in the Council of *Reims*, held in 1049. under *Leo IX.* viz. that the Body of *St. Cornelius* was removed by the Clergy of *Compeigne*, from that City to *Reims*; and received there by the Pope (1)? But, on the other hand, the Council is contradicted by *Aubertus de Mira*, who assures us, that, in 860. the Reliques of Pope *Cornelius* were translated from the Abbey of *Inde*, standing about Four Miles South of *Aix la Chapelle*, to that of *Rosnay*, which is, at present, a Collegiate Church in *Flanders*, between *Oudenarde* and *Tournay*. In this Church is still to be seen a Shrine, supposed to contain, as appears from the Inscription, the Bones of *St. Cornelius* and *St. Cyprian* (2).

(3) Bar. ad ann. 255. n. 47. (4) Bona lit. l. 1. c. 3. p. 13. (5) Bar. ad ann. 262. n. 58. (6) Laun. Ger. l. 4. c. 6. (7) Pearf. Cyp. ann. p. 37. (8) Erasf. Cyp. p. 417. (9) Du Pin, t. 1. p. 469. (1) Conc. t. 9. p. 1033. 1042. (2) Vide Boland. 12 Feb. p. 607. et Pamel. p. 23.

GALLUS,

LUCIUS,

VOLUSIANUS.

Twenty-first BISHOP of Rome.

LUCIUS was no sooner named to succeed *Cornelius*, than he was apprehended, and sent, with many others, into Banishment; for ^{Year of Christ 252-} St. *Cyprian* wrote him a Letter, in the Name of his Collegues, and ^{He is banished.} his own, congratulating him, at the same time, on his Promotion, and his Exile, as appears from St. *Cyprian's* Second Letter to him ^h; for his First has not reached our Times. *Lucius* had been but a very short time in Banishment, when he was recalled, to the inexpressible Joy of his Flock, who, it seems, crouded out to meet him ⁱ. On this Occasion St. *Cyprian* wrote him a Second Letter, still extant ^k, wherein he testifies the Joy with which the News of his Return had been received by him, and his Brethren in *Africa*. He returned to *Rome* ^{Returns to Rome.} during the Heat of the Persecution; but what occasioned his Return we are no-where told. St. *Cyprian* says, in his Second Letter to him, that he was perhaps recalled to be immolated in the Sight of his Flock, that they might be animated and encouraged by the Example of his Christian Constancy and Resolution ^l; which happened accordingly; for he had not governed Eight whole Months, says *Eusebius* ^m, no, nor Six, according to the most probable Opinion, but only Five, and a few Days, when he died a Martyr; for that Title is given him ^{and dies a Martyr.} by St. *Cyprian* ⁿ. He was beheaded, say the Martyrologies; but on this Point the Antients are silent; and his dying in Prison had given him a just Claim to that Title. His Body is supposed to have been discovered intire, in the Church of St. *Cecilia* at *Rome*, in 1599. though the Church of *Roskild*, in the Isle of *Zeland*, had long before pretended to his Head ^o.

^h Cypr. ep. 58. ⁱ Idem ib. ^k Idem ep. 58. ^l Idem ib. ^m Euseb. l. 7. c. 2. ⁿ Cyp. ep. 67. ^o Bolland. 4. Mart. p. 301, 302.

STEPHEN,

STEPHEN,

Twenty-second BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 253.
The Bishops
of Gaul
write to Ste-
phen.

STEPHEN, who succeeded *Lucius*, in 253. soon after his Election, received a Letter from *Faustinus*, Bishop of *Lions*, written in the Name of all his Collegues in *Gaul*, informing him, that *Marcian*, Bishop of *Arles*, having embraced the Doctrine of *Novatian*, had denied the Communion of the Church to the Lapsed, even at the Point of Death. At the same time they writ to St. *Cyprian*, and on the same Subject ^a, not caring to come to any vigorous Resolution against their Collegue, without the Advice and Approbation of other Bishops, especially of *Rome* and *Carthage*; the former being eminent for the Dignity of his See, and the latter for his known Zeal, Piety, and Learning. But *Faustinus* did not find in the Bishop of *Rome* the Zeal he expected; and therefore he writ a second Letter to St. *Cyprian*, exhorting him to animate the others by his Example ^b; which that zealous Prelate did accordingly: for he writ immediately to *Stephen*, pressing him to dispatch, without Delay, full and ample Letters to the Bishops of *Gaul*; that, finding themselves thus backed and supported, they might thereby be encouraged to depose *Marcian*, and name another in his room. It is not to be doubted but the Bishop of *Carthage*, who had the Welfare of the Church, at least, as much at Heart as the Bishop of *Rome*, did himself what he encouraged the others to do; but I cannot positively affirm it, since his Answer to *Faustinus* is lost. As to the Issue of this Affair, the Antients have left us quite in the Dark (A).

St. *Cyprian* did not doubt in the least but that *Marcian* would be deposed; for, in his Letter to *Stephen*, he desires him to let him know the Name of the Person who should be chosen in his room, that he may not be at a Loss, to whom he should direct his Letters, and his Brethren ^c.

^a Cypr. ep. 67.^b Idem ib.^c Idem ib.

(A) *Marcian's* Name is not in the List of the Bishops of *Arles*, published by F. *Maillet*: whence some modern Writers have concluded, that he was actually deposed;

but that List is very imperfect, the Names of many Bishops being wanting there, whom we certainly know to have governed that Church.

Faustinus, and the other Bishops of *Gaul*, did not apply, on this Occasion, to *Stephen* alone, but to him, and to *St. Cyprian*. Why then should their applying to the Bishop of *Rome* be construed, as it is, by all the Roman Catholic Writers, into a tacit Acknowledgement of his universal Jurisdiction, and not the like Construction be put on their applying to the Bishop of *Carthage*? But, in Truth, neither can bear such a Construction, since the Bishops of *Gaul* did not refer the Cause of *Marcian* either to *Stephen*, or to *St. Cyprian*: they writ to both only for their Advice and Approbation. *Stephen* was backward, for Reasons unknown to us, in giving his; and therefore *St. Cyprian*, in a Letter, which he writ on this Occasion, pressed him to encourage with his Letters the People of *Arles*, and the Bishops of *Gaul*, to depose *Marcian*, and appoint another in his room^d. Was not this plainly acknowledging, not in the Bishop of *Rome*, but in the People and Clergy, the Power of deposing one Bishop, and appointing another in his room?

But to return to *Stephen*: His rash Conduct had involved the Churches of *Spain* in endless Calamities, had not *St. Cyprian*, and the other Bishops of *Africa*, zealously interposed. The Bishops of *Spain*, having judged Two of their Collegues unworthy of the Episcopacy, viz. *Basilides* of *Leon* and *Astorga*, and *Martial* of *Merida*, had disposed of their Sees to others, appointing *Sabinus* in the room of the former, and *Felix* in that of the latter. They were both *Libellatici*, and guilty of many other Crimes, for which *Martial* had been deposed; but *Basilides*, returning to himself, and conscious of his own Guilt, had voluntarily resigned, declaring he should think it a great Happiness to be readmitted, after due Satisfaction, to the Communion of the Church, even in the Capacity of a Layman. But, Ambition getting the better of all his good Resolutions, he soon began to pant after his former Condition; and, thinking the Favour and Interest of the Bishop of *Rome* might greatly contribute to his Re-establishment, he undertook a Journey to that City; and there, as *St. Cyprian* expresses himself, *imposed upon our Colleague Stephen, who lived at a great Distance, and was ignorant of the Truth, seeking unjustly to be restored to his Bishoprick, from which he had been justly deposed*^e. Being thus admitted to the Communion of the Bishop of *Rome*, he returned well satisfied to *Spain*, and there exercised all Episcopal Functions, as he had formerly done. *St. Cyprian* does not

*Stephen's
rash Conduct.*

*He suffers
himself to be
imposed upon.*

^d Cypr. ep. 70.

^e Cypr. ep. 68.

tell us, in express Terms, that *Martial* too had recourse to *Rome*; but that he had, may, perhaps, be gathered from his Words; for he writes, that, notwithstanding the Craft and Deceit *Martial* had used, probably in imposing upon *Stephen*, he had not been able to preserve his Episcopacy ^f. Besides, he acted as a Bishop after he had been deposed by a Synod; which he would have hardly attempted, had he not been countenanced by some Bishop of Rank and Dignity. Be that as it will, the Churches of *Leon*, *Astorga*, and *Merida*, applied, in this their Distress, to the Bishops of *Africa*, imploring, both by Letters and Deputies, their Advice and Assistance. The Deputies were the Two new Bishops *Felix* and *Sabinus*; and their Deputation was backed by a pressing Letter from *Felix*, Bishop of *Saragosa*, whom St. *Cyprian* styles a Propagator of the Faith, and Defender of the Truth ^g. These Letters being read at *Carthage*, in a Council of 28 Bishops, with St. *Cyprian* at their Head, it was concluded, that *Basilides* and *Martial* ought not to be acknowledged as Bishops; that it was not lawful to communicate with them; that such Bishops as did, ought to be excommunicated themselves; and, finally, that their imposing upon *Stephen*, instead of giving them any kind of Right to the Sees they had forfeited by their Wickedness, added to their Guilt. By the same Council, the Election of *Sabinus* and *Felix* was confirmed, and they acknowledged by all the *African* Bishops as their Collegues ^h.

Martial of Merida excommunicated by the Bishops of Africa, tho' admitted by Stephen to his Communion.

Appeals to Rome, no Proof of the Pope's Supremacy.

It is surprising, that *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, *Davidius*, and other Advocates for the Pope's Supremacy, should lay so much Stress as they do, on the Recourse to *Rome* of the Two deposed Bishops. If their recurring, or appealing, as they are pleased to style it, to the Bishop of *Rome*, is any Proof of his being acknowledged by them for the Head of the Church, the Appeal of the other Bishops of *Spain* from him to St. *Cyprian*, and their acquiescing to his, and not to the Judgment of *Stephen*, will be a stronger Proof of St. *Cyprian*'s being acknowledged by them for the Head of the Church. Had *Basilides* and *Martial* recurred not to *Rome*, but to *Carthage*, had the Bishops of *Spain* appealed from St. *Cyprian* to *Stephen*, as they did from *Stephen* to St. *Cyprian*, and acquiesced to his Judgment, no Notice had been taken of the Appeal of the Two Apostates; that only of the Catholic Bishops had been set forth with great Pomp and Flourish of

^f Idem ib.

^g Idem ib.

^h Idem ib.

Words. But, as the Case stands, they must be satisfied with the Evidence of the Apostates, and leave the Catholic Bishops to bear Testimony for us, which we shall not misuse; we shall not build upon it the Supremacy of the Church of *Carthage*; we shall not set up *St. Cyprian* for a Judge, to whose Tribunal all Appeals must be brought; in short, we shall not make him an universal Judge, an universal Pastor, a Pope; though, to the Testimony of the *Spanish* Bishops, that of *Gregory Nazianzene* should be added, and I defy the Champions for the See of *Rome* to allege one in their Favour more plain and expressive: *St. Cyprian, says he, presided not only over the Church of Carthage, or that of Africa, on which he reflected an extraordinary Lustre, but over all the West, nay, and over all the Nations of the East, of the North, and the South*ⁱ. Had *Gregory* said as much of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Passage had been employed as a Corner-stone to support the Pope's universal Jurisdiction.

No claim to
Supremacy
of Pope.

Not long after the Affair of the *Spanish* Bishops, that is, about the Year 256. according to the most probable Opinion, happened the famous Contest about the Baptism of Heretics, which rent the whole Church into Two Parties, the one headed by *St. Cyprian*, and the other by *Stephen*. *St. Cyprian* maintained, that Baptism administered by Heretics, was null and invalid; and, consequently, that such as came over from them, from what Sect soever they came, ought to be baptized by a Catholic Minister: he owned there was but one Baptism, and therefore avoided the Word *Rebaptization*; but thought that Heretics had not the Power of conferring it. On the other hand, *Stephen*, and those who adhered to him, pretended, that Baptism conferred by Heretics, of whatever Sect or Persuasion, was valid; so that by avoiding one Error they fell into another; for some Heretics of those Times, namely, the *Montanists* and *Marcionites*, did not baptize, as is commanded by the Gospel, in the Name of the Three Persons; whence their Baptism was declared null by Two Oecumenical Councils, as I shall relate hereafter. I know great Pains have been taken to excuse *Stephen*; but his own Words, quoted by *St. Cyprian*, from his own Letter to him, can, in my Opinion, admit of no Dispute; for he there forbids, in express Terms, the Baptizing of Heretics, *from what Heresy soever they should come*^k. And here we may observe, by the way, that the whole Church erred,

The famous
Dispute
about the
Baptism of
Heretics.

Both Opinions
erroneous.

ⁱ Greg. Naz. orat. 18. p. 281.

^k Cyp. ep. 70. 73.

*The Custom
of baptizing
Heretics
practised by
several
Churches,
and establish-
ed by Coun-
cils.*

*It is confirm-
ed by Two
Councils held
by St. Cy-
prian;*

either at this Time, or afterwards; for afterwards both Opinions were condemned, and both were held at this Time, by the one or the other of the Two Parties, into which the whole Church was divided. The Point in Dispute had been canvassed long before, and differently settled in different Provinces. The Churches of *Africa* and *Numidia* had formerly admitted Heretics, without baptizing or rebaptizing them; but the contrary Practice was established in a Council of the Bishops of these Two Provinces, summoned about the Close of the Second Century, by *Agrippinus* Bishop of *Carthage*¹. The same Practice of baptizing Heretics was followed by the Churches of *Cappadocia*, and the other Provinces of *Asia*, as a Tradition handed down to them from the Apostles Times; whence it was confirmed in a Council, which was held at *Iconium* in *Phrygia*, about the Year 230. and consisted of all the Bishops of *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Cilicia*, and the neighbouring Provinces^m. The same Practice was approved of by another Council, assembled, much about the same time, at *Synnades* in *Phrygia*ⁿ. The Bishops of *Pontus* and *Egypt* agreed, it seems, with those of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*^o; but all the other Bishops, especially those of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, held the contrary Opinion, and followed the opposite Practice. This Disagreement, both in Opinion and Practice, had hitherto created no Disturbance in the Church, each Bishop conforming to the Custom of his particular Church, as received by Tradition, or settled by Synods, without censuring those who disagreed with him, or being censured by them. But the Question was now revived by Eighteen Bishops of *Numidia*, who writ to a Council, held at this time by St. *Cyprian*, to know whether they had done well in rebaptizing Heretics, agreeably to the ancient Practice of their respective Churches. What raised this Doubt now, we know not; but it is certain, the Council answered, that they ought to follow the Practice which they had hitherto observed^p. The same Answer was returned by St. *Cyprian*, to *Quintus* Bishop of *Mauritania*, who had asked the same Question^q. Soon after, another Council was held at *Carthage*, composed of 71 Bishops, wherein the Decrees of the former Council, concerning the Baptism of Heretics, were confirmed; and besides, it was ordained, that such Presbyters and Deacons as had received Ordination at the Hands of Heretics, or who, after receiving Orders in the Church, had fallen into

¹ Cyp. ep. 70. 73. Aug. bapt. l. 2. c. 7, & 8.
c. 7. ^o Basil. ep. 75. ^p Cyp. ep. 70.

^m Cyp. ep. 75.
^q Idem, ep. 71.

ⁿ Euseb. l. 7.

Herefy, should be admitted to Communion only as Laymen^r. The Council, by a synodal Letter, acquainted *Stephen* with these Resolutions, hoping he would approve and embrace them; but at the same time declaring, that if any Bishop should think fit to reject them, and follow different Opinions, agreeably to the Liberty they all claimed, no Breach of Peace and Unity should thence follow on their Side^s. With this Letter St. *Cyprian* sent those he had written to *Quintus*, and to the Bishops of *Numidia*^t.

It was after this Council, and before *Stephen's* Answer, that St. *Cyprian* wrote the famous Letter to *Jubaianus*, who was a Bishop; but in what Province, or of what City, we know not. *Jubaianus* had, by a Letter, asked St. *Cyprian's* Opinion about the Baptizing of Heretics; and, at the same time, sent him the Copy of a Letter, which he had received; wherein many Reasons were alleged to prove, that Baptism, by whomsoever administred, not even the *Marcionites* excepted, ought to be deemed valid. The Author of this Letter inveighs bitterly against St. *Cyprian*, and those of his Party, styling them Betrayers of the Truth, and Enemies to the Peace and Unity of the Church^u. *Baronius*, and likewise *Pamelius*, ascribe that Piece to *Stephen*, not apprised that they must consequently own the Doctrine held by *Stephen* to have been no less erroneous than that which was held by St. *Cyprian*, if the Doctrine of the Church be true, as I have observed above. But we have not sufficient Grounds to suppose *Stephen* the Author of it, since many besides him writ in favour of that Opinion. St. *Cyprian*, in Answer to *Jubaianus*, sent him his Letter to *Quintus*, that of the first Council to the Bishops of *Numidia*; and, moreover, wrote him a long Letter, with a great many Arguments in favour of his Opinion, and the Answers to what was objected against it; especially in the Letter, whereof *Jubaianus* had transmitted him a Copy^w. He ends his Letter by a most solemn Protestation of Unity and Charity with those who should differ from him; which is related at Length by St. *Jerom*^x, and likewise by St. *Austin*, who tells us, that he was never tired with reading over and over again those Words of Peace and Charity, breathing nothing but the sweetest Odour of that Union, in which the holy Prelate anxiously sought to live with his Brethren^a. To this Letter *Jubaianus* returned Answer, that he had fully convinced him, and that

who acquaints Stephen with their Decrees.

St. Cyprian's famous Letter to Jubaianus.

His Desire to live in Peace and Unity with those who held the opposite Opinion.

^r Idem, ep. 73. ^s Idem, ep. 72. ^t Idem ib. ^u Idem, ep. 73. ^w Idem ib.
^x Hier. in Luc. c. 9. ^a Aug. bapt. l. 4. c. 8.

he willingly embraced his Opinion ^b. In that Letter St. *Cyprian* seems to have mustered all the Arguments that could be alleged in favour of his Opinion; and therefore St. *Austin* has employed his Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books on Baptism, in confuting them.

Stephen's
Pride and
Arrogance.

We have hitherto seen with how much Temper, Moderation, and Candor, the Dispute was managed on St. *Cyprian*'s Side: he determined nothing without the Advice and Approbation of his Collegues assembled in Council; the Determinations of the Council he imparted to other Bishops, leaving them at full Liberty to embrace or reject them, and declaring, that no Disagreement in Opinion should occasion in him the least Breach of Charity. How different was the Conduct of the Bishop of *Rome*! He condescended, indeed, to answer the synodal Letter of the *African* Bishops; but did it with that Pride and Arrogance, that in After-ages became the Characteristic of his Successors. He begins with the Dignity of his See, and his pretended Succession to St. *Peter*, which he takes care to put them in mind of: in the next Place, he rejects their Decrees with the utmost Indignation, and attempts to confute the Arguments alleged to support them: he then proceeds to Commands and Menaces, ordering St. *Cyprian* to quit his Opinion, and threatening to cut off, from the Communion of the Church, all those who should presume to differ from him, and rebaptize Heretics: he concludes his Letter with a bitter Invective against St. *Cyprian*, branding that great Luminary of the Church with the reproachful Names of *false Christ, false Apostle, deceitful Workman* ^c. Such was Pope *Stephen*'s Answer to a most respectful Letter from a Council of 71 Bishops. *Pompeius*, Bishop of *Sabrata* in the *Tripolitana*, hearing of this Letter, and being desirous to peruse it, as he had done all the rest on the same Subject, St. *Cyprian*, in Compliance with his Desire, sent him a Copy of it; and at the same time writ him a Letter, wherein he treats *Stephen*, upon the just Provocation he had given him, with more than ordinary Sharpness and Acrimony, charging him with *Pride and Impertinence*, with *Self-contradiction and Ignorance*, with *Indiscretion, Obstinacy, Childishness*; nay, he styles him a *Favourer and Abettor of Heretics against the Church of God* ^d. St. *Cyprian* was more provoked at *Stephen*'s abusive Language, than moved either by his Authority or Menaces. St. *Austin* supposes the Opinion he held

He is severely
censured by
St. Cyprian.

^b Concil. p. 397. ^c Cyp. ep. 74. Euseb. l. 7. c. 3. Aug. bapt. l. 2. c. 7. ^d Cyp. ep. 74.

to have been false and erroneous; and yet owns, that he was not obliged to yield to the Authority of *Stephen*, nor give up the Point, till he was convinced by dint of Reason, or by the Decision of an Occumenical Council^e. However, as *St. Cyprian* sought nothing but Truth, upon the Receipt of *Stephen's* Letter, he summoned a great Council, in order to have the Question canvassed anew, and examined with more Care and Attention. The Council met accordingly, on the First of *September 256*. consisting of 85 Bishops, a great Number of Presbyters and Deacons, and a considerable Part of the People^f. To this Assembly were read the Letter of *Jubaianus* to *St. Cyprian*, his Answer to it, and *Jubaianus's* Reply; with the Letter of the former Council to *Stephen*, and *Stephen's* Answer to the Council. These Pieces being read, *St. Cyprian* made a short Discourse, exhorting his Collegues to speak their Mind freely: the Words he used on this Occasion alluded, without Doubt, to the Pride and Arrogance of the Bishop of Rome; *Let none of us, says he, set up for the Bishop of Bishops; let none of us presume to reduce our Collegues by a tyrannical Fear to the Necessity of obeying*: he concluded with protesting anew, in the most solemn manner, that he left every one the full Liberty of following what Opinion he liked best; and that no Man should, on that score, be judged by him, or separated from his Communion^g. The Discourse being finished, each Bishop delivered his Opinion, and *St. Cyprian* the last, all approving, with one Consent, the Baptizing of Heretics. *Pameli*us and others count 87 Bishops present at the Council, because *Natalis* of *Oea* spoke for the Two other Bishops of *Libya Tripolitana*, viz. *Pompeius* of *Sabrata*, and *Dioga* of *Leptis the Great*^h, who were absent.

*St. Cyprian
assembles a
great Council
at Carthage;*

*which confirms the
ancient Practice.*

The Third Council of *Carthage* having thus confirmed the Decrees of the Two former, notwithstanding the Threats and Menaces of the Bishop of Rome, it was thought advisable for the Peace of the Church to acquaint him therewith; and at the same time to inform him more particularly of the Reasons, on which their Opinion was grounded. Deputies were accordingly dispatched to Rome for that Purpose; but *Stephen* not only refused to see or hear them, but would not allow any of his Flock to correspond with them, to supply them with the Necessaries of Life, or even to admit them under the same Roof; excluding them not only from his Communion,

*Deputies sent
to Stephen,
how treated.*

^e Aug. de bapt. l. 1. c. 7. 18. & l. 2. c. 8. 15. ^f Cyp. con. p. 397. ^g Idem ib.
Aug. de bapt. l. 3. c. 3. ^h Cyp. conc. p. 403.

He excommunicates all who held the opposite Opinion.

but from common Hospitality, says *Firmilian*, who wrote this very Year ⁱ. He did not stop here; but, transported with Rage, or Zeal, as *Baronius* is pleased to style it, he cut off from his Communion all the Bishops who had assisted at the Council, and all those who held the same Opinion, that is, the Bishops of *Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Egypt* ^k. But *Stephen's* Anathemas proved, as those of *Victor's* had done before, *bruta fulmina*; no Regard was had to them, no, not even by those of his own Party; who, by continuing in Communion with those whom he had cut off from his, sufficiently declared their Thoughts touching his rash and unchristian Conduct. This Dispute, says *St. Austin*, occasioned no Schism in the Church, the Bishops continuing united in Charity, notwithstanding their Disagreement in Opinion ^l. No Thanks to *Stephen*, who did all that lay in his Power to set the Bishops at Variance, and involve the whole Church in Confusion and Disorder; *The Peace of Christ*, continues *St. Austin*, *triumphed in their Hearts, and put a Stop to the growing Schism*; not in the Heart of *Stephen*, where Rage, Ambition, and Envy lodged; Guests incompatible with Peace and Charity; but in the Hearts of the other Bishops, who were thereby restrained from following his Example. How many Schisms had been prevented, had Bishops in After-ages trod in the Footsteps of those great Prelates!

Stephen's Conduct disapproved by Dionysius of Alexandria;

Dionysius, afterwards Pope, and *Philemon*, both then Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, acquainted, no doubt, by *Stephen's* Direction, the great *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, with what had passed, hoping to gain him over to their Party, and extort from him an Approbation of *Stephen's* Conduct: but that illustrious Prelate, foreseeing, and well weighing, the evil Consequences that might attend it, declared his Sentiments with all the Freedom and Zeal that became a Man of his Rank in the Church. He told them plainly, that the condemning a Practice, which had been established by so many Councils, was what he could by no means approve of; that an Affair of such Consequence required long and mature Deliberation; and that the deciding it over-hastily might raise eternal Disputes, and end at last in a Schism: he therefore begged *Stephen*, in a Letter, which he writ to him on this Occasion, that he would, upon Reflection, alter his Conduct; and in an Affair upon which so much depended, take different Measures from those which he had hitherto pursued ^m. As

ⁱ Cyr. ep. 75.

^k Euseb. l. 7. c. 5.

^l Aug. bapt. l. 5. c. 25.

^m Euseb. l. 7. c. 5.

Stephen wrote to *Dionysius*, so did *St. Cyprian* to *Firmilian*, giving him a particular and candid Account both of *Stephen's* Conduct and his own. *Firmilian* was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and one of the most eminent Prelates at that Time in the Church both for Piety and Learning: he had a singular Veneration for *St. Cyprian*, maintained with great Zeal the same Cause, and consequently had been equally ill used and excommunicated by *Stephen*. He therefore received with extraordinary Joy the Letter, which *St. Cyprian* sent him by *Rogatian* one of his Deacons, often read it with great Satisfactionⁿ, and answered it with a long Letter^o, which is still extant, though *St. Cyprian's* to him has been lost long since. In this Letter *Firmilian*, amazed and provoked at *Stephen's* unaccountable Conduct, expresses his Detestation of it in sharper Terms than the Laws of Charity can well allow; for, not content to charge him with sacrificing the Peace of the Church to a petulant Humour, he compares him to *Judas*, and stigmatizes him with the Epithets of inhuman, audacious, insolent, wicked, impious Schismatic; for *he is a true Schismatic*, says *Firmilian*, *who departs from the Unity of the Church, which thou hast done*, O *Stephen*; *for, by attempting to separate others from thee, thou hast separated thyself from all other Churches. How much Sin hast thou heaped upon thyself by cutting thyself off from so many Flocks*! *Firmilian's* Letter was translated into *Latin* by *St. Cyprian* himself, as is manifest from the Style. It was unknown, it seems, to *St. Austin*; for he never quotes it, nor, in confuting the Opinion of *St. Cyprian*, takes any notice of some Reasons alleged in that Letter to support it.

and severely
censured by
Firmilian.

There was no Hope of seeing an End put to this Dispute, so long as *Stephen* lived; but he dying, his Successor, who was a Man of a quite different Temper, laid the Storm, which his furious and ungovernable Passion had raised. He died on the 2d of *August* 257. according to the most probable Opinion^q. The Church of *Rome*, upon the Authority of his Acts, ranks him among the Martyrs; but that Honour is not paid him either by *St. Austin*, or by *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who, naming him together with *St. Cyprian*, as they often do, give constantly the Title of Martyr to the latter, and never to the former. As for his Acts, they flatly contradict, in several Points, the most unexceptionable Writers among the Antients^r, and therefore by no means

Stephen dies,
but not a
Martyr.

His Acts fa-
bulous.

ⁿ Cyp. ep. 75.

^o Cyp. ib.

^p Id. ib.

^q Buch. cycl. p. 297.

^r Pearl. annal. Cyp. p. 57, 58.

deserve the Credit which *Baronius* would have us give them^s. Even *Anastasius* seems to have made no Account of them, if in his Time they were yet composed, which may be questioned; for the Account he gives us of *Stephen's* Death differs widely from that which we read in those Acts^t. But he had made a bold Attempt towards extending the Power and Authority of the See of *Rome*, and therefore was to be placed among the Saints for the Encouragement of others. To say he had merited that Honour by his Virtues, either as a Christian or a Bishop, had been carrying the Imposture too far: the only Means therefore left of making him a Saint, was to make him a Martyr, that, by his glorious Death, he might be thought to have deserved what it was manifest from the Records of those Times he had not deserved by his Christian Life. Hence Acts were forged, setting forth his heroic Confession of the Faith before the Emperor, his Sufferings on that Account, the stupendous Miracles he wrought, &c. which, however incredible, might, in Process of Time, by their Antiquity alone, gain Credit with the greater Part of Mankind. *Stephen* was buried in the *His Reliques*. Coemetry of *Callistus*^u; whence his Body was translated about the Year 762. by *Paul I.* to a Monastery of *Greek* Monks, which that Pope had built in *Rome*, as we read in *Anastasius*^w. How it got from thence to *Trani* in *Apulia* nobody knows; but from that City it was conveyed with great Pomp in 1682. to *Pisa* in *Tuscany*, where it is still worshiped in a Church bearing the pretended Saint's Name^x. According to the most probable Opinion, *Stephen* governed Four Years and about Six Months.

VALERIAN,

SIXTUS II.

GALLIENUS.

Twenty-third BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 257.Dionysius of
Alexandria
interposes in
the famous
Dispute.

STEPHEN being dead, *Sixtus* or *Xystus* II. a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was chosen to succeed him. As the late Dispute was not yet ended, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* no sooner heard of his Promotion, than he began to press him with great Earnestness to relinquish the wild Pretensions of his Predecessor, and concur with

^s Bar. ad ann. 259.^t Anast. in vit. Vict.^u Buch. cycl. p. 267.^w Anast. c. 95.^x Boll. Pont. p. 36.

the other Bishops in restoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Church ^y. He writ Three Letters to him on the same Subject, whereof the last was from *Dionysius* and the whole Church of *Alexandria*, to *Sixtus* and the whole Church of *Rome* ^z. He writ likewise to *Dionysius* and *Philemon*, two Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, whom we have mentioned above, and who upon *Stephen's* Death seem to have abandoned his Party; for *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, in his first Letter to *Sixtus*, writes, That these two Presbyters had been formerly of *Stephen's* Opinion ^a, a plain Indication that they were not then. The Bishop of *Alexandria* had at last the Satisfaction to see his pious Endeavours crowned with Success; for we find no farther Mention made of this Dispute till it was revived by the *Donatists*. In what manner it ended, we are no where told; but it is manifest from the Writers of those Times, that the *African* and *Asiatic* Bishops continued the same Practice of baptizing Heretics, till it was condemned by the two great Councils, of *Arles* in 314. and of *Nice* in 325 ^b. Whence we may well conclude, that the Terms proposed at the Beginning of the Dispute by *Dionysius* and St. *Cyprian* were agreed to by *Sixtus*, viz. That no Restraint should be laid on the Bishops of either Side, but that every one should be allowed to follow undisturbed which of the two Opinions he thought most agreeable to the Scripture and to Reason. This was allowing the Bishops to consult the Scriptures, and make use of their own Reason, in a Point already judged and decided by the Bishop of *Rome*. But the Successors of *Sixtus* have not been so complaisant; for they pretend, that a blind Faith ought to be yielded to all their Decisions as infallibly true, a blind Obedience to all their Decrees as unquestionably holy.

But now the Persecution, which had begun some Months before the Decease of *Stephen*, raged with more Violence than ever: For *Valerian* having, at the Instigation of an *Egyptian* Magician, changed the Kindness he once had for the Christians into an implacable Hatred, he ordered, by a Rescript to the Senate, all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to be carefully sought for, and executed without Mercy ^c. Pursuant to this Order, *Sixtus*, who among the first fell into the Hands of the Persecutors, was immediately either beheaded, as we read in the Pontifical of *Bucherius* ^d; or crucified, as we are told by *Prudentius* ^e; ^{Valerian persecutes the Church.} ^{Sixtus martyred.}

^y Euseb. l. 7. c. 5, 9.

Basil. can. 47. & ep. 8. conc. Arel. can. 8.

^z Prud. de coron. martyr. p. 71.

^a Idem c. 9.

^b Idem c. 5.

^c Cyp. ep. 82.

^d Cyp. ep. 77.

^e Buch. p. 268.

having held the Chair only Eleven Months, and some Days. *Pontius*, a Deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, styles him a good and *pacific Prelate*†, no doubt on account of his Conduct quite opposite to that of his ambitious and quarrelsome Predecessor (A).

GALLIENUS,

DIONYSIUS,

CLAUDIUS II.

Twenty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 258.

The See va-
cant almost a
whole Year.

SIXTUS being dead, and the Christians prevented by the Persecution from assembling to chuse another in his room, the See remained vacant almost a whole Year, that is, from the 6th of *August* 258. to the 22d of *July* 259. when *Dionysius*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, whom we have mentioned above, was elected, to the great Satisfaction of the Faithful; for he was one of the most eminent Men of his Time both for Piety and Learning &. During his Pontificate, the *Goths* broke into the Empire, over-ran all *Asia Minor*, and, having almost utterly destroyed the City of *Cæsarea*, they carried with them into Captivity most of its Christian Inhabitants. *Firmilian* was then Bishop of the Place, who had censured the Conduct of *Stephen* with so much Sharpness and Acrimony; but the Remembrance of what had passed on that unhappy Occasion had not that Effect on *Dionysius*, which far less Provocations have had on many of his Successors; for he no sooner heard of the Distress that Church was in, than, laying hold of so favourable an Opportunity to exert his Charity, he writ a

Dionysius's
Charity to the
distressed
Christians of
Cæsarea.

† Pont. in vit. S. Cyp. p. 8.
l. 7. c. 7. Athan. de syn. ep. 918.

§ Basil. ep. 220. & de Sp. Sanct. c. 29. Euseb.

(A) *Ruffinus* published, under the Name of *Sixtus* Bishop of *Rome*, the Book of a *Pythagorean* Philosopher, named *Sixtus*. St. *Jerom* reproaches him in two Places with that *Imposture*, as he styles it, supposing him to have known the Work, which he ascribed to Pope *Sixtus*, not to be his (1) St. *Austin* was imposed upon among the rest; for, in his Treatise of *Nature and Grace*, he quotes that Book as the Work of Pope *Sixtus*; but he afterwards owned

and corrected his Mistake (2). It was ranked by Pope *Gelasius* among the Books of Heretics; so that he supposed it to have been written by a Christian, which was more than he could know, there not being a single Word in it whence we can argue the Author to have believed in, or to have had any Knowledge of Christ: and it is on this Consideration that it has been thought unworthy of a Bishop of those times.

(1) Ep. ad Ctesiph. contr. Pelag. c. 22. & in cap. 18. Ezech. retract. c. 42.

(2) Aug. l. 2.

Letter to comfort them in their Calamity, and at the same time dispatched proper Persons with large Collections to ransom the Christians who had fallen into the Hands of the *Barbarians* ^h. The Letter, which *Dionysius* wrote on this Occasion, was carefully kept in the Archives of the Church of *Cæsarea*, as an authentic Monument of his Goodness and Charity ⁱ. The great *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* having, at this Time, composed a learned Treatise to prove against *Sabellius* the Distinction of the Divine Persons, some over-zealous Catholics, misconstruing several Passages in that Work, and concluding that he had run into the opposite Error, accused him to the Bishop of *Rome*, as if he denied the Son to be consubstantial with the Father ^k. Hereupon the Bishop of *Rome*, having assembled a Council, acquainted *Dionysius* with the Sentiments of the other Bishops, and his own, expressing his Concern, that the Divinity of the Word should have been questioned by him, and at the same time desiring him to answer the Accusation ^l. This *Dionysius* readily did in Four Books, which he styled *Confutation and Apology*; shewing therein that his Opinion was very different from what it had been represented at *Rome*, and explaining those Passages which had given Ground for the Accusation. This Work he addressed to the Bishop of *Rome* ^m. Here *Baronius* exults. Behold, says he, one of the most eminent Prelates of the Church, upon Suspicion of Heresy, arraigned at *Rome*, judged at *Rome*. Who does not see a supreme Tribunal erected there, to which all Causes must be brought; a sovereign Judge residing there, by whom all Persons must be absolved or condemned; is either blind and cannot see, or shuts his Eyes and will not see ⁿ. And does not the sharp-sighted Annalist himself see what every one the least conversant in Ecclesiastical History must see, if he is not either blind and cannot, or shuts his Eyes and will not see, *viz.* Bishops, when guilty, or only suspected of Heresy, accused to some of their Collegues, who neither had nor claimed any Jurisdiction over them? Thus was the famous *Paul* of *Samosata*, Bishop of *Antioch*, at this very Time, accused by his whole Church, first to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and soon after to *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* ^o. That such an Indictment argued any Jurisdiction in those Bishops over the Bishop of *Antioch*, is what *Baronius* himself dares not affirm; and yet a like

Dionysius of Alexandria accused at Rome.

That argues no Jurisdiction in the Bishop of Rome over him.

^h Basil. ib.

ⁱ Idem ib.

^k Athan. pro sent. Dion. Alex. p. 558.

^l Id. ib. & de syn. 918, 919.

^m Athan. ib. p. 558, 559.

ⁿ Bar. ann. 263.

^o n. 50.

^p Euseb. l. 7. c. 27.

Indictment brought to *Rome* is enough for him to transform that See into a supreme Tribunal; that Bishop, though far from such ambitious Thoughts, into a sovereign Judge. But the Bishop of *Rome*, says *Baronius*, required of *Dionysius* a Confession or Declaration of his Faith: And does not that argue Superiority and Jurisdiction? *Baronius* himself knew it does not: for it is impossible he should not know, that when a Bishop was suspected of Heresy, all his Collegues had a Right to require of him a Confession of his Faith, and not to communicate with him till they had received it.

Paul Bishop
of Antioch
condemned
and deposed

without the
Consent or
Knowledge of
the Bishop of
Rome.

In the Time of *Dionysius* was held the famous Council of *Antioch*, which condemned and deposed *Paul* Bishop of that City, who denied the Distinction of the Divine Persons, and the Divinity of *Christ*. Of the Deposition of *Paul*, and the Election of *Damnus*, who was placed in his Room, notice was immediately given to the whole Church, by a Synodal Letter addressed to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and to *Maximus*, who had succeeded the great *Dionysius* in the See of *Alexandria* p. And here it will not be foreign to my Purpose to observe, that the Bishop of *Antioch* was summoned to appear before the Council, and not at the supreme Tribunal erected by *Baronius* at *Rome*; that he was condemned and deposed without the Consent or Concurrence, nay, and without the Knowledge of the sovereign Judge residing at *Rome*; that he did not appeal to him, which he certainly would have done, as he was a Man of unparalleled Impudence and Ambition, had such a Custom obtained in those Days; and lastly, that the Fathers of the Council writ to the Bishop of *Rome* in the same Manner as they did to other Bishops, letting him know, that for the future he was to communicate with *Damnus*, and not with *Paul*. All this is manifest from the Account which *St. Basil* gives us of that Council q. And yet *Baronius* brings in that Father, even on this Occasion as an Evidence for the Papal Supremacy (A).

From

p Idem, l. 7. c. 30.

q Basil. de synod.

(A) For by wrong pointing a Passage in the *Latin* Translation of that Author, he makes him contradict himself, and ascribe the deposing of *Paul* to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and the Great *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, though the latter was dead before *Paul* was deposed, as is evident from the Letter which was written by the Council on that Occasion, and is addressed to *Maximus* the Successor of *Dio-*

nysius in the See of *Alexandria* (1). The Passage runs thus; *Duo enim Dionysii diu ante eos septuaginta fuere, qui Samosatensem sustulere, quorum alter Romæ, alter Alexandriæ Præsul erat* (2). The Meaning of *St. Basil* is, that the Two *Dionysius*'s flourished before the Council of *Antioch*, which consisted of Seventy Bishops, and deposed *Paul* of *Samosata*; that is, before the Second Council that was assembled

(1) Euseb. l. 7. c. 30.

(2) Basil. de syn. p. 918.

against

From St. *Basil*, *Baronius* runs to the Emperor *Aurelian*, begging of a Pagan Prince what he could not extort from a Catholic Bishop, a Declaration and Acknowledgement of the Pope's Supremacy. The Reader must know, that *Paul* having kept, by Force, Possession of the Bishop's Habitation in Defiance of the Council, the Catholic Bishops had Recourse to the Emperor, who, after hearing both Parties with great Attention, adjudged the House to him, who should be acknowledged by the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Bishops of *Italy* ¹. This *Baronius* interprets as an open Acknowledgement of the Pope's Supremacy; and that his Readers may not overlook it, as most of them would be apt to do, he takes care to bespeak their Attention, by marking it in the Margin with the following Words in Capitals, *The Emperor Aurelian acknowledges the Supremacy of the Church of Rome* ². From this one would expect to find *Aurelian* not only turned Christian, but prostrate at his Holiness's Feet, and bowing down to kiss them: but our Annalist, to the great Disappointment of his Readers, after having thus raised their Attention, only repeats out of *Eusebius* the Sentence pronounced by the Emperor, which he would have us suppose with him to have been owing to the Knowledge that Prince had of the Pope's Supremacy. And why must the Pope's Supremacy be brought in here rather than the Supremacy of the Bishops of *Ravenna*, of *Milan*, of *Aquileia*, &c. and, above all, the Supremacy of the collective Body of the *Italian* Bishops? for to them, and not to any particular Bishop, the Cause was referred by the Emperor. As for the Emperor's Conduct on this Occasion, it may be thus accounted for: That just and wise Prince observed the Bishops in the East greatly animated against *Paul*; and therefore apprehending them more sway'd

Paul keeps Possession of the Bishop's Habitation.

The Emperor's Sentence whether favourable to the Pretensions of the See of Rome.

¹ Euseb. I. 7. c. 24.

² Bar. ad ann. 272. n. 18.

against him; for another had been convened in the same City about eight Years before to depose him; but upon his pretending to renounce his Errors, the Sentence had been suspended. The above-quoted Passage *Baronius* stops thus; *Duo enim Dionysii diu ante eos septuaginta fuere; qui Samosatensem deposuere*, &c. so that the Relative *qui* refers, according to this Method of Pointing, to the Two *Dionysius's*, and not to the Seventy Bishops: as if St. *Basil* had said, *The Two Dionysius's, who deposed Paul of Samosata, flourished before*

the Council of Antioch, which was composed of Seventy Bishops (3). So that *Paul* must be twice deposed, St. *Basil* must contradict himself, all the Writers of those times must be arraigned as guilty of an unpardonable Omission, lest the Bishop of *Rome* should appear to have been, what he really was, an idle Spectator of a Transaction so famous in the History of the Church. A Writer of any Honour or Honesty had rather give up a Cause, than expose himself thus by attempting to defend it.

(3) Bar. ad ann. 265. n. 10.

by

Dionysius
dies,

not a Martyr.

by Passion and Prejudice than by Justice and Equity, he referred the Cause to the Bishops of *Italy*, who he thought would judge more impartially, as being placed at a Distance, and not engaged, at least not so warmly, in the Dispute ^t. But this happened Two Years after the Death of *Dionysius*; for he died on the 26th of *December* 269. *Claudius* and *Paternus* being Consuls, after having governed the Church of *Rome* for the Space of Ten Years, Five Months, and Four Days, according to the most probable Opinion ^u. As he died in the Reign of *Claudius* II. surnamed *the Gothic*, who is represented in the Acts of some pretended Martyrs as an implacable Enemy to the Christian Name, he is in some Martyrologies honoured with the Title of Martyr; but as neither *Eusebius*, nor any other antient Writer, takes notice of that Prince's having ever persecuted or molested the Christians, those Acts ought to be looked upon as fabulous, and *Dionysius* with 375 more expunged out of the Catalogue of Martyrs; though some of them, namely *Marcus*, *Priscus*, *Valentine*, and *Quirinus*, are honoured by the Church of *Rome*, as Saints of the first Class, and have filled with their Reliques most of the Provinces of *Europe*.

CLAUDIUS II.

F E L I X,

AURELIAN.

Twenty-fifth BISHOP of *Rome*.

Year of
Christ 269.

Felix dies a
Martyr in
the Persecu-
tion of Au-
relian.

DIONYSIUS was succeeded by *Felix*, in whose time a furious Persecution being raised by *Aurelian*, he may be supposed to have suffered among the rest, since he is distinguished by the Council of *Ephesus* ^a, by St. *Cyril* ^b, and by *Vincentius Lirinensis* ^c, with the Title of Martyr. He presided, according to *Eusebius* ^d, *Syncellus* ^e, and *Eutychius* ^f, Five Years, to which *Baronius* adds Eleven Months, and Twenty-five Days ^g. He writ a Letter addressed to *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which is quoted by *Cyril*, and the Council of *Ephesus* ^h. The Acts of the Martyrs, who are supposed to have suffered under *Aurelian*, are without all doubt supposititious; for in

^t Vide Du Pin de antiq. ecc. discip. dissert. 2. p. 156.

^a Conc. t. 3. p. 511.

^b Cyr. ib.

^c Vin. Lirin. c. 42.

^u Buch. p. 272.

^e Sync. p. 385.

^f Eutych. p. 400.

^g Buch. 272.

^d Euseb. l. 7. c. 32.

p. 511. 851.

^h Conc. t. 3.

them

them frequent Mention is made of the Emperor's Son, whereas the Writers of those times tell us in express Terms, that he had a Daughter, but no Male Issue ⁱ.

AURELIAN,
TACITUS,

EUTYCHIANUS,

PROBUS,
CARUS.

Twenty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

FELIX being dead, *Eutychianus* was chosen in his room in the ^{Year of} very Beginning of the Year 275 ^{Christ 275}. Several Things are said of him by *Anastasius*, and other Writers of no Authority; but all I can learn of the Antients concerning him is, that he governed Eight Years and Eleven Months ¹; and consequently died in the Close of the Year 283. He is honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Martyr, and said in the *Roman* Martyrology to have suffered under *Numerian*; but it is certain that in 283. when *Eutychianus* died, *Numerian* was ^{Felix not} not Emperor, but only *Cæsar*, and at that very time engaged with his ^{martyred.} Father *Carus* in a War with the *Persians* in the East, where he was assassinated by *Aper* his Father-in-Law. As for his Brother *Carinus*, who remained in the West, neither he, nor the two preceding Emperors, *Tacitus* and *Probus*, ever gave the least Disturbance to the Christians; so that the Church of *Rome* must be at the Trouble of finding out a distinct Place in Heaven from that of the Martyrs for *Eutychianus*, *Trophimus*, *Sabbacius*, and the illustrious Senator *Dorymedon*, who are supposed to have suffered under those Princes.

CARUS,
CARINUS,
NUMERIAN,

CAIUS,

DIOCLESIAN,
MAXIMIAN.

Twenty-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

AS little is said by the Antients of *Caius* as is said of his Predecessor. A few Days after the Death of *Eutychianus*, *Caius* was ^{Year of} chosen to succeed him, *Carus* and *Carinus* being Consuls ^{Christ 283}. He presided Twelve Years, Four Months, and Seven Days; that is, from the

¹ Aur. vit. p. 223.
² Id. ib.

^k Euseb. l. 7. c. 32. Buch. p. 272.

^l Buch. ib.

*Caius not a
Martyr, tho'
honoured as a
Martyr.*

*The Church
of Rome
why so fond
of Martyrs.*

17th of December 283. to the 22d of April 296. *Caius* too is counted by the Church of *Rome* among her Martyrs, upon the Authority of *Bede*, and of the Acts of *St. Susanna*, by which that Writer seems to have been misled. In those Acts *Caius* is said to have suffered with *Susanna* his Niece, and many others, under *Numerian*: but that Prince in his Father's Life-time had no great Power, being only *Cæsar*, and very young, and was killed on his March out of *Persia* soon after his Father's Death; so that he never reigned in the West, and but very short time in the East. *Caius* therefore could not suffer under him at *Rome*, where his elder Brother *Carinus* governed. But the Vulgar have a particular Veneration for Martyrs, and, what turns to a very good Account, are glad to purchase their Reliques at any rate. The Church of *Rome* therefore, to provide herself with great Store of them, has multiplied beyond Belief the Number of her Martyrs; which she could not well do without multiplying at the same time the Number of the Persecutors of the Christian Religion. And hence it is that several Princes, who never molested, nay, who greatly favoured the Christians, have been by the Church of *Rome* transformed in her Martyrologies and Legends into Persecutors. As for the Acts of the supposed *St. Susanna*, they are full of Mistakes and Absurdities, and contradict the best Historians of those Times.

DIOCLESIAN,
MAXIMIAN,

MARCELINUS,

CONSTANTIUS,
GALERIUS

Twenty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 296.

*Marcellinus
unjustly
aspersed by
the Church of
Rome.*

MARCELLINUS succeeded *Caius* on the 30th of June 296. and governed Eight Years, Three Months, and Twenty-five Days, according to the most antient Recordsⁿ: so that he must have died on the 24th of October 304. The Love of Truth, which an Historian ought never to swerve from, obliges me to undertake the Defence of this Pope against the Church of *Rome* herself, and most of her Divines, who, joining the *Donatists* of *Africa*, have endeavoured to blacken his Memory with Aspersions equally wicked and groundless. For the Church of *Rome* tells us, both in her Breviary and Martyrology, and her Divines must chime in with her, that *Marcellinus* being appre-

ⁿ Buch. cycl. p. 272.

hended during the Persecution of *Dioclesian*, he was persuaded by that Prince to deliver up the Holy Scripture to be burnt by the Pagans, agreeably to a late Edict, and at the same time to offer Incense to the Gods. This they found on the Acts of the Council of *Sinuessa*, which is supposed to have been summoned on that Occasion, and before which *Marcellinus* is said to have been convicted by Seventy-two Witnesses of the above-mentioned Crimes. That such a scandalous Story, invented by the *Donatists* of *Africa*, as St. *Austin* affirms ^k, should not only have been credited, but industriously propagated, by the Successors of *Marcellinus*, must seem very strange and surprising to those, who recollect with how much Zeal they have strove on other Occasions to conceal or excuse the least Imperfections in their Predecessors. If therefore they not only readily own the Apostasy of *Marcellinus*, but are the first to divulge it, and take care to make it known in the Breviary to those who scarce know any thing else; we may be well assured there is a Snake hid in the Grass; the more as it is certain almost beyond doubt, that no such Council was ever held; and consequently that the Acts upon which alone that Apostasy is founded, are supposititious. To unravel the Whole, the Reader must know, that the Fall of *Marcellinus* made such a Noise in the Church, as we read in those Acts, that immediately a grand Council met, composed of no fewer than 300 Bishops. Before this Council *Marcellinus* appeared; but, at his first Appearance, the Bishops, struck with Horror at the very Thought of judging the Head of the Church, the Judge of all, cried out with one Voice, *The first See is to be judged by no-body: accuse yourself, judge yourself, condemn yourself.* To this Testimony, ^{Their View therein.} so favourable to the ambitious Views of the Bishops of *Rome*, is intirely owing the Sanction which they have given to such Fables, highly injurious to the Memory of one of their best Predecessors. Without this Lenitive the Acts of the pretended Council of *Sinuessa*, supposing the Apostasy of a Pope, had been condemned; the Absurdities and Contradictions, which it is wholly made up of, had been set forth in a proper Light; and the Testimonies of *Theodore* and St. *Austin* had been alleged to vindicate the Character of *Marcellinus*: for of these two Writers the former tells us, that he acquired great Glory by his Conduct during the Persecution^l; and the latter, in writing against *Petilian* the *Donatist*, has the following Words: *Why should I answer the Calumnies with which he loads the Bishops of Rome? Why*

*Marcellinus
commended
and vindicated by the
Antients.*

^k Aug. de bapt. c. 10.

^l Theod. l. 1. c. 2. p. 524.

should I clear them from the Crimes which he lays to their Charge? Marcellinus, and his Presbyters Melchiades, Marcellus, and Sylvester, are accused by him as if they had delivered up the sacred Books, and offered Incense to the Gods: Are they therefore to be thought guilty? Does he prove what he advances against them? He brands them with the Epithets of wicked, and sacrilegious; but I say they are innocent: And why should I produce Reasons to support my Defence, since he brings none to make good his Charge^m? But a solemn Declaration, that the See of Rome is to be judged by no body, made in those early Times, by 300 Bishops, carries with it such Marks of Truth, as quite invalidate the Testimonies of *Theodoret* and *St. Austin*, and render the Apostasy of *Marcellinus*, which gave room to that Declaration, undeniable! *St. Austin* looks upon the Apostasy of *Marcellinus*, and his Presbyters *Melchiades*, *Marcellus*, and *Sylvester*, who were all afterwards Bishops of *Rome*, as a mere Calumny, as an Invention of the *Donatists*; but their Successors, trampling upon all Authority that stands in the Way of their Ambition, chuse rather to have Four of their Predecessors thought Apostates and Idolaters, than part with the Decree of that pretended Council, exalting them so high above all other Bishops.

*The Acts of
the Council of
Sinuessæ fa-
lulous.*

If *Marcellinus* acquired great Glory during the Persecution, as *Theodoret* assures us; if his Apostasy was a mere Calumny, broached by the *Donatists*, as we read in *St. Austin*; the pretended Council of *Sinuessæ* must be given up, since it is supposed to have been assembled on occasion of *Marcellinus's* Fall: but, abstracting from the Fall of *Marcellinus*, the Circumstances attending that Council are in themselves so absurd and incredible, that there needs no other Argument to convince a Man, who has any Understanding, and dares to use it, that no such Council ever was, or could be held. For who can conceive it possible, that, during the most cruel Persecution the Church ever suffered, 300 Bishops should assemble, not in *Rome*, where they might more easily have met unobserved, but in a small Country Town, where a much less numerous Assembly must immediately have been observed and suspected? But, after the Death of *Fabianus*, says *Baronius*ⁿ, the Clergy of *Rome*, and the Bishops, met to chuse him a Successor, notwithstanding the Persecution that raged then. He ought to have said *some Bishops*, as *St. Cyprian* does^o, whom he

*No such
Council ever
held.*

^m Aug. in Pet. c. 16. t. 7. p. 87.
ep. 31.

ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 303. n. 102. 105.

^o Cyp.

quotes; but I shall say so for him, that his Argument may appear in its full Strength, and save me the Trouble of answering it; for it will then run thus: Some Bishops, perhaps 15 or 20, met unobserved in the great and populous City of *Rome*: Ergo, 300 might meet unobserved in a small Country Town; for such was *Sinuessa*.

This Council is supposed to have been held in a Grotto, or Cave, where there was no room but for 50 at a time; and yet they are all said to have been present when *Marcellinus* owned his Crime, and divested himself of his Dignity. And what a despicable Figure does he make on that Occasion! At first he denies the Charge; but, being convicted by 72 Eye-witnesses, he owns it at last, but in Terms more becoming a School-boy, trembling at the Sight of a Rod, than a penitent Bishop, before so grave an Assembly. But the most remarkable Passage in that Piece is the Dispute between *Urbanus* High Pontiff of *Jupiter*, and *Marcellinus* High Pontiff of the Christians. *Urbanus*, to convince his Fellow-Pontiff that he ought not to scruple offering Incense to *Jupiter*, alleges the Example of the Mages offering Incense to *Christ*. *Marcellinus* answers, That the offering of Incense on that Occasion was mysterious; and unravels the Mystery. Hereupon *Urbanus*, unacquainted with Mysteries, appeals to the Judgment of the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*; to this Appeal *Marcellinus* agrees; and the Controversy is referred by both Pontiffs to be decided by the Two Emperors. They, no doubt, gave Sentence in favour of *Jupiter* and *Urbanus*; and then *Dioclesian*, taking *Marcellinus* with him into the Temple of *Vesta*, persuaded him there to offer Incense to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Saturn*. How these Three Deities came to have a Place in the Temple of *Vesta*, the Compiler of these Acts alone knows. Such are the Absurdities and Contradictions, of which that Piece is wholly made up. But it flatters the Ambition of the Successors of *Marcellinus*; on occasion of his Fall it exalts the See of *Rome* above all other Sees: its Authority therefore must not be called in question: all the Absurdities and Contradictions it contains, must be blindly believed; the Memory of *Marcellinus* most unjustly slandered; the Testimonies of *Theodoret*, and St. *Austin*, clearing him from all Guilt, disregarded and rejected. And may not this be interpreted as a tacit Declaration, that they had rather he had been guilty than innocent, provided his Guilt could any-ways contribute to the Aggrandizing of their See? What can we think their Ambition will spare, since they have thus sacrificed to it

*The many
Absurdities
contained in
the Acts of
that Council.*

Marcellinus
falsely sup-
posed to have
died a Mar-
tyr.

the Character of one of their Predecessors, whose Memory is revered by all Antiquity? The Church of *Rome* honours *Marcellinus* as a Saint; and, notwithstanding his pretended Apostasy, allows him a Place amongst her Martyrs; probably by way of Reparation for the Injustice done him. But his Martyrdom may be justly questioned; at least it seems to have been utterly unknown to St. *Austin*, who flourished not long after his Time, since he never mentions it, tho' it would have afforded him the strongest Argument he could possibly use to silence the *Donatists*. His Martyrdom, 'tis true, is vouched by *Bede*, who tells us, that he was beheaded at *Rome*, by *Dioclesian's* Order; but that Historian is often led into gross Mistakes by a Pontifical, supposed to have been written in the Sixth Century, which he frequently copies, with all its Anachronisms, and other Faults.

Vacancy of
Three Years.

That, upon the Death of *Marcellinus*, there happened a Vacancy of some Years, seems undeniable; since it is marked in the Pontificals, even in that of *Bucherius* p, and mentioned by all those who, till *Baronius's* Time, have written the History of the Popes: but what at this time should occasion a Vacancy at least of Three Years, is what I will not take upon me to account for: the Persecution lasted but Two Years in *Italy*, according to *Eusebius* q, which expired soon after the Death of *Marcellinus*: some pretend that it raged there so long as *Galerius* was Master of that Country. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Maxentius* usurped the Empire in 306. and that he not only favoured the Christians, but pretended to be of the same Religion himself; and yet the See remained vacant, according to the Pontifical of *Bucherius* r, till the Tenth Consulate of *Maximian Hercules*, and the Seventh of *Maximian Galerius*, that is, till the Year 308. *Baronius* indeed admits of no Vacancy; but, in Opposition to all those who have written before him, places the Election of *Marcellus* immediately after the Decease of his Predecessor *Marcellinus* s. This I should readily agree to, but for the Authority of the above-mentioned Pontifical, which had not yet appeared in *Baronius's* Time, and is thought to have been written about the Year 354. As for the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, it can be here of no Weight on the one Side or the other, since *Marcellus* is there quite left out; and his Successor *Melchiades* is said to have died before *Constantine* made

p Buch. p. 272.
304. n. 26, 27.

q Euseb. l. 8. c. 14.

r Buch. ib.

s Bar. ad ann.

him.

himself Master of *Rome*; whereas it is certain, that, under *Melchiades*, a Council was held at *Rome*, by that Prince's Order, as we shall see hereafter.

MAXIMIAN,
CONSTANTIUS,

MARCELLUS,

GALERIUS,
CONSTANTINE.

Twenty-ninth BISHOP of *Rome*.

UPON the Death of *Marcellinus*, the See remained vacant somewhat above Three Years and an Half; that is, from the 24th of *October* 304. to the 19th of *May* 308. when *Marcellus* was chosen in his room, Thus says the Pontifical of *Bucherius*, where, instead of Seven Years, which is a Mistake of the Transcribers, as is manifest from the Consulships mark'd there, we must read Three ^t. The Similitude of the Two Names has misled some Writers to confound *Marcellinus* with *Marcellus*; for *Eusebius*, as well as St. *Jerom* only mention the former; and *Theodoret*, omitting both *Marcellus* and *Eusebius*, who succeeded him, names *Melchiades* as the immediate Successor of *Marcellinus* ^u; which has made Dr. *Pearson* doubt, whether *Marcellus* was ever Bishop of *Rome* ^w. But *Marcellinus* and *Marcellus* are evidently distinguished in the Pontifical of *Bucherius*, by the different Times, in which they governed, and the different Consuls, under whom their Government began and ended ^x. They are, besides, distinguished both by *Optatus Milevitanus* ^y, and St. *Austin* ^z, who speaks of *Marcellus*, not only as a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, but as Bishop of that See. To these Testimonies I may add the Epitaph of *Marcellus* by Pope *Damasus*, supposing him to have been Bishop of *Rome* ^a. *Damasus* flourished about the Year 366. Many things are said of *Marcellus*; but they are all founded either on his Acts, or the modern Pontificals, and consequently have no Foundation at all. Pope *Damasus*, in his Epitaph, tells us, that his Steadiness in keeping up the Discipline of the Church, and obliging such as had fallen, during the Persecution, to give due Satisfaction, stirred up against him a general Hatred, which, not confined to private Disputes and Invectives, ended in Tumults, Blood-

Year of
Christ 308.

Marcellinus
and *Marcel-*
lus confound-
ed by some
Writers;

but distin-
guished by
others.

^t Buch. p. 272.
^y Opt. l. 2. p. 48.
Jan. p. 5.

^u Theod. l. 1. c. 2.

^w Pearf. post. 109.

^z Aug. ep. 165. & in Petil. c. 16. p. 87.

^x Buch. p. 272.

^a Vide Bolland. 16.

shed,

Marcellus
is banished.

His Acts are
fabulous.

His Reliques.

shed, and Murders ^b. *Damasus* adds, that *the Crime of one, who had renounced the Faith, while the Church enjoyed a profound Peace, induced the Tyrant Maxentius to send Marcellus into Banishment*. But of these Transactions the Antients either have not thought fit to give us a more particular Account, or, if they did, their Writings have not reached our Times. *Marcellus* died on the 16th of *January* 310. having held the Pontificate One Year, Seven Months, and Twenty Days ^c; but whether he died in Banishment, or was recalled to *Rome*, is uncertain. The Church of *Rome*, upon the Authority of his fabulous Acts, has added him, with many others, to the Number of her Martyrs: but *Maxentius*, who reigned at *Rome* during his Pontificate, and under whom he is said to have suffered, had no sooner made himself Master of that City, than he put an End to the Persecution, as we are told, in express Terms, by *Eusebius* ^d. He is said to have been buried in the Coemetry of *Priscilla*, on the *Salarian* Way ^e: but his Body, like the Bodies of most other Saints, is now worshipped in several Places; *viz.* in a Church, bearing his Name, at *Rome*; in the Abbey of *Omont* in *Hainault*, not far from *Maubeuge*; at *Cluni*, in a Parish-Church of the Diocese of *Elne* in *Roussillon* ^f, &c.

CONSTANTINE,

EUSEBIUS,

LICINIUS.

Thirtieth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 310.

MARCELLUS was succeeded by *Eusebius*, who governed Seven Months, according to *Eusebius* ^g, but only Four Months and Sixteen Days according to the Pontifical of *Bucherius* ^h. From an antient Epitaph on this Pope we learn, that he opposed, with great Vigour and Zeal, one *Heraclius*, pretending that those who had n during the Persecution, ought to be readmitted to the Communion of the Church, without giving such Satisfaction as was then and that hereupon great Divisions happening among the *centius*, to put an End to those Disturbances, banished *Eusebius* ⁱ. Many other things are said of him by *Anastasy*.

309. ^c Buch. p. 272. ^d Euseb. l. 8. c. 14. ^e Boll. Jan. 16. & Flor. in Martyr. Hier. p. 256, 257. ^f Euseb. chron. ^g Buch. r. ad ann. 311.

sius,

destined for the Assemblies of the Christians, to restore them forthwith, and apply to the Exchequer; where they should be indemnified ⁹. The same Year 313. *Licinius*, having gained a complete Victory over *Maximinus*, a sworn Enemy to the Christians, made himself Master of *Nicomedia*, and there caused the Edict of *Milan* to be proclaimed, and set up in the Market-place, on the 13th of *June* ¹. Thus Peace was restored to the Church, in the East as well as in the West, after a most cruel and bloody Persecution of Ten Years, and almost Four Months; for the First Edict against the Christians had been published in that very City on the 24th of *February* 303 ^s.

*The Schism
of the Dona-
tists in
Africa.*

Another remarkable Incident of this Pontificate was, the famous Schism, formed in *Africa* against *Cæcilianus*, the Catholic Bishop of *Carthage*; whereof a succinct Account will not be foreign to my Subject, as *Melchiades* was chiefly concerned in most of the Transactions relating to it. The first Decree against the Christians, published by *Dioclesian*, which I have just now mentioned, ordered the Churches to be every-where laid level with the Ground, the Books of the Scripture to be carefully sought for, and publicly burnt; and that such Persons of Quality as should persist in the Profession of the Christian Faith, should be deemed infamous, and excluded from all Honours and Employments. This Edict was executed with such Rigour in *Africa*, that it was a capital Crime in the Magistrates of the Cities, and punishable with Death, to shew any Mercy or Compassion to a Christian, who, owning he had the sacred Books, should refuse to deliver them into the Hands of the proper Officers. Those who, in Compliance with this Edict, delivered them up, which great Numbers did, were styled *Traditores*, a Name, which afterwards became famous in the History of the Church, by affording the *Donatists* a plausible Pretence to separate themselves from the Communion of the Catholic Bishops ^t. Of this Crime *Mensurius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, was falsely accused; but, though the Charge could not be proved against him, yet some of his Flock, encouraged by *Donatus*, Bishop of *Casjenigræ* in *Numidia*, separated from his Communion ^u. *Mensurius* dying some Years after, *Cæcilianus*, Deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, was chosen in his room, in Spite of the Cabals and Intrigues of *Botrus* and *Cælesius*, Two chief Presbyters, who aspired to

*Traditores
who.*

⁹ Euseb. ib. ¹ Lact. perf. c. 47, 48. ^s Idem ib. ^t Aug. l. 7. c. 2. Opt. l. 1. p. 32. ^u Aug. collat. Carth. die 3. c. 12. Vales. in not. ad Euseb. hist. p. 191. that

that Dignity. *Cæcilianus*, soon after his Election, summoned some Persons, in whose Custody his Predecessor had left the Money of the Church, to deliver it up to him: but they not only refused to comply with his Demand, but began to stir up the People, and form a Party against him. *Botrus* and *Cælestus* were not idle on this Occasion; but, animated with Jealousy and Envy, left no Art unpractised to blacken his Character, and discredit him with those who had preferred him to them. But the chief Support of this Faction was *Lucilla*, a Woman of great Quality, Wealth, and Interest, and an avowed Enemy to *Cæcilianus*, who, while he was yet Deacon, had publicly reprimanded her for kissing the Relique of a Martyr, as she was upon the Point of receiving the Eucharist. An undeniable Proof that the Worship of Reliques was at this time disapproved by the Church. Such Liberty taken with a Person of her Rank, was what she could not brook; and therefore she laid hold of the first Opportunity that offered, and no better could offer, to revenge the Affront^w. It is not to be doubted but those, who had separated from *Mensurius*, joined this Faction; since the Second Schism owed its Origin to the First, as St. *Austin* says, speaking of the Two Schisms under *Mensurius* and *Cæcilianus*^x.

*The chief
Authors of
the Schism
against Cæ-
cilianus.*

The Schismatics, to give an Appearance of Justice and Authority to their Proceedings, summoned *Secundus* Bishop of *Tigisis*, and the other Bishops of *Numidia*, to depose *Cæcilianus*, and chuse another in his room; for the Bishops of *Numidia* claimed the Privilege of assisting at the Election of the Bishop of *Carthage*, and ordaining him after he was elected^y. They readily complied with the Summons; but, upon their Arrival, they found, to their great Surprise, that the whole City, except a small Number of Schismatics, the avowed Enemies of *Cæcilianus*, communicated with him as their lawful Bishop^z. They were 70 in Number; but as many of them were *Traditors*, and some guilty of other enormous Crimes, as appears from the Acts of the Council of *Cirtha*^a, they were easily prevailed upon by *Lucilla*, who is said to have spent an immense Sum on this Occasion^b, to declare the Election of *Cæcilianus* void, and the See of *Carthage* vacant. The only thing they could lay to his Charge

*The Bishops
of Numidia
summoned to
depose him.*

*They declare
his Election
null.*

^w Opt. l. 1. p. 41. Aug. Psal. Abced. p. 3. in Petil. c. 18. & contr. epist. Parmen. p. 7. ^x Aug. coll. Carth. die 3. c. 12. ^y Aug. in Par. l. 1. c. 3. & Psal. Abced. p. 3. Opt. p. 41. ^z Opt. ib. ^a Aug. in Cresc. l. 3. c. 26, 27, 29. & coll. die 3. c. 17. die 2. c. 14, &c. ^b Aug. in Gaud. l. 1. c. 37. ep. 162. & in Psal. 36. p. 119.

was, that he had been ordained by *Felix* Bishop of *Aptungus*, whom they falsely accused as a *Traditor*. *Cæcilianus* refused to appear before them; and truly to trust himself to such an Assembly, had been acting a very imprudent Part; for *Purpurius*, Bishop of *Limata*, had said, *If he comes among us, instead of laying our Hands upon him, by way of Ordination, we ought to knock out his Brains, by way of Penance*^a.

The Schismatics separate themselves from the Communion of the Church.

The Party having thus declared *Cæcilianus* illegally elected and ordained, they separated themselves from his Communion, and from the Communion of all who communicated with him^b; that is, from the Communion of the Catholic Church; for *Cæcilianus* was acknowledged by the other Bishops of *Africa*, by the Bishop of *Rome*, and by all the Bishops of the World, says St. *Austin*^c. Such was the Rise of the famous Schism, which, for the Space of 300 Years, and upwards, occasioned great Disturbances in the Churches of *Africa*. *Donatus*, Bishop of *Casenigræ* in *Numidia*, was the first Author of it, according to St. *Austin*^d; but it was not from him, but from *Donatus*, the Schismatic Bishop of *Carthage*, that they took the Name of *Donatists*; for, till his Time, they styled themselves the Party of *Majorinus*^e, whom they chose and ordained Bishop of *Carthage*, in the room of *Cæcilianus*; though he was then only Lector of that Church, and had been formerly one of *Lucilla's* menial Servants^f. To justify their Conduct, and their electing a new Bishop, they writ Letters to all the Churches of *Africa*, filled with Calumnies against *Cæcilianus*, and those who had ordained him. By these Letters great Numbers were imposed upon, and misled; insomuch that, the People being every-where divided, most Churches had Two Bishops, the one ordained by *Majorinus*, and the other by *Cæcilianus*^g.

Called Donatists, and from whom.

Edicts enacted by Constantine, in favour of the Christian Religion.

About this time, that is, about the Year 313. *Constantine*, out of his Zeal for the Christian Religion, issued Two Decrees, addressed to *Anulinus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, the one commanding all the Places in that Province to be restored, which had once belonged to the Catholic Church, and might have been usurped during the Persecution^h; and the other, exempting the Ecclesiastics from all civil Functionsⁱ. This Privilege was granted only to the Ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church, whereof *Cæcilianus* was the Head, as was ex-

^a Opt. p. 41. ^b Aug. coll. die 3. c. 14. ^c Id. ep. 162. ^d In Ioann. evang. tract. 69. p. 12. ^e Hier. vir. ill. c. 93. ^f Opt. l. 1. p. 42. ^g Aug. ep. 162. ^h Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. ⁱ Idem, ib. c. 7. & Cod. Theod. 16. t. 2. l. 1. p. 20.

pressly declared in the Edict, and therefore to him alone the Proconsul imparted it. It was a great Mortification to the *Donatists* to see themselves thus disregarded by the Emperor: they therefore assembled a few Days after, and, drawing up a Petition to *Constantine*, they delivered it, unsealed, to *Anulinus*, together with a Bundle of Papers, sealed up in a Leather Bag, with this Title: *The Petition of the Catholic Church, containing the Crimes of Cæcilianus; by the Party of Majorinus.* The Substance of the Petition was, that the Controversy between them and the other Bishops of *Africa* might be referred to the Bishops of *Gaul*, who were free from the Imputation of having delivered up the sacred Books to the Pagans^k. *Anulinus* immediately dispatched a Messenger to the Emperor, both with the Request, and the Papers, giving him, at the same time, by a Letter still extant^l, an Insight into the Dispute, that made so great a Noise in *Africa*. *Constantine*, who was then in *Gaul*, having received and read all those Pieces, expressed great Concern to find the Christians thus divided among themselves, and the Bishops at Variance with one another^m. However, he readily granted to the *Donatists* the Judges they demanded, naming, for that Purpose, *Maternus* Bishop of *Cologne*, *Rheticus* Bishop of *Autun*, and *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*ⁿ; all Men of known Integrity, great Learning, and unblemished Characters. To these, by a Letter under his own Hand, he gave Notice of their new Commission; and, at the same time, for their better Information, he caused Copies to be transmitted to them, of all the Papers he had received from *Anulinus*^o. The Three Bishops were ordered to repair, with all Speed, to *Rome*, and there, jointly with *Melchiades*, Bishop of that City, to sit as Judges of the Controversy. *Cæcilianus* likewise was ordered to *Rome*, and allowed to take with him Ten Bishops of his Party, such as he should judge the most capable of defending his Cause; and the same Liberty was granted to the adverse Party^p. *Constantine*, in the Letter he writ on this Occasion to *Melchiades*, after appealing to him as a Witness of the Respect and Veneration he had for the Catholic Church, declares, he had nothing so much at Heart as to see her Members happily united: he therefore earnestly intreats him to examine the Affair with the utmost Attention, and, jointly with the

The Donatists petition Constantine, that the Dispute may be referred to the Bishops of Gaul.

The Bishops named by Constantine.

His Letter to Melchiades.

^k Aug. ep. 68. Vales. in not. ad hist. Euseb. p. 197. ^l Coll. Carth. in concil. per Steph. Baluz. c. 3. n. 216. 220. p. 578. ^m Opt. l. 1. p. 44. ⁿ Opt. ib. Aug. ep. 166. ^o Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. ^p Coll. Carth. p. 149.

*The Council
of Rome.*

*Cæcilianus
absolved, and
Donatus
condemned.*

*Melchiades
dies.*

Bishops of *Gaul*, to judge it according to the strictest Laws of Justice and Equity ^q. In this Letter *Constantine* names no other Judges but the Three Bishops of *Gaul*, *Melchiades*, and one *Mark*, supposed to have been Bishop of *Milan*, whom he joins with *Melchiades*; but afterwards he ordered Seven more to be added to the Number, and as many as could soon and conveniently assemble; so that they were at last 19 in all ^r. They met, for the first time, on *Friday* the Second of *October* 313. *Constantine* and *Licinius* being the third time Consuls ^s. The Place they met in was the Apartment of *Fausta*, in the *Lateran* Palace^t, she being then, in all Likelihood, absent in *Gaul*, with the Emperor her Husband. Before this Assembly *Cæcilianus* appeared as the Person accused, and *Donatus* of *Casenigræ* as the Accuser. They had but Three Meetings: in the First the Characters of the Accusers and Witnesses were strictly inquired into, and their Depositions heard; in the Second the Acts of the Council of *Carthage*, which had condemned *Cæcilianus*, as I have related above, were examined; and in the last *Cæcilianus*, against whom nothing had been proved, was absolved, and *Donatus* condemned as a Slanderer, and the chief Author of the Schism ^u. An Account of the Whole, together with the Acts of the Council, was immediately transmitted to *Constantine*, who began to flatter himself, that he had put an End to the Dispute; for he could not imagine, that the *Donatists* would appeal from the Judgment of such unexceptionable Judges, of Judges whom they themselves had demanded. But the good Prince was yet a Stranger to the Nature of religious Disputes, to the Heat, Animosity, and enthusiastic Rancour, with which they are commonly carried on. Notwithstanding the Pains he took, and his Successors after him, and no Pains they spared to heal these unhappy Divisions, they continued, to the great Scandal of the Pagans, rending the Church into most furious Parties and Factions, for the Space of near 300 Years. The Council of *Rome* was held in the Month of *October* 313. and *Melchiades* died on the Tenth of *January* ensuing, *Volusianus* and *Anienus* being Consuls, having presided for the Space of Two Years, Six Months, and Eight Days ^w. About an hundred Years after, the *Donatists* charged him with having delivered up the sacred Books, and offered Incense to the Pagan Gods; but this St. *Austin* calls a groundless Charge, a mere Calumny, a

^q Euseb. ib. ^r Opt. l. 1. p. 44. ^s Aug. coll. Carth. die 3. c. 17. Opt. ib.
^t Opt. ib. ^u Coll. Carth. p. 149. & ep. 162. Opt. ib. ^w Buch. p. 272.

malicious Invention of the *Donatists* of his Time to justify the Conduct of their Predecessors, in appealing, as they did, from the Council of *Rome*, at which *Melchiades* assisted, and probably presided, as Bishop of the Imperial City ^x.

Baronius, impatient to see the Pope raised to the Rank of a Prince, endeavours to prove, that *Melchiades* was placed in that Station by *Constantine*, and argues thus: The Council of *Rome* was held in the *Lateran* Palace; therefore that Palace had been given by *Constantine* to *Melchiades*, and belonged to him; for that an Assembly of Nineteen Bishops only should meet in so spacious a Place, can no otherwise be accounted for, but by supposing the Pope to have resided there. This he calls a Demonstration ^y. Having thus got him a Palace, and, no doubt, magnificently furnished, he finds no Difficulty in equipping him in every other respect as a Prince: For who can imagine, says he, that *Constantine*, so pious, so generous a Prince, would have given to the Head of the Church a Royal Palace to live in, and not allow him at the same time a suitable Retinue, with suitable Appointments? To act otherwise, had not been honouring, but disgracing the Christian Religion, since its High Pontiff, strolling about all alone in a huge Palace, could be but an Object of Ridicule to the Pontiffs of the Pagan Superstition, who lived in magnificent Houses, with answerable Grandeur ^z. Thus is the Bishop metamorphosed at once into a Sovereign. But the Metamorphosis is somewhat premature. If *Constantine*, yet a *Neophyte*, was not well acquainted with the true Spirit of the Christian Religion, *Melchiades* was; and therefore, had that Prince offered to distinguish him by any such Marks of worldly Grandeur, I do not question but, as he was a very good Man, he would have taken from thence an Opportunity of instructing him better in the Principles of his new Profession, and shewing him in what Contempt the Christian Prelates had, and he himself ought to have, all worldly Grandeur. But no such Offer was ever made or dreamt of: For what at length is all this founded on? On the Meeting of the Council in the *Lateran* Palace. The *French* Academy meet in the *Louvre*: Are they therefore Princes? And does not *Optatus*, of whom we have the whole Account, call it in express Terms the House of *Fausta*? *Fausta* perhaps lived there, says *Baronius*, during the long and flourishing

*Whether the
Lateran Pa-
lace was gi-
ven by Con-
stantine to
Melchiades.*

^x Aug. in Pet. p. 87. & in Par. c. 5. p. 8. ^y Bar. ad ann. 312. n. 82. ^z Id. ib. n. 85. ^a Opt. l. 1. p. 44.

Reign of her Father *Maximian*, and thence it might be called the House of *Fausta*. Thus in the End is his Demonstration dwindled away to a mere Conjecture, and a very groundless one too: But, waving that, why might not *Fausta* continue in the same Palace after her Father's Death, with her Husband *Constantine*, when he was at *Rome*, or alone, when she did not attend him in the Wars? The Annalist seems to have forgot that *Fausta* was *Constantine's* Wife. But after all, the Empress, as it appears to me, had only an Apartment in the *Lateran*; for in this Sense I understand *Optatus* saying, *The Council was held in the House, or Habitation, of Fausta in the Lateran*. But her being any-ways there excludes *Melchiades*. Their sitting in the Imperial Palace gave a kind of Authority and Sanction to their Decisions; and besides, there might not be room in the House of *Melchiades*, if he had a House, for the Council, and those who were to attend it, they being in all Forty Bishops; so that we need not put *Melchiades* in Possession of that Palace to account for the Council's meeting in it, as *Baronius* has done.

CONSTANTINE.

SYLVESTER.

Thirty-second Bishop of Rome.

Year of
Christ 314.

The Donatists complain
of the Council of Rome.

The Council
of Arles.

SYLVESTER was chosen in the room of *Melchiades* on the last of January 314^b. In his time were held the two great Councils of *Arles* and *Nice*. The former was convened by *Constantine's* Order at the Request of the *Donatists*, who, instead of acquiescing to the Judgment of the Council of *Rome*, loudly complained to the Emperor of the Bishops who composed it, as partial, prejudiced, and over-hasty in deciding a Controversy of the greatest Importance^c. *Constantine* heard them with great Patience; and that he might leave them no Colour or Pretence whatsoever to continue in their Schism, he summoned a second Council to meet at *Arles*, inviting several Bishops to it with most pathetic Letters under his own Hand, and ordering the Proconsuls and Governors of Provinces to acquaint the rest with his Desire and Intention. *Chrestus*, or *Crescentius*, Bishop of *Syracuse*, was allowed, and so, without all doubt, were the rest,

^b Buch. p. 272.^c Euseb. l. 10. c. 5.

to bring two Presbyters with him, and three Attendants, as we learn from the Emperor's Letter to him, which is ſtill extant ^d. They were all to be ſupplied with Conveniences for traveling, and every thing elſe, at the public Expence. The Time appointed for their Meeting was the firſt of *Auguſt* 314. and on that Day they met accordingly ^e, not from all Parts of the World, as we read in the Acts of the Second Council of *Arles* ^f, but from *Africa*, and moſt other Provinces of the Weſt. *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* was invited to it; but he excuſed himſelf on account of his Age, and ſent in his room the two Presbyters, *Claudianus* and *Vitus*, with *Eugenius* and *Cyriacus*, Deacons: the Biſhop of *Oſtia* ſent likewise two Presbyters in his room ^g. By this Aſſembly *Cæcilianus* was again declared innocent, and thoſe who ſhould falſly accuſe their Brethren cut off from the Communion of the Church, without Hopes of being ever re-admitted, except at the Point of Death ^h. As to the ſchiſmatic Biſhops, it was agreed, that ſuch of them as abandoned the Schiſm ſhould not forfeit their Dignity, but ſit alternatively with the Catholic Biſhop till one of them died ⁱ. The Council, before they broke up, acquainted the Biſhop of *Rome* with their Proceedings, and at the ſame time ſent him the Decrees they had made concerning the Diſcipline of the Church, not to be confirmed by him, as *Baronius* would make us believe ^k, but that *by his means, as he held larger Dioceſes, they might be the ſooner known*. Theſe are the very Words of the Council ^l (A).

The

^d Euseb. ib. & concil. t. 1. p. 157.
t. 1. p. 106. ^e Concil. p. 1425.
ann. 314. n. 68. ^f Concil. p. 1425.

^g Euseb. & concil. ib. ^h Concil. ib. ⁱ Concil. ib. ^k Bar. ad
ann. 314. n. 68.

(A) Several Canons were made by this Council relating to the Diſcipline of the Church. 1. It was ordained, that *Eaſter* ſhould be kept on the ſame Day, and on a *Sunday*, by all the Churches in the World; and that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould acquaint the other Churches with the Day. But it was afterwards ordained, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhould fix the Day, and give timely notice of it to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that by his means it might be notified to the whole Church. This Ordinance St. *Cyril* ſeems to aſcribe to the Council of *Nice*; for he ſays, that it was ſo enacted by a Synod compoſed of all the Saints of the

Earth; which, at the Time he writ, that is, about the Year 360. could be ſaid of no other Synod but that of *Nice*. Pope *Leo the Great*, ſpeaking of this Cuſtom in a Letter to the Emperor *Marcian*, only ſays, that it was eſtabliſhed by the holy Fathers (1). He meant, perhaps, the Fathers of *Nice*. But as they took no notice of ſuch a Cuſtom in their Letter to the Church of *Egypt*, I cannot ſuppoſe it to have been introduced by them. The Care of fixing the Day, and acquainting the Biſhop of *Rome* with it, was probably committed to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, becauſe the *Egyptians* were thought to be better acquaint-

(1) Leo, ep. 94. c. 1.

The other grand Council that was held during the Pontificate of *Sylvester* was that of *Nice*, so famous in the History of the Church ;

ed with the Motions of the heavenly Bodies than any other Nation. In other Provinces the Bishops seem to have been utter Strangers to Astronomy, and to that Ignorance was chiefly owing their Disagreement with respect to the Celebration of *Easter*. This Custom still obtained in the Fifth Century, as appears from a Letter of *Leo the Great*, dated the 28th of July 454. For by that Letter he acquaints the Bishops of *Gaul* and *Spain*, that the following Year 455. *Easter* would fall on the 24th of *April*, as it had been settled in the East (2). Before his Time *Innocent I.* being at a Loss to know on what Day *Easter* should be kept in 414. had recourse to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, intreating him to examine that Point in a Council, and let him know what they determined, that he might notify it, as was customary, to other Churches. *Innocent* had quarreled, on *Chrysostom's* Account, with the Eastern Bishops; and therefore chose rather to be informed and directed by the *African* Bishops than by them. 2. It was decreed, that such as had been baptized by Heretics in the Name of the Trinity, should not be rebaptized, but admitted into the Church only by the Imposition of Hands. But to this Decree of the Council no greater Regard was paid, than had been paid in *St. Cyprian's* Time to the Decisions of *Pope Stephen*. For in the Year 370. the same Practice of rebaptizing Heretics still obtained in several Churches of *Africa*, as appears from *Optatus*, who writ about that time. In the East some held, and some denied, the Validity of Baptism administered by an Heretic. Of the latter Opinion was the Great *Athanasius*, who flourished from the Year 326. to 373. and *St. Basil*, who writ about the Year 369. after examining, in his Letter to *Amphilochus*, the two opposite Practices. seems inclined to think the Baptism of Heretics null. According to the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, Baptism, by whomsoever administered, whether *Jew*, *Gentile*, Heretic, *Mohammedan*, &c. whether Man or Woman, or even a Child, is valid, provided it be only administered with an Intention of administering it, without which every Sacrament, say they, is null.

This Doctrine, with respect to the Intention, proves daily to timorous Consciences the Source of endless Doubts and Perplexities, which can never be removed: for tho' they may know for certain, that the Ceremony was performed, yet they can never know whether or no it was performed with the due Intention. In Confession, for Instance, they may hear the Words of the Absolution pronounced by the Priest; but they know nothing of his Intention, of the Intention of the Minister who baptized him, of the Bishop who ordained him, of the Priest who baptized, or the Bishops who ordained that Bishop, and so up to the Apostles, by whom the first Bishops were ordained. Should the right Intention have been wanting in any of these; should the Priest, while he pronounces the Words of Absolution, have his Thoughts employed on some other Object, as it may easily happen; the penitent Sinner would depart from his Tribunal with the whole Load of his Sins, and be damned, notwithstanding his Repentance, for, or more properly speaking, through want of Attention in the Priest. A most unchristian and impious Doctrine, placing our eternal Salvation in the Hands of others, and not in our own! 3. The Council decreed, that excommunicated Persons should be no-where absolved from the Excommunication but in the Places where they had been excommunicated. The Bishops of *Rome* did not yet know, it seems, that they were vested with an unlimited Power of binding and loosening, of excommunicating and absolving, with respect to all Persons and Places; for had *Sylvester* but dreamt of such a Power, we may well suppose he would never have suffered it to be thus controuled. Several other Canons were made by this Council, in all Twenty-two; but it is foreign to my Purpose to take notice of them. I shall only observe, that the Council consisted of Thirty-three Bishops, and not of Two hundred, as *Baronius* supposes, upon the Authority of *St. Auslin*, whom he misunderstood; and that *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles* presided, his Name being placed at the Head of the Subscriptions, and the Names of *Sylvester's* Legates after his.

(2) *Leo*, ep. 109.

but the Bishop of the reigning City, says *Eusebius* ^o, being prevented by his great Age from undertaking so long a Journey, he sent *Vitus* and *Vincentius*, Two Roman Presbyters, to supply his room ^p, with Orders to agree in his Name to the Decisions of the Council ^q. In Process of Time such Orders grew out of Date, and the modest Name of Roman Presbyters, given to those who were sent by the Bishops of Rome, either to Councils or Princes, was changed into the lofty Title of *Legates a latere*. *Baronius* ^r, and after him most Writers of the Church of Rome, maintain *Osius*, the celebrated Bishop of Cordova, ^{Osus did not assist at the Council of Nice as the Pope's Legate.} to have assisted, nay, and presided at the Council of Nice as the Pope's Legate. *Vitus* and *Vincentius*, say they, represented the Person of the Pope; but *Osius* held his Place, and the Place of all the Bishops of the West. That *Osius* assisted at the Council with the Character of the Pope's Legate, is affirmed, I own, by *Gelasius* of *Cyzicus*, who flourished about the End of the Fifth Century ^s: but *Eusebius*, who was present, mentions only *Vitus* and *Vincentius* as sent thither by *Sylvester*. In like manner all the Historians, who have written of that Council after *Eusebius* till the Time of *Gelasius*, in naming those Two Presbyters and *Osius*, which they all do, constantly distinguish the former by the Title of the Deputies, the Representatives, &c. of the Bishop of Rome, and never the latter. Besides, *Vitus* and *Vincentius*, in subscribing to the Canons of the Council, declare, that they do it *in the Name of the venerable Pope*, or Father, *Sylvester their Bishop* ^t; whereas *Osius* subscribes, like the other Bishops, in his own Name. As to his presiding at that great Assembly, his Name, 'tis true, is marked the first by *Socrates* ^w, among those who subscribed to the Definitions and Canons of the Council; but yet I am inclined to believe that Honour not to have been conferred upon him, but upon *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*; for *John*, Bishop of ^{Nor did he preside.} the same City, writing to *Proculus* about the Year 453. styles him the first of the Fathers assembled at Nice ^x, and *Facundus* calls him the first of the Council ^y. In the Chronicle of *Nicephorus* he is styled the Head of the Fathers of Nice ^z: and from *Theodoret* we learn, that he sat the first on the Right-hand in the Assembly, and harangued the Emperor ^a, which it was the President's Province to do (B).

^o Euseb. l. 3. c. 7.

^p Soz. p. 430.

^q Theodoret. l. 1. c. 6.

^r Bar.

ad ann. 326. n. 20.

^s Gal. Cyz. de Nic. concil. l. 2. c. 5. p. 68.

^t Con.

t. 2. p. 50.

^v Socr. l. 1. c. 23.

^x Facund. l. 8. c. 1.

^y Id. l. 2. c. 1.

^z Niceph. chron.

^a Theod. l. 1. c. 6.

(B) The Title of President is given him in a Letter, which is commonly ascribed to Pope Felix III (1). But I am well apprised, that no great Stress should be laid on that Piece, since some surmise it to have been composed in the Eighth Century.

The Honour of presiding belonged of Right to *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but he, it seems, declined it, perhaps to obviate the Complaints of the *Arians*, who looked upon him as a Party concerned, and one highly prejudiced against them. I know that the haranguing of *Constantine* is ascribed to *Eusebius* the Historian in the Title of the Chapter in which he mentions it ^b, that *Sozomen* positively affirms it, and that the learned *Valesius* thinks there is no room to doubt of it, since *Eusebius* was the most eloquent Bishop of those Times; and besides, he himself tells us, that he pronounced a Speech in Praise of *Constantine*, on occasion of his entering into the Twentieth Year of his Reign, while he was sitting in the midst of the Ministers of God ^c; meaning thereby, no doubt, the Bishops assembled at *Nice*.

Eusebius of Cæsarea did not harangue the Emperor at the Opening of the Council,

That *Eusebius* harangued the Emperor before that venerable Assembly, is not at all to be questioned; but that the Bishops, who composed it, should have pitched upon one who was suspected, or rather convicted, of *Arianism*, to address the Emperor in their Name, at the Opening of the Council, seems to me highly improbable. The Orator, whoever he was, sat in the first Place, or at least in the second (that I may not quarrel with *Baronius*, who will have the Place on the Left-hand to have been the most honourable ^d): And what Right had the Bishop of *Cæsarea* to that Honour? I may add, that a short Compliment, such as is that which the Presbyter *Gregory* ascribes to *Eustathius* of *Antioch* ^e, had been far more proper on that Occasion than *Eusebius's* long and tedious Panegyric, which therefore some suppose to have been pronounced on Occasion of the magnificent Entertainment which *Constantine* gave the Bishops, as they were preparing to return to their respective Sees; for he then entered into the Twentieth Year of his Reign, which began on the 25th of *July* 325. and it was on that Occasion that *Eusebius* writ, and delivered his Panegyric before the Emperor and the Fathers of the Council, as he himself declares ^f. To conclude, had *Eusebius* been appointed by that great Assembly to address the Emperor in their Name, his Modesty had not prevented him from describing the Spokesman so as to leave no room to doubt on whom that Honour had been conferred.

but on another Occasion.

The Council of Nice not convened by the Pope.

Before I dismiss this Subject, it may not be improper, nor foreign to my Purpose, to observe, that the Council of *Nice*, the first General

^b Euseb. in vit. Const. l. 3. c. 11.

^d Bar. ad ann. 325. n. 56—59. Const. l. 3. c. 14.

^e Euseb. l. 1. c. 1. Vales. in not. p. 223.

^f Surius, 10 Jul. p. 159.

^g Euseb. vit.

or Occumenical Council held in the Church, was convened by the Emperor, and not by the Bishop of *Rome*; that the Bishop of *Rome* did not preside in it either in Person, or by his Legates, as they are pleased to style them; and consequently that the Privilege which they assumed in After-ages of assembling General Councils, and presiding in them, ought to be deemed a most insolent and unwarrantable Usurpation.

The Second Thing worthy of notice with respect to this Council is its Fifth Canon, commanding all Ecclesiastical Causes to be finally decided in each Province by a Provincial Synod. The Words of the Canon are clear in themselves, and besides have been understood in this Sense by all the Councils that were held, by all the Authors that writ, for several Ages after *g*; nay, it was understood in this Sense by some of the Popes themselves, namely, by *Innocent I.* who, in one of his Letters to *Victricius* Bishop of *Roan*, writes thus; *If any Controversy should arise among the Clerks, whether they be of an inferior or superior Rank, let it be decided, agreeably to the Council of Nice, in an Assembly of the Bishops of the same Province* ^{*h*}. 'Tis true, he adds, *without prejudicing the Rights of the Roman See.* But that Restriction is his own, and not the Council's. Hence this Canon, directing all Causes to be thus tried, all Disputes to be thus ended, was often quoted on occasion of Appeals made to *Rome*, and employed as a Bulwark to restrain the incroaching Power of the Popes within due Bounds; but in Process of Time their Ambition, supported by the Favour of Princes, and the great Temporalities they acquired, bore all down before them.

It was in the Pontificate of *Sylvester*, and under the benign Auspices of *Constantine*, that the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy was first formed and settled in the Manner it continues to this Day; the new Form of Government, introduced by that Prince into the State, serving as a Model for the Government of the Church. In the Three first Centuries no other Hierarchy was known, no other Degrees thought of, but those of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Of these alone was composed the whole Body of the Clergy; but with this Difference, that the Bishop or Supervisor was the general Disposer and Manager of all Things within the Bounds of his Jurisdiction, nothing being done there without his Consent and Approbation, and the Presbyters and Deacons

^g Vide Elli. Du Pin de antiq. eccles. discip. p. 98, & seq. Vict. c. 3.

^h Inn. in epist. ad

his Assistants, or his Counsellors and Senate, as St. *Jerom* ^k, and before him St. *Ignatius* ^l, styled them. This Order was probably introduced, according to *Grotius* ^m, in Imitation of the *Jewish* Synagogues; for each Synagogue had its Ruler, who presided over the rest, its Pastors, and its Eleemosynaries; to the Ruler succeeded the Bishop, to the Pastors the Presbyters, and to the Eleemosynaries the Deacons.

*The Office
and Duty of
Bishops.*

It was the Bishop's Office and Duty to preach the Word ⁿ, to pray with his People ^o, to administer the Sacraments ^p, to ordain Ministers ^q, to excommunicate Offenders ^r, to absolve Penitents ^s, and to regulate and settle every thing relating to his particular Church ^t, with the Consent and Concurrence of the Presbytery; for the Presbyters were his Counsellors or Senate, and, together with him, presided in the Consistories of those Times, as we learn from *Tertullian* telling us, that in those Courts *approved Elders presided* ^u. Hence *Petrus de Marca* concludes the original Government of the Church to have been mixt of Monarchy and Aristocracy; or, to use his own Words, the Monarchical Government of the Church to have been tempered with the Aristocratical. As the Bishop could not discharge, as he ought, the above-mentioned Functions, without residing among those who were committed to his Care, his Residence was deemed absolutely necessary, and Non-residence a most heinous Transgression; insomuch that St. *Cyprian*, enumerating the Sins that brought the Wrath of God upon the Church in the bloody Persecution of *Decius*, mentions

*How chosen,
and ordained.*

Non-residence in the Bishops as one ^w. Upon the Vacancy of a See a new Bishop was chosen in the room of the deceased in some Places by the Clergy and People of that Church alone, in others by the neighbouring Bishops, the People and the Clergy only expressing their Desire, and giving Testimony of the Life and Manners of the Person proposed, and in some by the joint Suffrages of the Clergy, of the People, and of the neighbouring Bishops. These three different Methods of electing we find practised at different Times with respect to the same Church; but on no Occasion was the Choice of the neighbouring Bishops sufficient without the Consent of the Clergy and People, nor the Election of the Clergy and People without the Approbation of the neighbouring Bishops. The Bishop being thus elected

^k Hier. in c. 2. Isai.
potest. c. 11. n. 8.

^p Tert. de bapt. p. 602.

10. p. 30.
p. 278.

^t Tert. ib. p. 39.

^l Vide Basil. ep. 319.

ⁿ Orig. in Ezek. hom. 3.

^q Idem ib. p. 99.

^u Id. ib. p. 709.

^m Grot. de imp. summ.

^o Justin. apol. 2. p. 98.

^r Cyp. ep. 38. p. 90.

^s Id. ep.

^w Cyp. de laps. n. 4.

Sylvester.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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and confirmed, he was in the next Place ordained; and this Ceremony was performed by the neighbouring Bishops, in his own Church, and in the Presence of his Flock, by the Imposition of Hands. The new Bishop, agreeably to a Custom which obtained then, immediately gave Notice of his Promotion to other Bishops, especially to those of the greater Sees, who, by receiving and answering his Letters, were said to communicate with him, and to acknowledge him lawfully chosen.

In the Second Degree were the Presbyters or Priests, whose Office or Province it was to assist the Bishop in the Discharge of his Pastoral Commission, whence they are often styled the Bishop's Assistants: with his Consent and Approbation they preached the Word, they prayed with the People, they administered the Sacraments, they absolved Penitents, and, in short, discharged every Office which the Bishop did, except those of ordaining, confirming, and excommunicating; I say, with the Bishop's Consent and Approbation; for no spiritual Function could they perform without his Leave, as is manifest from *Tertullian* ^x, *Origen* ^y, *St. Cyprian* ^z, and above all from *St. Ignatius*, in his famous Letter to the Church of *Smyrna* ^a. The Church, in those happy Days, admitted none to the sacred Functions, but such as were known by a long Trial to be well qualified for so great a Charge. The Qualifications requisite in a Presbyter, so far as I can learn from the Antients, may be reduced to these Four Heads, ^{Qualifications requisite in a Presbyter.} his Condition in the World, his Conversation, his Learning, and his Age. He was not to be intangled with any worldly Affairs, with any secular Employments, but at perfect Liberty to apply himself wholly to the Functions of his Office ^b. He was to be of an unspotted and exemplary Life ^c; and therefore, before Ordination, he was proposed to the Presbytery and People for their Testimony and Approbation. He was to be well versed in the Scripture, and capable of teaching others, and instructing them in the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. As for human Learning, it was not required in a Presbyter; nay, by some it was condemned, particularly Logic and Philosophy, as in a manner inconsistent with Christianity ^d, but at the same time highly commended and applauded by others as conducive to the right understanding of the Scripture, and necessary for confuting the So-

^x Tertull. de bapt. p. 602.

^y Orig. hom. de Engast. vol. 1. p. 28.

^z Cyp.

ep. 10. p. 29. ep. 11. p. 32. ep. 12. p. 37.

^a Ign. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

^b Cyp.

ep. 66. p. 195. Tert. de præscript. p. 89.

^c Idem, ep. 68. p. 201.

^d Tert.

advers. Hermog. p. 266. & de præscript. p. 70, 71.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, or Sylvester.

phisms of Heretics ^e; whence Logic especially is recommended by *Clemens Alexandrinus* to all Ecclesiastics, as *a Hedge to defend the Truth from being trod down by Sophists* ^f. As for the Age of a Presbyter, he was to be stricken in Years, as the very Name of a Presbyter or Elder sufficiently declares. However, if a young Man was endowed with extraordinary Gifts and Talents, his Age was dispensed with in respect both to the Sacerdotal and Episcopal Dignity. Thus was *Aurelius*, though young in Years, raised, in regard of his great Merit, to the Rank of a Presbyter, as we read in *St. Cyprian* ^g; and the Bishop of *Magnesia*, in *St. Ignatius's* Time, was, it seems, but a young Man, since *Ignatius*, in his Letter to the *Magnesians*, exhorts them *not to despise their Bishop's Age, but to yield him all due Respect and Reverence* ^h. These were the Qualifications requisite in a Candidate for the Ministry: if he was recommended by them (for no other Recommendation could avail him), he was admitted to holy Orders; if not, he was rejected as unfit for the sacred Function. The Person ordained was at Liberty to serve the Church where he had received his Orders, or any other where his Assistance might be wanted, for he was not ordained Minister of any particular Church, but of the Church universal.

The Institution and Office of Deacons.

In the Third and last Degree were the Deacons, whose original Institution was to *serve Tables*, as we read in the *Acts* ⁱ; that is, to inspect the Poor, and relieve them by a proper Distribution of the Offerings made by the Faithful, which were committed to their Charge, though they could not dispose of them without the Bishop's Knowledge ^k. They were ordained by the Imposition of Hands ^l, and therefore deemed Ministers of the Altar, as well as Dispensers of Alms; and with a great deal of Reason, for they assisted the Bishops or Presbyters in administering the Eucharist, by delivering the Elements to the Communicants ^m; they carried the Eucharist to such as had not been able to assist with the rest at Divine Service ⁿ; they preached, and, in the Absence of the Bishop and Presbyters, conferred the Sacrament of Baptism ^o. The Presbyters of a Church were not confined to a set Number; but the Deacons were, no Church having more than Seven

Their Number.

^e Orig. contra Cels. l. 6. p. 279. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 207. l. 6. p. 472, &c.
^f Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 472. ^g Cyp. ep. 33. p. 76. ^h Ign. ep. ad Magnes. p. 31.
ⁱ Acts vi. 6. ^l Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. ^k Const. Apost. l. 2. p. 31, 32.
^m Just. apol. 2. p. 97. ⁿ Idem ib. p. 98. ^o Tert. de bapt. p. 602.

in the primitive Times, that being the original Number inſtituted by the Apoſtles. Thus the Church of *Rome* had but Seven in the Times of Pope *Cornelius* ^p, and Pope *Sixtus* II ^q. the Church of *Saragoſa* the ſame Number in the Time of *Vincentius*, who flouriſhed under *Diocleſian* ^r. The Fourteenth Canon of the Council of *Neocaſarea*, or the Fifteenth, according to the *Greek*, forbids this Number to be enlarged, even in the greateſt and moſt populous Cities ^s; whence St. *Jerom* writes, that great Reſpect was paid to the Deacons, becauſe they were few in Number ^t.

As for the Subdeacons, Acolytes, Lectors, Janitors, and Exorcists, ^{Subdeacons, Acolytes, Readers, &c.} they were not conſidered as any-ways belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, being employed only in the meaner Offices of the Church, by the due Diſcharge of which they were to give Proof of their Integrity and Attention, in order to be raiſed to a higher Degree; for in thoſe Days very few, and none but upon ſome very extraordinary Occaſion, arrived at once, or, as they call it, *per ſaltum*, at the Epiſcopal Dignity.

During the Three firſt Centuries each Church was in a manner in- ^{Each Church independent.} dependent, that is, could make ſuch Regulations relating to its Diſcipline and Government as were judged proper and expedient, without the Concurrence and Authority of other Churches ^u. However, in all Matters of Moment, the Biſhops uſed to adviſe with one another, eſpecially with thoſe of the ſame Province, who frequently met to ſettle all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs within their reſpective Limits. *Firmilian* ^{Frequent Synods held.} Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, writes, that in his Province they met every Year ^w; and from the frequent Synods mentioned by St. *Cyprian*, we may conclude them to have been held in that Province at leaſt once a Year. Theſe Synods or Aſſemblies were compoſed of ^{Of whom compoſed.} Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Laymen, repreſenting the People of their ſeveral Churches ^x. They met by their own Appointment and Authority, there being no Chriſtian Magiſtrates in thoſe Days to convene Synods. Being thus aſſembled, they choſe in the firſt place one, and ſometimes two Biſhops, to preſide ^y. It was their Office ^{The Method they held.} and Duty to ſee the Point in queſtion calmly and fairly debated, to ſum up in each Debate what had been urged on both Sides, to take

^p Euseb. l. 6. c. 43. ^q Prud. de coron. mar. p. 71. ^r Idem ib. p. 91.
^s Conc. t. 1. p. 1448. ^t Hier. ep. 85. ^u Cyp. ep. 55, 72, 52. ^w Apud
Cyp. ep. 75. ^x Cyp. ep. 14, 26, 31. Euseb. l. 5. c. 16. & l. 7. c. 30. Aët.
Concil. Carth. apud Cyp. p. 443. ^y Euseb. l. 5. c. 23, & 24.

the Votes and Suffrages of the Members of the Synod, and last of all to give their own ^z. In these Assemblies all Ecclesiastical Affairs were settled by the Majority of Votes, and their Decrees and Decisions were binding with respect to those Churches whose Representatives were present ^a; but were not so with respect to other Churches.

The Ecclesiastical Polity adapted to the Civil.

Such was the Hierarchy, such the Government of the Church, during the Three first Centuries. But in the Fourth and following Ages great Alterations were made in both, the Church adapting her Government to that of the State, namely, to the new Form of Government introduced by *Constantine*, who had settled her in Peace, and taken the Priesthood into his immediate Protection. For it was in his Reign that the Titles of *Patriarchs, Exarchs, Metropolitans*, were first heard of, or at least had any Power, Authority, or Privileges, annexed to them. That this Conformity between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity may appear more plainly, I shall premise a succinct Account of the former, as established by *Constantine* throughout the Empire. That Prince divided the whole *Roman* World into four Prefectures, viz. the *East, Illyricum, Gaul, and Italy*, which were governed by Four Prefects, called *Præfeti Prætorio*. Till his Time the whole Empire was governed under the Emperors by Two Prefects only, as *Zosimus* informs us ^b; and this Division is supposed to have been made by *Constantine*, jealous of the too great Power of those Magistrates. Each Prefecture was subdivided into several Dioceses, and each Diocese into several Provinces. Thus the Prefecture of the *East* contained Five Dioceses; viz. the *East* divided into Ten Provinces, *Egypt* into Six, *Pontus* into Eleven, *Asia* into Ten, and *Thrace* into Six. Under the Prefecture of *Illyricum* were Two Dioceses; *Macedon*, consisting of Eight Provinces; and *Dacia*, consisting of Four. The Prefecture of *Gaul* comprised Three Dioceses, *Gaul* made up of Seventeen Provinces, *Spain* of Seven, and *Britain* of Five. The Prefecture of *Italy* was divided into Two Vicarages or Lieutenances; the one of *Rome*, comprehending Ten Provinces, under the Vicar of *Rome*, whence they were called *Suburbicarian* Provinces; the other of *Italy*, containing Seven Provinces, governed by the Vicar of *Italy*, who resided at *Milan*, whence they were simply called Provinces of *Italy*. Under the Prefect of *Italy* was likewise *West Africa*, and after *Constantine's* Death *West Illyricum*. The Prefects had other Officers under them, by whom the Provinces were more immediately governed.

The new Form of Government introduced by Constantine.

^a Act. Concil. Carth. p. 443.

^a Cyp. ep. 59.

^b Zos. l. 2. p. 623.

These

Theſe were, to name them according to their Rank and Dignity, Proconſuls, Vicars, Conſulars, Correctors, and Preſidents. Each Dioceſe had its Metropolis, and likewiſe each Province contained in the Dioceſe.

Now, if we compare the Civil Polity, thus deſcribed, with the Ec-^{The Civil}cleſiaſtical, we ſhall find them in moſt Places anſwering each other, in every reſpect, and one Biſhop raiſed above the reſt, according to the^{and Eccle-} Rank that was given by this new Diſiſion to the City in which he preſided. Thus, for Inſtance, the chief Cities of the Five Dioceſes of the Oriental Prefecture were; *Antioch*, the Metropolis of the Oriental Dioceſe; *Alexandria*, of the *Egyptian*; *Ephesus*, of the *Aſiatic*; *Caeſarea*, of the *Pontic*; and *Heraclea*, of the *Thracian*. Now the Biſhops of theſe Cities, in regard of the Eminence of their Sees, were exalted above all other Biſhops, and diſtinguiſhed with the Title of Exarchs; nay, and by Degrees they acquired, not to ſay uſurped, a kind of Authority and Jurisdiction over the Biſhops of the inferior Sees, which was afterwards confirmed to them by ſeveral Councils. In like manner the Biſhop of the Metropolis of each Province was, on account of the Dignity of his See, honoured with the Title of Metropolitan, to which were annexed ſeveral Privileges, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. When one Province was divided into Two, which often happened, the Eccleſiaſtical Polity was likewiſe altered, and the Biſhop of the new Metropolis raiſed to the Dignity of a Metropolitan. Several Inſtances might be alleged of ambitious Biſhops applying to the Emperors for a Diſiſion of the Province, that their City might acquire the Title of Metropolis, and they, of courſe, that of Metropolitans. When the City of *Byzantium* was declared the Metropolis of another Empire, the Exarchate of *Heraclea*, the Metropolis of the *Thracian* Dioceſe, was, by that Change, transferred from *Hieraclea* to the new Metropolis; ſo that the Biſhop of *Heraclea* became Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Byzantium*, or, as it was then called, *Conſtantinople*, who, till that Time, had been Suffragan to him. Upon the Diſiſion of a Province, the Churches were likewiſe divided, and the Biſhop of the new Metropolis acquired all the Privileges and Power of a Metropolitan over the Churches taken by the Change in the Civil Government from the antient Metropolis. But it was afterwards decreed, by the Council of *Chalcedon*, that if any City ſhould be raiſed to the Dignity of a Metropolis, the Biſhop of that City ſhould enjoy the Title, but not the Privileges of a Metropolitan. Thus the Biſhops of *Nice* and *Berytus* were honoured with the Title of Metropolitans, and took Place

In *Africa* the Eccleſiaſtical Polity varied greatly from the Civil. *The Eccleſiaſtical Polity in Africa* *Carthage* indeed, in the Proconſular Province of *Africa*, properly ſo called, was the Metropolis of all *Weſt Africa*, and the Biſhop of that City the Primate and Exarch. But in the other Five Provinces of that Dioceſe, *viz. Numidia*, the Two *Mauritanias*, *Ceſarienſis* and *Sitifenſis*, *Tingitana*, *Bizacena*, and *Tripolitana*, the ſenior Biſhop, in what City ſoever he preſided, enjoyed the Title and Privileges of Metropolitan, Regard being had to his Seniority, or the Time of his Ordination, and none to the Dignity of his See. And hence it is that, at different times, we find Biſhops of different Cities, within the ſame Province, acting as *Metropolitans*. Of *Weſt Illyricum*, the Third Dioceſe under the Prefect of *Italy*, I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Some Writers, namely, *Petrus de Marca*, Archbiſhop of *Paris* ^c, *Christianus Lupus* ^d, *Emmanuel Schelſtrat* ^e, Two eminent Divines, the one of *Louvain*, the other of *Antwerp*, and *Leo Allatius* ^f, have taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that theſe Eccleſiaſtical Dignities owe their Origin to *Chriſt*, or the Apoſtles. But their Arguments are unanſwerably confuted by the learned *Ellies du Pin* ^g; and, beſides, it is evident, from the intire Conformity which the Eccleſiaſtical Government had, in moſt Places, with the Political State of the Empire, as eſtabliſhed by *Conſtantine*, that the Church in forming the Hierarchy I have deſcribed, adopted his Plan; and conſequently, that ſuch Dignities are not of divine, but of human Inſtitution. I might add, that it cannot be proved from Scripture, that the Apoſtles, in appointing Biſhops, gave more Power to one than to another, or any Power at all to one over the others. ^{The Dignities of Exarchs, Metropolitans, &c. not of divine Inſtitution.}

The new Dignities or Degrees, added to the antient Hierarchy of the Church, in the Fourth and following Centuries, were thoſe of *Metropolitan*, *Primate*, *Archbiſhop*, *Exarch*, and *Patriarch*. The Title of *Metropolitan* was given to the Biſhop of the chief City of a Province, and likewise that of *Primate*, he being *primus*, or the firſt of the Province; for ſuch was the original Signification of that Word in an eccleſiaſtical Senſe; but, in Proceſs of Time, the Title of *Primate* was reſtrained to the Biſhops of ſome great Cities. On the contrary the Title of *Archbiſhop* was originally beſtowed on Metro- ^{The new Dignities added to the antient Hierarchy of the Church.}

^c Pet. de Mar. l. 6. de conc. c. 1. illuſt. part. 1. diſſer. 1. c. 3. art. 1. c. 2.

^d Lup. can. 4. Nic. par. 1.

^e Schel. antiq.

^f Leo All. de eccl. occid. & orient. confeſ. l. 1.

^g Du Pin de antiq. eccleſ. diſcip. diſſ. 1. n. 6.

politans only of great Eminence and Diſtinction; but, in the Eighth Century, it began to be given indifferently to all Metropolitans, and even to ſome Biſhops, diſtinguiſhed by no other Title. As the Biſhop of the Metropolis, or chief City, of a Province, was dignified with the Title of *Metropolitan*, ſo was the Biſhop of the Metropolis, or chief City of a Dioceſe, with that of *Exarch*; which, however, we find ſometimes given to Metropolitans. As for the Title of *Patriarch*, it was firſt common to all Biſhops, but afterwards confined to the Exarchs; and laſtly, to the Biſhops of the Five following Cities, *viz. Rome, Conſtantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jeruſalem*. It was firſt beſtowed on the Biſhop of *Rome*, by the Council of *Chalcedon*^h, after it had been long common to all the Exarchs of the Eaſt, as the learned *Du Pin* well obſervesⁱ.

*The Rights
and Privi-
leges of Me-
tropolitans.*

The Titles of Metropolitans, Primateſ, Exarchs, and Patriarchſ, were not bare Names of Honour, but had ſeveral Rights and Prerogativeſ attending them. Thus the Metropolitans and Primateſ had, by their Prerogative, a Right to ordain the Biſhops of their reſpective Provinces, to convene provincial Synods, and to have a general Superintendency or Inſpection over the whole Province. The ordaining of Biſhops was a Privilege common to the Metropolitan, with the other Biſhops of the ſame Province; but with this Difference, that the Preſence, or at leaſt the Conſent and Approbation of the Metropolitan was abſolutely neceſſary; for, according to the Fourth and Sixth Canons of the Council of *Nice*, *He who was not ordained, or approved, by the Metropolitan, was not to be a Biſhop*. This Privilege was confirmed to the Metropolitans by many ſubſequent Councils, namely, by thoſe of *Arles, Laodicea, Carthage, Chalcedon, Ephesus*^k, and many others. However, in the Fifth Century, the Patriarchſ of *Alexandria* and *Conſtantinople* began, in the Eaſt, to uſurp this Prerogative, pretending, that no Biſhops ought to be ordained in their reſpective Dioceſes, without their Knowledge, Conſent, and Approbation; and the Patriarch of *Rome*, ſtill more ambitious and encroaching, claimed a Right to ordain the Biſhops throughout all the Provinces of the Weſt, which occaſioned endleſs Diſputes, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. As to the Second Privilege peculiar to the Metropolitans, they had a Right to ſummon the

^h Concil. t. 4. col. 58. Evagr. l. 2. c. 18. ⁱ Du Pin, c. 6. n. 5. ^k Conc. Arel. can. 50. Laod. can. 12. Carth. can. 12. Eph. act. 4. &c.

Bishops of their respective Provinces to meet when they thought proper; to appoint the Time and Place of their Meeting; to punish such as did not, without just Cause, comply with their Summons; and to preside in the Assembly. The general Care and Inspection, which they were charged with over the whole Province, imported, First, That all Complaints against, all Contests with or between the Bishops of the Province, were to be brought to their Tribunal; and there heard, judged, and determined, not by the Metropolitan alone, but by him and the other Bishops of the Province, in a Provincial Synod. Innumerable Instances might be alleged of Bishops thus deposed by their Metropolitans. Secondly, The Metropolitans had a Right to receive Appeals from the Sentence of inferior Bishops, and with the other Bishops, to confirm or reverse their Decrees. And, lastly, each Metropolitan was to keep a watchful Eye over the Bishops of his Province, and take care that they discharged, as they ought, the Functions of their Office. These Privileges were, in express Terms, granted to the Metropolitans, by almost innumerable Councils, which it is needless, and would be too tedious, to name.

As for the Patriarchs, or Exarchs; by their Prerogative, they were empowered to ordain the Metropolitans, to convene Diocesan Synods, and to have a general Superintendency over their respective Dioceses, such as the Metropolitans had over their respective Provinces. The Bishop of *Rome* had not the Charge of a whole Diocese, and therefore was not, properly speaking, Exarch or Patriarch: his Jurisdiction did not extend beyond the Limits of the Vicarage of *Rome*, or the Suburbicarian Provinces; and no Instance can be produced of Metropolitans or Bishops ordained by him, out of those Provinces, till the Time of *Valentinian* III. Even in the Vicarage of *Italy* the Metropolitans of each Province ordained all the Bishops, and were themselves ordained by the Bishops of the Province. But over the Suburbicarian Provinces the Bishop of *Rome* exercised greater Power and Authority, than the Exarchs of the East did over the Provinces of their Dioceses; for the latter left the Ordination of the Bishops to their Metropolitans, whereas the former ordained not only the Bishops of the metropolitan Cities, but all those of the fore-mentioned Provinces: and the Reason of this was, because these Provinces had no Metropolitans, to whom the Ordination of Bishops would of Right have belonged; so that the Prerogatives of the Metropolitans were all vested in the Bishop of *Rome* alone. As there were no Exarchs

*The Rights
and Privi-
leges of Pa-
triarchs, or
Exarchs.*

*The Bishop
of Rome not
a Patriarch.*

or

*The Bishops
of Rome
have no
Right to or-
dain the Me-
tropolitans.*

or Patriarchs in the West, the Bishops of each Province were, by several Councils, vested with the Power of ordaining their own Metropolitans; and that they were thus ordained in *Gaul, Spain, and West Africa*, is so manifest as to admit of no Dispute^k. And yet the Sticklers for the See of *Rome* pretend the Bishops of that City to have a divine and inherent Right of ordaining all the Metropolitans throughout the Christian World, by themselves, their Vicars, or Delegates. To maintain this chimerical Right against the uncontestable Evidence of Facts, they tell us, that the Popes, for some Ages, neglected to exert the Power they had^l. But from this Charge all Mankind will clear them, it being but too well known, that they never neglected the least Opportunity of exerting to the utmost the Power they had, and usurping the Power they had not. But, Cavils aside, it is evident beyond Dispute, that the Popes never knew, nor dreamt of, any such Right or Prerogative, till they were told of it by their flattering Divines; at least Pope *Leo*, surnamed *the Great*, did not; for in one of his Letters to the Bishops of *Gaul* he disclaims, in express Terms, the Right of ordaining the Bishops of that Diocese^m. To conclude, the Bishop of *Rome* was the only Metropolitan in that Vicarage; and, as such, had a Right to ordain all the Bishops of the Suburbicarian Provinces, or the Provinces subject to the Vicar of *Rome*; but, for a considerable Tract of Time, there is no Instance of their ordaining either Bishops or Metropolitans out of that District.

*The Title of
Archbishop
in itself a
bare Name
of Honour.*

As for the Title of Archbishop, it is in itself a bare Name of Honour; whence, in some Countries, especially in *Italy*, several are distinguished with that Title, who indeed take Place of, but have no Power or Authority over, other Bishops. And thus far of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, as settled in the Fourth and following Centuries, of the different Degrees that compose it, and the Prerogatives peculiar to each Degree, the Knowledge whereof is absolutely necessary for the right Understanding of the many Contests and Disputes in point of Jurisdiction, which I shall have Occasion to touch upon in the Sequel of this History; for it was not at once, but by Degrees, and not without great Opposition, that the Bishops of *Rome*, extending their Authority beyond the Limits of that Vicarage, which was at that time the Boundary of their Jurisdiction, acquired the unlimited Power they now enjoy, with the arrogant Title of *Universal Bishop*.

^k Vide Du Pin dissert. 1. n. 13.

^l Idem ib.

^m Leo, ep. 89.

But

But to return to *Sylvester*, in whose Pontificate this great Change began; I need not employ many Words to shew the Forgery of the so much boasted Donation of all *Italy*, supposed to have been made by *Constantine* to *Sylvester*, in the Spring of the Year 324. Four Days after he had been baptized by that Pontiff, since the Instrument of that Donation is now looked upon as supposititious, by all who have the least Tincture of Learning. The Arguments they allege against it are: 1. That more than Twelve Copies of that Instrument are still extant, all differing from one another. 2. That it evidently appears, from Two Constitutions of *Constantine*, still to be seen in the *Theodosian Code*^m, that he was not at *Rome*, but at *Theffalonica*, in the Spring of the Year 324. 3. That neither *Eusebius*, who has given us a very minute and particular Account of the Actions of that Prince, nor any other cotemporary Writer, has so much as hinted at so memorable a Fact. 4. That all the antient Writers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, agree, that *Constantine* was not baptized at *Rome*, but at *Nicomedia*, when he lay at the Point of Deathⁿ. Let those, who stand up in Defence of that Donation, give satisfactory Answers to these Reasons, and I shall conclude with them, that *Italy* being, by such a Donation, disjoined from the Empire, the Emperors who succeeded *Constantine*, had no Claim or Title to that Country; that none of their Constitutions were binding there; and consequently that, by the Inhabitants of *Italy*, Recourse ought to be had, in all Cases, not to the Civil, but to the Canon Law: for such pernicious Doctrines have been broached, published, and maintained, as natural Deductions from *Constantine's* great Generosity to *Sylvester*^o. In *Rome* is still to be seen, in a most sumptuous Chapel, close to the *Lateran*, the Baptistry or Font in which *Constantine* is said to have been baptized. The Chapel is adorned with noble Paintings, representing that august Ceremony, as performed by *Sylvester*, in the magnificent Drapery, and stately Apparel, of the preient Popes. Four Days after this Ceremony, *Constantine*, sensible of his Obligations to *Sylvester*, rewarded him for his Trouble with a Fee, as *Luchesi*ⁱ the *Scolopian* expresses it, answering in some Degree to the Greatness of the Favour he had received at his Hands; a Fee worthy of so great a

^m Cod. Theod. l. 4. de navicul. & l. un. de his qui veniam ætat. ⁿ Vide Petr. de Marca, l. 3. c. 12. l. 6. c. 6. Schellstrat. antiq. illustr. par. 2. dissert. 3. c. 8. Got. in chron. cod. Theod. ann. 324. Euseb. vit. Const. l. 4. c. 61. ^o Afflict. in constit. in prælud. quæst. 2. n. 2. & q. 20. n. 1. Tappia de jur. regni, l. 1. & de leg. l. 1. n. 6. Ponte de potest. Proreg. tit. 11. n. 26.

Constantine
baptized at
Nicomedia,
and not at
Rome.

Prince, of so great a Pope p. The Fee, which that Writer, otherwise a Man of Learning, makes a long and tedious Descant upon, was no less than the City of *Rome*, and all *Italy*. That *Constantine* was baptized at *Nicomedia*, and not at *Rome*, is affirmed, in express Terms, by *Theodoret* q, *Sozomen* r, *Socrates* s, and *Photius* t, among the *Greeks*; and, among the *Latins*, by St. *Ambrose* u, St. *Jerom* w, and the Council of *Rimini* x. *Emmanuel Schellstrat*, on one Side, ashamed to reject, or even to question such Authorities, but, on the other, unwilling to rob *Sylvester* of that Glory, will have *Constantine* to have been baptized in both Places. It is well known, says he, that *Constantine*, in the Latter-end of his Life, was greatly biassed in favour of the *Arians*, and their Tenets. Now a Practice obtained among them of rebaptizing such as came over to their Sect from the Catholic Church; and, to conform to this Custom, *Constantine* was, in all Likelihood, prevailed upon by *Eusebius*, the *Arian* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who assisted him on his Death-bed y. Thus *Schellstrat*. But it is certain that, in *Constantine's* Time, the *Arians* allowed the Validity of Baptism administered by the Catholics; for, long after, we find St. *Austin* upbraiding them with the Practice of rebaptizing, as a Novelty lately introduced among them z. Besides, who is so little versed in the History of the Church, as not to know, that, in those early Times, a very bad Custom universally prevailed, at least among Persons of Distinction, who embraced the Christian Religion, namely, that of putting off their Baptism to their Death-bed, or till they were upon the Point of exposing themselves to some great Danger? Thus *Theodosius the Great*, though he had not only openly professed the Christian Religion, but given many Instances of an extraordinary Piety, yet did not chuse to be baptized till he fell dangerously ill at *Theffalonica* a. In like manner *Valentinian II.* delayed his Baptism till the Approach of a Battle with the Barbarians, when he sent, in great Haste, for St. *Ambrose* to administer that Sacrament to him. But while the good Bishop was crossing the *Alps*, on his Way to *Vienne*, where the Emperor then was, he received the melancholy News of his having been inhumanly murdered by some of his own Officers, at the Instigation of *Arbogastus*. His Death was greatly

p Luch. de imp. potest. in Ital.

q Theod. l. 1. c. 32.

r Soz. l. 2. c. 34.

s Socr. l. 1. c. 39. t Phot. cod. 127.

u Ambros. ferm. de obitu Theodos.

w Hier.

in chron.

x Soz. l. 4. c. 18.

y Schellst. antiq. illust. part. 2. dissert. 3. c. 6.

z Aug. de hæres. c. 48.

a Socr. l. 5. c. 6. Sozom. l. 7. c. 4.

lamented by St. *Ambrose*, who, in the elegant Oration, which he pronounced on Occasion of his Obsequies, maintained, that the fervent Desire of Baptism had the same Effect as the Sacrament itself; and consequently, that the Sins of the deceased Prince being thereby cancelled, it was not to be doubted, but from this Life he had passed to eternal Bliss ^b. Innumerable Instances of the same Nature occur in History, which were, it seems, utterly unknown to the Author of the Acts of Pope *Sylvester*, upon whose sole Authority the Fable has been credited of *Constantine's* receiving Baptism at the Hands of *Sylvester*, soon after his Conversion. That Impostor, whoever he was, is supposed to have lived in the Eighth Century, long after the Custom of deferring Baptism to the Point of Death had been utterly abolished. What gave Countenance to such a Custom, was an Opinion ^{What gave Countenance to the Custom of deferring Baptism to the Point of Death.} then generally received, and still held by the Church of *Rome*; viz. That by the Waters of the sacred Font Men were washed clean, not only from the original, but from all other Sins. This proved a great Encouragement to Vice when Piety began (and it began but too early) to decay among Christians; and therefore the Fathers of the Church, especially *Basil*, his Brother *Gregory of Nyssa*, and St. *Ambrose* ^c, employed all the Oratory they were Masters of, in crying down such a pernicious and wicked Custom, as they style it; so that it was at last quite laid aside. Whether Confession ought not, on the same Account, to be put down, I shall leave the Reader to judge; and only observe here, by the way, that had the Virtue and Efficacy, ascribed now to Confession, been known in those Times, Sinners needed not have delayed Baptism to the Point of Death, since their Sins had been no less effectually cancelled by Confession, than by Baptism.

As for the Letter from the Council of *Nice* to *Sylvester*, his Answer, the Acts of a Council of 275 Bishops, supposed to have been held by him, at the Request of the Fathers of *Nice*, to confirm their Canons and Decrees (C), his Letter to the Bishops of *Gaul*, in favour

^b Amb. orat. in fun. Val. & alibi.

^c Greg. in orat. de bapt. Amb. in ser. de sanct.

of

(C) The Style of the Letter from the Council to *Sylvester* is quite barbarous and unintelligible. It begins thus: *Gloriam corroborata de Divinis Mysteriis. Ecclesiasticæ utilitatis quæ ad robur pertinent Ecclesiæ Catholicæ & Apostolicæ ad sedem tuam Romanam explanata & de Græco redacta*
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scribere confitemur—Nunc itaque ad vestræ sedis argumentum accurrimus roborari. The rest is written in the same Style; the Consuls are called *Sovereigns*, and the Letter is dated Five or Six Days after the Opening of the Council. The Design of the Impostor was, to make the Fathers of *Nice* recur

of the Church of *Vienne*; the Acts of Two other Councils, said to have been held by him at *Rome*, they are all Pieces universally rejected by Men of Learning, and deemed no less fabulous than the Instrument of *Constantine's* Donation, and that Prince's Journey with *Sylvester* to the Council of *Nice*, as it is related in the Acts of the latter, even in those which *F. Combefis* published in 1660. They are in *Greek*, and that Writer undertakes to defend them as genuine ^d; but we need no other Proof than the Account they give of that Journey, to conclude them incapable of being defended. *Sylvester* died on the 31st of *December* 335. after having governed the Church of *Rome* for the Space of Twenty-one Years and Eleven Months ^e.

CONSTANTINE.

M A R K,

Twenty-third BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 336.

SYLVESTER was succeeded by *Mark*, on the 18th of *January* 336. He is passed over by *Theodoret* ^f, but named by *Optatus* ^g, *Ruffinus* ^h, *St. Austin* ⁱ, *St. Jerom* ^k, and *Sozomen* ^l. We know

^d Comb. act. &c. p. 258.
^e c. 12.

^g Opt. l. 2. p. 48.

^k Hier. chron.

^e Buch. cycl. p. 267. 273.

^h Ruffin. l. 10. c. 22.

^l Soz. l. 2. c. 20.

^f Theod. l. 2.

ⁱ Aug. ep. 165.

nothing

recur to *Sylvester* for a Confirmation of their Decrees. *Sylvester's* Answer is of a piece with the Letter of the Council; it supposes him to have added something to the Council; mentions the Cycle of *Victorinus*, who was not born in *Sylvester's* Time, nor many Years after; and bears a false Date. As for the Council said, and by some still maintained, to have been held at *Rome*, to confirm the Canons of *Nice*, it was utterly unknown to all the Antients. And who can believe that none of the Antients should ever have heard of a Council held in the Metropolis of the Empire, and consisting, as we are told, of Two hundred and Seventy-five Bishops, or, if they had heard of it, that they would never have mentioned it? Besides, it is said to have been held at *Rome*, in the Presence of *Constantine*; and it is certain, that the Emperor was not in *Rome* at the Time the Council

is supposed to have been held. The Canons, which are supposed to have been made on this Occasion, contain Regulations repugnant to the Practice of those Times, and which it was then impossible to observe. The first Canon relates to the Time when *Easter* was to be kept; but what is there determined no Man can know. The Second is no less unintelligible than the First: *Ut unusquisque Episcopus rediens ad Parochiam suam Compaginem Salutationis plebi suae innotescat*. These are the Words of this Canon. The Third forbids the Ecclesiastics to appear before secular Judges, let the Action be what it will; which is repugnant to the Discipline of those Times. The Fourth will have those, who enter themselves among the Clergy, to pass through all the Degrees, and fixes the Time which they are to continue in each Degree. They are to be Janitors or Door-keepers one Year,

Lectors

Julius.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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nothing certain either of his Life or Administration. *Anastasius* indeed tells us, that by him the Bishop of *Ostia* was first appointed to ordain the Bishop of *Rome*, and to carry the *Pallium* or Pall; where *Baronius* observes, that the Pall is here mentioned for the First time ^{m. Bishop of Ostia.} But *Anastasius* is not a Writer we can depend upon. It is certain, however, that the Bishops of *Ostia* have long enjoyed this Privilege; for it is mentioned by *St. Austin* ^{n.}, and likewise in a Memorial presented by the Clergy of *Rome* in 418. to the Emperor *Honorius*, on Occasion of the Election of Pope *Zosimus* ^{o.} The Letter which the Bishops of *Egypt* are said to have written to this Pope, and his Answer to them, are rejected even by *Baronius* ^{p.}, and very justly; for the Pope's Answer is dated Eighteen Days after his Death. He died on the 7th of *October* the same Year he had been chosen ^{q.}, and was buried in the Coemetry of *Balbina*, which was thenceforth called after his Name ^{r.} His Body is now worshiped in the Church of *St. Laurence* at *Florence*, though no Mention is made by any Writer of its having ever been translated thither ^{s.}

CONSTANTINE,
and his Three
Sons,

J U L I U S,

CONSTANTINE,
CONSTANTIUS,
and CONSTANS.

Thirty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

UPON the Death of *Mark* the See was vacant for the Space of Four Months, that is, to the 6th of *February* 337. when *Julius* ^{Year of Christ 337.} was chosen ^{t.} He is said to have held a Council of an Hundred and Sixteen Bishops in the *December* of the same Year ^{u.} But the Date of this Council puts *Baronius* to a Stand; for in the Date are marked the Consuls, the Year of the Emperors, and the Indiction. Now, according to the Consuls, it must have been held in 337. according to the Year of the Emperors in 340. and, according to the Indiction, in

^m Bar. ad ann. 336. n. 64.

ⁿ Aug. coll. die 3. c. 16.

^o Vide Du Pin

differt. 1. n. 13.

^p Bar. ibid. n. 60, 61.

^q Soz. l. 2. c. 20. Hier. chron.

Buch. p. 267. 273.

^r Front. cal. p. 141.

^s Bolland. Pont. p. 50.

^t Buch.

p. 273.

^u Concil. tom. 2. p. 527.

Lectors or Readers Twenty, Exorcists Ten, Acolytes Five, Subdeacons Five, Deacons Five, and Priests Six; so that none under Threescore could attain to the Epi-

scopal Dignity; which is highly absurd in itself, and contrary to the Practice of those Times.

347. The Annalist spares neither his Words nor his Labour to solve, or rather to patch up, this Difficulty; but, being sensible, after a long, tedious, and puzzling Descant, that he labours in vain, he concludes, that the Text has been altered ^w. He might have saved himself a great deal of Trouble, by owning at once what has been plainly proved since by *Blondel* ^x, viz. that no such Council was ever held.

The Arians
write to Ju-
lius against
Athanasius.

When *Julius* was raised to the Pontificate, the celebrated *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, lived in Banishment at *Treves*; but the Year following he was allowed to return to his Church by the Three Emperors, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*, who had succeeded their Father in 337. The *Eusebians*, that is, the *Arian* Faction headed by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, at whose Instigation he had been banished by *Constantine*, alarmed at his Return, writ bitter Letters against him to the Three Princes, and likewise to the Bishop of *Rome*. To the latter they dispatched with their Letters *Macarius* a Presbyter, and the Two Deacons, *Martyrius* and *Hefychius*. *Athanasius* no sooner heard of this Embassy than he, in his Turn, dispatched some Presbyters to oppose the Attempts of his Enemies, and defend his Innocence against the Calumnies, which he well knew they were sent to spread against him, not only at *Rome*, but all over the West ^y. Upon their Arrival, *Macarius* privately withdrew from *Rome*, and the other Two were so confounded by the Deputies of *Athanasius*, at a private Conference held before the Pope, that, to gain Time, they had no other Resource but to appeal to a Council, which they begged the Pope to assemble, and to give timely notice thereof both to *Athanasius* and the *Eusebians*. They bragged that, before the Council, they would make good the Charge they had brought against *Athanasius*, and offered to take *Julius* himself for their Judge ^z. This Offer, we may be sure, was readily accepted by the Bishop of *Rome*, who immediately writ to *Athanasius* inviting him to the Council, and at the same time desired the Deputies of the *Eusebians* to acquaint their Party, that, agreeably to their Request, a Council should be soon convened. *Athanasius*, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, set out, without Delay, for *Rome*, where he arrived in the Latter-end of the Year 339. After his Arrival the Bishop of *Rome* dispatched *Elpidius* and *Philoxenes*, Two of his Presbyters, with Letters to the *Eusebians*, summoning them to the Council, which their Deputies had demanded,

They desire
Julius to as-
semble a
Council.

^w Ear. ad ann. 337. n. 67.
p. 741—745. ^x Id. ib.

^x Blond. decret. p. 451.

^y Athan. apol. 2.

and acquainting them with the Time and Place in which it was to be held ^a. The Place was *Rome*, and the Time the Month of *June* 341. according to the most probable Opinion. The other Bishops assembled at the Time appointed; but the *Eusebians*, instead of appearing at the Council of *Rome*, which had been convened at their Request, assembled one at *Antioch*, and there, without waiting for the Determination of *Julius*, whom they had chosen for their Judge, they deposed *Athanasius*, and appointed *Gregory* Bishop of *Alexandria* in his room; nay, they even detained the Deputies sent by the Pope till the Time appointed for the Meeting of the Council was expired, that they might afterwards plead, as they did, the Shortness of the Term prescribed for them to meet in ^b. In the Council of *Rome* the Cause of *Athanasius* was examined, and he, after the strictest Scrutiny, declared innocent with one Voice by the Fifty Bishops who composed it ^c; so that *Julius* and the rest continued to communicate with him as a Bishop ^d, which was declaring him unlawfully deposed. Several other Bishops, who had been deposed by the *Arians*, came to lay their Complaints before the Council, and, among the rest, *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, and *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*. The former had been condemned as an Heretic by a Council held at *Constantinople* in 336. and consisting intirely of *Arian* Bishops. As nobody appeared against him during the Fifteen Months he continued at *Rome*, and the Declaration of his Faith, which, at the Request of *Julius*, he gave under his own Hand, was judged quite orthodox by the Pope and the Council, he was readmitted to the Communion of the Catholic Church ^e. But whether they did not judge too favourably of his Belief, may be very much questioned: *Epiphanius* at least was no-ways satisfied with it ^f. And truly it would be no easy Task to clear him from the Heresy of *Sabellius* and *Samosatenus*, denying the Trinity of the Divine Persons ^g: but to examine so perplexed and intricate a Point, would be foreign to my Purpose. *Socrates* ^h and *Sozomen* ⁱ write, that *Julius*, by the Authority of his See, reinstated all the Bishops who had been displaced by the *Arians*; that he supported and defended their Innocence with Letters full of Vigour and Liberty; severely reprimanded those who had deposed them; summoned some

They decline appearing at the Council of Rome; assemble one at Antioch; and there depose Athanasius;

who is declared innocent in the Council of Rome.

Neither Athanasius nor any other Bishop restored by Julius.

^a Id. ib. Socr. l. 2. c. 15. Soz. l. 3. c. 8.

^b Athan. ib. p. 744. & ad Solit. p. 816.

^c Id. ib. p. 748.

^d Idem ib. Hil. frag. p. 26.

^e Id. ib. p. 750.

^f Epiph.

72. c. 4.
l. 2. c. 15.

^g Vide Petav. dog. t. 2. l. 1. c. 13. Hilar. de Trin. l. 7. p. 46.

^h Socr.

ⁱ Soz. l. 3. c. 8.

of them to appear at *Rome*, in a limited Time, to justify their Conduct; and, lastly, that he threatened to treat them as they deserved, if they did not forbear raising Disturbances in the Church. In virtue of these Letters, says *Socrates*, the Bishops were restored to their Sees. But *Sozomen* names only *Athanasius*, and *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*. It is surprising that the Advocates for the See of *Rome* should allege the Testimony of these two Writers, to prove that the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* was acknowledged by the Orientals; that his Jurisdiction was universal; when they themselves must know (for I cannot suppose them so ignorant as not to know) that the Historians whom they quote were grossly mistaken. For it is manifest from *Athanasius*^k, that *Julius* writ only two Letters to the *Eusebians*; one before the Council met, inviting them to it; and the other, while the Council was still sitting, which I shall speak of hereafter; and in neither of these does *Julius* take upon him either to threaten or command. The above-mentioned Historians seem to have jumbled these two Letters together, and to have made a Third out of them, with some Improvements of their own. As to his restoring the deposed Bishops to their Sees, it is certain he did not, since *Athanasius* continued in the West till the Year 349. when he was restored by the Council of *Sardica*. *Paul* indeed was reinstated sooner, but not till the See of *Constantinople* became vacant by the Death of *Eusebius*, who had been translated from *Nicomedia* to that City. I appeal to the *Roman* Catholics themselves, and leave them to judge whether it is at all probable, that the Emperor *Constantius*, and the Oriental Bishops, incensed as they were against *Paul* and *Athanasius*, whom they had condemned and deposed in Two Synods, should, out of Respect to the Pope, suffer them thus tamely to return to their Sees, and drive out those whom they had placed in their room. This had been owning themselves guilty, and reversing the Sentence they had but lately pronounced, which, as will appear, they were no-ways in an Humour to do.

The Eusebians write to Julius;

While the Council of *Rome* was yet sitting, the Pope's two Deputies, *Elpidius* and *Philoxenes*, returning from the East, delivered to *Julius* a Letter from the *Eusebians*, which may pass for a Master-piece of the Kind; for, without departing from, or intrenching upon, the Respect that was due to the Bishop of the Imperial City, they, at the same time, commend, censure, menace, and rally him in a most cruel Manner. They begin with alleging several frivolous Excuses for

^k Athan. ap. 2. p. 739.

not appearing at the Council, such as the *Persian War*, which, by the way, did not prevent their assembling at *Antioch*; the Shortness of the Term prescribed for their Meeting; the Pope's writing only to some of them, and not to all, as he ought to have done; and finally, his writing to them in his own Name alone, which was tacitly taxing him with taking too much upon him. They then launch out ironically, it seems, into the highest Encomiums on the Church of *Rome*, styling her the first of all Churches, the School of the Apostles, the Metropolis of true Piety. However, the first Preachers of the Gospel, add they, came out of the East; and, after all, we ought to be looked upon as Inferiors to none, though perhaps we may not have such numerous and flourishing Churches as some have, since the want of Numbers may be abundantly supplied by the Piety of a few. As to Rank, we are all equal, the Greatness of the Cities, in which we preside, adding nothing to the Dignity we all enjoy. In the next place, they express great Concern at the little Regard shewn by some to the Decisions of Councils, which ought to be revered by all, and deemed immutable. This was modestly censuring the Pope for not acquiescing to the Decrees of the Councils of *Tyre* and *Constantinople* condemning *Athanasius*. In the End they allege several Things both against *Athanasius*, and *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*; and conclude with telling *Julius*, that if he renounced all Correspondence and Intercourse with the Bishops they had deposed, and acknowledged those they had placed in their room, they would continue to communicate with him; but if he refused to comply with their Decisions and Decrees, they should think themselves obliged to act in a very different Manner¹. *Julius* was so mortified with this Letter, that he suppressed it for some time, hoping the *Eusebians* would send Deputies, who, he presumed, would express their Sentiments by Word of Mouth, and in a different Style. But, none appearing, he was obliged to lay the Letter he had received before the Fathers of the Council, who, after expressing the greatest Indignation against the *Eusebians*, advised the Pope to answer it; which he did accordingly, by that excellent Letter, which has been preserved intire among the Works of *Athanasius*. He begins with complaining, in very modest Terms, of the Animosity they betrayed in their Letter, to which he thought he had given no Occasion; unless they had taken it amiss, that he had summoned

and threaten
to separate
themselves
from his
Communion.

Julius's An-
swer to their
Letter.

¹ Id. ib. p. 740—749. & ad Solit. p. 816. Soz. l. 3. c. 8. Euseb. l. 6. c. 43. Hil. frag. p. 25.

them

them to the Council; which he could not persuade himself they did, since, at the Request of their Deputies, he had appointed the Council to meet, and, at their Request, invited them to it. As for the Regard due to the Decrees and Decisions of Councils, he told them, that they had trespassed the first against the Decrees of the Oecumenical Council of *Nice*, by admitting the *Arians* to their Communion, which he conceived to be more criminal in them, than it was in him to receive *Athanasius* and *Marcellus*. He reproaches them with another Transgression of the Canons of the Church, namely with that of passing from one Bishoprick to another, which *Eusebius* had done. He then justifies his Conduct with regard to *Athanasius* and *Marcellus*; exhorts the *Eusebians*, with great Zeal and Earnestness, to find out some Remedy against the Evils and Disorders that reigned in the East, which he describes at Length; and concludes with complaining of the Orientals for condemning and deposing Bishops, those especially of the Apostolic Sees, without the Concurrence or Knowledge of their Brethren in the West ^m.

The Council
of Sardica.

Julius, finding his Letter made no Impression on the *Eusebians*, applied with several other Bishops to the Emperor *Constantius*, who, at their Request proposed to his Brother *Constantius* the assembling of an Oecumenical Council, in order to put an End to those unhappy Divisions. To this Proposal *Constantius* agreed; and accordingly, by the Command of the two Princes, a numerous Council met in 347. at *Sardica*, the Metropolis of *Dacia* in *Illyricum* ⁿ. *Julius*, apprehending it dangerous to abandon his Flock at that Juncture, did not assist in Person, but by his Deputies *Archidamus* and *Philoxenes*, who signed in his Name ^o. The Orientals came, but withdrew soon after, upon the Council's refusing to exclude *Athanasius*, and some others, whom they had condemned ^p. But by the orthodox Bishops, who remained, the Acts of the Council of *Rome* were confirmed, *Athanasius* and Three other Bishops declared innocent; and those, who had been placed in their room, not only deposed, but anathematized, and entirely cut off from the Communion of the Catholic Church ^q. The Council, before they broke up, writ several Letters; and, among the rest, one to the Emperors; one to the Bishop of *Rome*; and a cir-

^m Athan. ib. p. 740—753.

p. 7. Soz. l. 3. c. 12, &c.

Hil. frag. 2. p. 22.

frag. 1. p. 18.

ⁿ Athan. ib. p. 761. Socr. l. 1. c. 20. Hil. frag. 2.

^o Athan. ib. p. 767.

^p Athan. ad Solit. p. 819.

^q Athan. ib. p. 766. & ad Sol. p. 820. Theod. l. 2. c. 6. Hil.

cular Letter to all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, acquainting them with what had passed, and exhorting them to join the Council, and declare to the World, that they accepted their Decrees by subscribing to them^r. The circular Letter was subscribed first by the great *Osius* Bishop of *Cordoua*, and in the Second place by the Pope's Legate^s. In their Letter to *Julius* they beg him to notify their Decrees to the Bishops of *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, lest any of them should receive Letters of Peace and Communion from the Bishops they had condemned^t. In this Letter the Council says, or rather is made to say, That *it is very meet or reasonable, that all Bishops should acquaint their Head, that is, the See of St. Peter, with what passes in their respective Provinces*^u. I agree with *Blondel*^w, that this Passage is foisted in; but cannot acquiesce to the only Reason he alleges to support his Opinion, *viz.* the Barbarity of the *Latin* Expression (*valde congruentissimum est*); for such a Slip might easily escape Men wholly bent on defending the Truth, and speaking it; and besides, we are not certain, that this Letter was originally written in *Latin*. The want of Connexion between that Sentence, and what is said both before and after it, is, I think, a more convincing Proof of Forgery.

By the Council of *Sardica* several Canons were made; but I shall only take notice of those that regard the Bishop of *Rome*. By the Third Canon in the *Greek*, or the Fourth in the *Latin* Translation by *Isidorus*, it is ordered, that if any Bishop shall think himself unjustly condemned, his Judges shall acquaint the Bishop of *Rome* therewith, who may either confirm the first Judgment, or order his Cause to be re-examined by such of the neighbouring Bishops as he shall think fit to name^x. *Osius*, who was greatly addicted to the See of *Rome*, begged the Council to grant this Honour to the Memory of *St. Peter*. The Fourth Canon, according to the *Greek*, adds, That the See of the deposed Bishop shall remain vacant till his Cause shall be judged by the Bishop of *Rome*. By the Fifth Canon, which by some Mistake is the Seventh in *Dionysius Exiguus*, it is ordered, that if a Bishop, condemned in his own Province, shall chuse to be judged by the Bishop of *Rome*, and desires him to appoint some of his Presbyters to judge him in his Name, together with the Bishops, the Bishop of *Rome* may grant him his Request. Thus was the pernicious Practice of appealing to the Pope first introduced and authorized. It must be

Canons of the Council of Sardica relating to the Bishop of Rome.

The Practice of appealing to the Pope first introduced.

^r Athan. ib.

^s Id. ib. p. 767.

^t Hil. frag. 1. p. 15, 16.

^u Id. ibid.

^w Blond. prim. p. 106.

^x Concil. t. 2. p. 652.

Several Circumstances concur in his Favour.

The Popes claim as their original Right, what was granted them as a Favour.

Decrees of the Council of Antioch revoked by the Council of Sardica.

observed, that the Oriental Bishops had all left the Council: those who remained were all zealous Opposers of *Arianism*. At the Head of their Party was the Bishop of *Rome*. In the Heat of their Zeal they thought they could not confer too much Power upon him; and so made a Concession intirely repugnant to the Discipline of the primitive Church, and which he could never have obtained, had not those dispositions worked strongly in his Favour. This will not be surprizing to those, who have attended to History, and seen how much the Ambition of Princes, and Heads of Factions, is often advanced beyond its due Bounds by the indiscreet Fervour of Party-Zeal. To the Council of *Sardica*, acting under this Influence, the See of *Rome* is indebted for the so much boasted Privilege of receiving Appeals; and *Julius* was very thankful for it. But his Successors, looking upon such an Obligation as a Diminution of their pretended Sovereignty, have had the Assurance to claim it as their original Right: but that such a Right was unknown to their great Friend *Osius*, to the Fathers of the Council, nay, and to the Pope himself, and his Legates, is manifest, since what they now claim as their original and inherent Right, was by *Osius* begged of the Council as a Favour, and, as such, granted by the Council, and accepted by the Pope and his Legates. This Power of receiving Appeals, only with respect to the judging and deposing of Bishops, has been extended by the Popes to all Causes; and great Encouragement has been given to such as recurred to their Tribunal on the slightest Occasions. *Concerning Appeals in the smallest Causes, we would have you to know, that the same Regard is to be had to them, for how slight a Matter soever they be made, as if they were for a greater,* says Pope *Alexander III.* in his Letter to the Bishop of *Worcester*. The scandalous and intolerable Abuse of this Power in the Popes has obliged several Princes, even when Superstition most prevailed, to restrain their Subjects by severe Laws from recurring to *Rome*. Nay, other Councils of far greater Authority than that of *Sardica*, finding no other Means to put a Stop to the daily Incroachments of the See of *Rome*, have thought it necessary to revoke the Privilege, which that Council had too rashly granted, as we shall see in the Sequel of the present History.

It had been decreed but Six Years before, by the Council of *Antioch*, that, if the Bishops of the same Province disagreed in judging one of

? In decret. Greg. I. 2. tit. 28. c. 11.

their

their Brethren, the Metropolitan might call in those of the neighbouring Province to judge with them; but if they agreed, and were unanimous either in condemning or absolving, their Judgment should be irreversible. Both these Decrees were revoked by the present Council, though intirely agreeable to the antient Practice and Discipline of the Church. But yet this Council, however favourable to the Pope, did not grant him the Power of summoning Bishops to *Rome*, in order to be judged there by him. He was only impowered to examine the Judgment given in the Province; and, in case he found it to be wrong, to order another in the same Province, to invite to this new Synod the Bishops of the next Province, and to send his Legates to it as he thought fit.

The Pope has no Power to summon Bishops to Rome.

At this Council the Pope's Legates assisted; but *Osius* presided, as we are told in express Terms by *Theodoret*^a, by *Sozomen*^b, and by the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon*^c. Besides, his Name is the first in the Subscriptions, as they have been transmitted to us by *Athanasius*, who assures us, that *Osius* was the Chief, and presided in all the Councils at which he assisted. He signed the first, and in his own Name: after him signed the Legates, not in their own, but in the Pope's Name; *Julius Romæ per Archidamum & Philoxenum Presbyteros*; which is a sufficient Confutation of *De Marca*, and the other Popish Writers, pretending, without the least Foundation, that *Osius* presided in the Name of *Julius*.

Osius did not preside at the Council of Sardica as the Pope's Legate.

It is to be observed, that the Canons of this Council were never received in the East, nor even in the West by the Bishops of *Africa*; and that they were not inserted by the Council of *Chalcedon* into the Code of Canons approved by them, as Rules to be universally observed: so that, after all, the so much boasted Council of *Sardica* is a Council of no great Authority. Of this the Popes themselves were well apprised; and therefore, recurring to Fraud, attempted, as we shall see hereafter, to impose upon the World the Canons of *Sardica* as the Canons of *Nice*.

The Council of Sardica a Council of no great Authority.

Athanasius, though declared innocent by the Council, did not think it advisable to return to his See, being informed, that the *Eusebians* had prevailed upon the Emperor *Constantius* to issue an Order, empowering and commanding the Magistrates of *Alexandria* to put him to Death, without further Tryal, in what Place soever he should

Athanasius retires to Naïssus.

^a Theodoret. l. 2. c. 15.

^b Soz. l. 3. c. 11.

^c Concil. l. 4. p. 825.

Is recalled by
Constantius.

be found within the Precincts of that Jurisdiction^c. He therefore retired to *Naiſſus* in *Upper Dacia*, and there continued from the Year 347. to 349. when *Constantius* chose rather to recall him, and the other exiled Bishops, than engage in a Civil War, with which he was threatened by his Brother, if he did not^d. Before his Departure for the East he went to *Rome*, to take his Leave of that Church, and his great Protector *Julius*, who, on that Occasion, writ an excellent Letter of Congratulation to the Presbyters, Deacons, and People of *Alexandria*. Of this Letter we have Two Copies, the one in *Socrates*^e, and the other in *Athanasius*^f. The former contains great Commendations of that Prelate, which, out of Modesty, were, as I conjecture, omitted by him.

Ursacius and
Valens re-
tract all they
had said
against
Athanasius.

Julius had, soon after, the Satisfaction of receiving a solemn Retraction made by *Ursacius* Bishop of *Singidunum*, and *Valens* Bishop of *Mursus*. Two of *Athanasius*'s most inveterate Enemies, publicly owning, that whatever they had said or written against him was utterly false, groundless, and invented out of pure Malice: at the same time they embraced his Communion, and anathematized the Heresy of *Arius*, and all who held or defended his Tenets. This Act *Valens* writ with his own Hand, and *Ursacius* signed it; whereupon they were both admitted by *Julius* to the Communion of the Church^g (A). This Retraction, though

^c Ath. apol. 2. p. 271. & ad Sol. p. 820. Theod. l. 2. c. 6. ^e Socr. l. 2. c. 23. Solit. p. 826. & Apol. 2. p. 776. Hil. frag. i. p. 24—26.

^d Idem ad Sol. p. 822. Ruf. l. 1. c. 19. ^f Athan. apol. 2. p. 770. ^g Ath. ad

(A) *Ursacius* and *Valens* first abjured, or rather pretended to abjure, their Errors at *Milan*, before the Council, that at this Time was sitting there. From *Milan* they repaired to *Rome*, and there abjured anew their Errors, in the Presence of *Julius*, and the whole *Roman Church*. Here *Baronius* observes, that as this was a Matter of too great Moment to be finally decided by the Council of *Milan*, though the *Roman Presbyters* were present, they sent them to *Julius*, that they might abjure their Errors in his Presence, agreeably to the antient Custom of the Catholic Church; viz. that eminent Heretics should abjure their Heresies only at *Rome* (1). But, in the first Place, they were not sent by the Council; but went to *Rome* of their own Accord, as *Osius* assures

us, in express Terms, *Illi ultro Romam venerunt* (2). In the second Place, the Matter was finally determined by the Council of *Milan*; for the Council received their Recantation, and restored them to the Communion of the Church. And what else was to be done? what else could *Julius* do? But if the Matter was finally determined by the Council, what could induce them, says *Baronius*, to travel to *Rome*, and abjure anew their Heresy there? The Answer is obvious: They had imposed upon the Council by a pretended Abjuration, and went to *Rome* to impose, in like manner, on *Julius*, and obtain by that means his Communion; which they did accordingly, notwithstanding his *Infallibility*. Besides, as both *Athanasius* and his

(1) Bar. ad ann. 350. n. 23.

(2) Apud Ath. ad Solitar.

though not at all sincere, but merely owing to Policy, greatly contributed to the Justification of *Athanasius*. I find nothing else in the Antients, concerning *Julius*, worthy of Notice. He died on the 12th ^{Julius dies.} of April 352. having governed the Church of Rome Fifteen Years, Two Months, and Six Days^f. He is said to have been buried in the Coemetry of *Callistus*, on the *Aurelian* Way, where he had built a Church, and to have been removed from thence in 817. by Pope *Paschal* I. to the Church of *St. Praxedes*; and again from that, by *Innocent* II. in 1140. to *St. Mary's* beyond the *Tyber*^h. *Bede*, whom the Authors of the modern Pontificals have followed, tells us, in his Martyrologyⁱ, that *Julius* were sent into Banishment, where he suffered much for the Space of Ten Months, till the Death of *Constantius*, a zealous Promoter of *Arianism*. But that Historian was certainly mistaken, since *Constantius* was never Master of Rome in *Julius's* Time, and his Brother *Constans* was a great Friend to *Julius*, and all the orthodox Bishops. Of the many Writings ascribed to *Julius*, none, except his Two Letters, are authentic, the one to the *Eusebians*, and the other to the Church of *Alexandria*, of which we have spoken above. *Leontius* of *Byzantium* mentions Seven Epistles, which, in the latter End of the Sixth Century, were ascribed to *Julius*^k; but, at the same time, he assures us, that they were not written by him, but by *Apollinaris* the Heresiarch; and the Monks of *Palestine*, in the Account they gave of the *Eutychians*, in the Time of the Emperor *Anastasius*, assure us, that they seduced great Numbers of People, by ascribing the Works of *Apollinaris* to the Fathers, namely to *Athanasius*, to *Gregory Nazianzen*, and to *Julius*^l. *Gennadius* ascribes to *Julius* a Letter to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, greatly favouring of the Heresy of *Eutyches* and *Timo-*

Julius was not banished by Constantius.

Spurious Pieces ascribed to him.

^f Buch. cycl. 267. 273. ^g Idem ib. ^h Bolland. 12 Apr. p. 86. n. 14. ⁱ Bed. martyr. p. 83. ^k Leont. sect. 8. p. 526. ^l Evagr. l. 3. c. 31.

Enemies had referred their Cause to the Arbitration of *Julius*, he was the fittest Person to receive the Retraction of the false Evidence, which they had formerly given. As to the Custom, mentioned by *Baronius*, that eminent Heretics should abjure their Heresies only at Rome, no Man can be so little versed in Ecclesiastical History as not to know, that no such Custom ever obtained in the Catholic Church. Not to recur to more antient Times, the *Arian*

Bishops, that is, Bishops guilty of the same Heresy as *Ursacius* and *Valens*, abjured their Errors before the Council that was held at *Jerusalem* in 335. There they renounced their Heresy; there they were all restored to the Communion of the Church, without going, or offering to go, to Rome. And many of those Bishops were surely more eminent Heretics than either *Ursacius* or *Valens*.

theus^m; but *Leontius* of *Byzantium* evidently proves that Letter to have been written by *Apollinaris*; and as his it is quoted by his Two Disciples *Valentine* and *Timotheus*ⁿ. The Orientals have a Liturgy, which they suppose to have been composed by *Julius*: this Supposition, however groundless, shews him to have been in great Repute in those Parts^o.

CONSTANTIUS,
JULIAN,

LIBERIUS,

JOVIAN,
VALERIAN.

Thirty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 352.

Liberius his
own Panegy-
rist.

No easy Mat-
ter to form a
true Idea of
his Character.

LIBERIUS was chosen on the 22d of May 352. in the room of *Julius* p. He had trampled under-foot (to use his own Terms) all worldly things, to observe the Gospel, and obey the Dictates of his Faith. He had been employed, before his Election, in several ecclesiastical Ministries, and discharged them with Reputation, though he was not conscious to himself of having ever done the least thing for the sake of Praise and Glory. He was at last raised to the Episcopal Dignity, but much against his Will, as he calls God and the Church to witness. He protests, that it was his ardent and only Wish, that he might keep himself pure and undefiled in the Administration of his new Dignity, that he might inviolably maintain and defend the Faith, which he had received from his illustrious Predecessors, among whom were many Martyrs^q. Were we to judge of his Conduct from his Words, we should equal him to the best of his Predecessors; but there appears, throughout his whole Administration, such an odd Mixture of opposite Qualities, that it is no easy Matter to form a true Idea of his Character: at one time we shall find him bold, intrepid, and inflexible; at another timorous, faint-hearted, and compliant; insomuch that one can hardly conceive him to be the same Man. The latter Qualities he betrayed in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, by separating himself from the Communion of *Athanasius*. *Constans*, the great Support of the Orthodox Party, being murdered, and *Constantius* upon the Point of becoming Master of *Rome*, by a complete Victory he had gained over the Two Brothers *Magnentius* and *Decentius*, the *Eusebians* thought this a proper

^m Gen. c. 2. p. 273.

ⁿ Leont. ib. Hil. frag. 2. p. 41.

^o Bona lit. l. c. 9. p. 64.

^q Buch. cycl.

Juncture to try whether the Fear of that Prince had not rendered *Julius* somewhat more tractable. For *Constantius* was more incensed than ever against *Athanasius*, being assured by the *Eusebians*, to whom he gave an intire Credit, that he had influenced his Brother to threaten him with a Civil War^q. They writ therefore to *Julius* a second Letter, filled with new Complaints and Calumnies against *Athanasius*; but *Julius* dying in the mean time, their Letter, together with another to the same Purpose from the *Arians* of *Alexandria*, was delivered to *Liberius*, who caused them both to be publicly read in a full Assembly of the People, and in the Council, which was then sitting at *Rome*^r. His Answer to these Letters has not reached our Times; but a Copy of the Letter, which he writ on that Occasion to *Athanasius*, has, to his eternal Disgrace, been transmitted to us, among the Fragments of *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers*. In that Letter he summons him to appear forthwith at *Rome*, to clear himself there of the heavy Accusations brought against him; and threatens to cut him off from the Communion of that Church, if he refused to comply with the Summons^s. With this Letter he dispatched Three of his Presbyters, *Lucius*, *Paulus*, and *Elianus*; strictly injoining them, by all means, to prevail upon *Athanasius* to repair, without Delay, to *Rome*^t. This Conduct, so very different from that of his Predecessor, was, no doubt, owing to the Dread he was in of the Emperor *Constantius*, by this Time probably Master of *Rome*, and all *Italy*; for what else could tempt or induce him to act so preposterously? Be that as it will, *Athanasius* was greatly surprised and concerned to find himself so unworthily treated and threatened by the Bishop of *Rome*; but did not think himself, on that Account, obliged to abandon his Flock. He remained therefore in *Alexandria*; but begged his Collegues in *Egypt* to write in his Favour to the Pope; which they did accordingly. But *Liberius* wanted to ingratiate himself with the *Arians*, and, by their means, with the Emperor; and therefore, without any Regard to the Testimony of the Orthodox Bishops, or the known Innocence of the oppressed *Athanasius*, he writ to the *Eusebians*, acquainting them, that he communicated with them; but, as to *Athanasius*, he had cut him off from his Communion, and from that of his Church^u. *Baronius*^w,

The Eusebians write a second Letter to Julius against Athanasius:

which is answered by Liberius;

who summons Athanasius to Rome.

Liberius communicates with the Arians, and excommunicates Athanasius.

^q Ath. ad Solit. p. 828. & Apol. 2. p. 674. Theod. l. 2. c. 10. ^r Hil. frag. 1. p. 36. 40. ^s Idem ib. ^t Idem ib. ^u Idem ib. ^w Bar. ad. ann. 352. n. 12—20.

*His Letter
to them not
supposititious.*

and after him the *Benedictines*, in their last Edition of the Works of *Hilarius* and *Athanasius*^x, maintain this Letter of *Liberius* to have been forged by the *Arians*, and inserted into the Works of *Hilarius*. But they allege no convincing Reason why the other Pieces, among which it has been conveyed to us, should be admitted as genuine, and this alone rejected as supposititious. *Athanasius*, indeed, never reproached the Bishop of *Rome* with his scandalous Conduct, as they observe; but may not that be ascribed to his Moderation? The more, as he was sensible, that *Liberius* acted thus not out of Ill-will, but Fear. As to the want of Connexion between that Letter and the Pieces preceding and following it, I should not have expected such an Objection from any who had ever perused the Fragments of that Writer, which every one knows to have been patched together without any Regard to Time or Order (B).

*The Council
of Arles.*

In the mean time *Constantius*, now in quiet Possession of the whole Empire by the Death of *Magnentius*, who, after his Defeat, had laid violent Hands on himself, summoned a Council to meet at *Arles*. At this Council *Liberius* did not assist in Person, but by his Legates, *Vincentius* Bishop of *Capua*, and *Marcellus* Bishop of *Campania*, who, together with some others, had been sent by *Liberius* some time before to meet the Emperor at *Arles*, and beg him in the Pope's Name to assemble a Council at *Aquileia* y. As the Bishop of *Capua* was a Man of great Parts, and long Experience, *Liberius* reposed

^x Hil. p. 1327. & Athan. vit. p. 51.
p. 159. Hil. frag. 2. p. 41. 47.

^y Ath. ad Solit. p. 829. Sulp. Sever. l. 2.

(B) Thus the very Letter of *Liberius* is put in the Place where the Letter of the Council of *Sardica* to the Emperor *Constantius* ought to have been, as is manifest from what is said immediately before it. A few Lines after, instead of the Letter from the Council of *Egypt* to *Liberius*, which *Hilarius* promises, we find one from *Liberius* to the Bishops of *Italy*, written after the Death of *Constantius* upon a quite different Subject. What comes immediately after the Letter of *Liberius* to the *Eusebians*, ought, in all Likelihood, to have been placed after the above-mentioned Letter of the Council of *Sardica* to *Constantius*: for to me it appears no less improbable than it does or can do to *Baronius* (1), that *Hila-*

rius, a most zealous Stickler for the Orthodox Faith, should approve of the Pope's scandalous Letter, tending utterly to subvert it, and express his Approbation in these Terms; *What is there in this Letter that is not holy? What is there that does not proceed from the Fear of God?* However, I cannot conclude, and much less demonstratively, with the Annalist, that the Letter has been forged by the *Arians*. All I think can be inferred from thence is, that the Letters, like most other Pieces there, have been misplaced; and that the above-mentioned Words of *Hilarius* ought to be put after the Letter of the Council to *Constantius*, and not after that of *Liberius* to the *Arians*.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 352. n. 13.

an intire Confidence in him, not doubting but he would maintain the Dignity of his Legation, and support the Innocency of *Athanasius* with that Firmness which he had shewn on several other Occasions (B).

As the Council consisted chiefly of *Arians*, their great Point in view was, to extort from the *Italian* Bishops a solemn Condemnation of *Athanasius*. This therefore was in the first place proposed in the Council; and, because the orthodox Bishops would not consent to it, an Edict was issued by the Emperor, sentencing all those to Exile who should refuse to sign the Condemnation of *Athanasius* ^a. The boasted Firmness and Constancy of *Vincentius* were not Proof against such a Trial. He did all that lay in his Power to divert the Emperor from the Execution of a Decree utterly inconsistent with the Liberty of a Council; but finding him deaf to all Remonstrances, he began to capitulate, offering to sign the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, on condition the *Eusebians* signed that of *Arius*, and publicly abjured his Doctrine. This he thought would be some Alleviation of his Guilt, and therefore the Proposal which he had made by Word of Mouth he gave in Writing to the Heads of the *Arian* Faction, signed by himself and his Fellow-legates. But the *Arians*, too well acquainted with their Weakness to grant them any Terms, peremptorily insisted upon their condemning *Athanasius*, and referring the Cause and Doctrine of *Arius* to a more proper Juncture. *Vincentius* and his Collegues, finding the Enemies of *Athanasius* thus inflexible, and, on the other hand, determined at all Events to keep their Bishopricks, and avoid the Hardships of a painful Exile, complied at last, and yielded to the trouble-
some Times, to use their softening Expression ^b. They were the more
inexcusable, as they had before their Eyes the Example of a great
Prelate, whose Constancy was proof against all the Threats and
Menaces of a provoked Prince. This was the celebrated *Paulinus*
Bishop of *Treves*, who, after perusing the Formulary, drawn up by
the *Eusebians*, to be signed by him and the other Bishops, rejected it
with the utmost Indignation, declaring that nothing they could do
should ever induce him to betray the Truth, and his own Conscience,

*The Empe-
ror's Edict.*

*The Pope's
Legates sign
the Condem-
nation of
Athanasius.*

^a Sulp. Sever. l. 2. p. 159.
l. 2. c. 17.

^b Hil. frag. 2. p. 42. Ath. ap. 1. p. 691. Theod.

(B) For *Liberius*, ashamed of what he had done against *Athanasius*, not only re-admitted him soon after to his own Communion, but with great Zeal undertook his Defence.

*The glorious
Behaviour of
Paulinus.*

by setting his Hand to such a scandalous Piece. The *Eusebians* left no Art unattempted to gain him, as they had done the Pope's Legates; but finding he was a Man of a quite different Disposition, and despairing of being ever able to prevail upon him either by Hopes or Fear, they at last had recourse to the Emperor, who, putting his Decree in Execution, sent him into Exile; and in order to tire out his Patience, ordered him to be constantly conveyed from one inhospitable Place to another. But in every Place *Paulinus* was the same, the Conscience of his suffering for the sake of Justice enabling him to bear, not only with Patience, but Cheerfulness, the inexpressible Hardships he underwent. He died in *Phrygia* in the Fifth Year of his Exile ^d, that is, in 358. But his Body is supposed to have been discovered in a Church of his Name at *Treves*, in the Year 1071 ^e. How and when it was conveyed thither, let those inquire who adore it.

*Liberius
writes to the
Emperor for
another
Council;*

To return to *Liberius*, he was so sensibly affected with the Fall of *Vincentius* and his Collegues, that he wished for an Opportunity of losing his Life in so good a Cause, and washing out with his Blood the Stain which the scandalous Conduct of his Legates had brought upon his Character ^f. Thus he expresses himself in the Letter, which he writ on that Occasion to the great Friend of his See *Osius* ^g. However, in the Height of his Affliction, he found great Relief in the Courage and Steadiness of *Cæcilianus* Bishop of *Spoletto*, of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelli*, and of *Lucifer* Bishop of *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*. The latter advised the Pope to demand of the Emperor another Council, and generously took upon himself to go to *Arles*, where *Constantius* then was, and make that Demand. *Liberius* readily accepted his Offer, and named *Pancratius* and *Hilarius* for his Collegues, the one a Presbyter, the other a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*. By these he writ an excellent Letter to the Emperor, wherein, with the Liberty that became a Catholic Bishop, but at the same time with all the Respect that is due from a Subject to his Sovereign, he justifies his Conduct in the Defence of *Athanasius*, lays open the Arts and Views of the adverse Party, and begs that a new Council might be assembled, there being no other Means to put a Stop to so many Evils, and restore Peace and Tranquillity to the Catholic Church ^h. At the same time *Liberius* writ to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelli*, and *Fortunatianus*

^c Hil. frag. 1. p. 6. & in Conf. l. 2. p. 119. Sulp. Sever. p. 157. Ath. in Ar. or. 1. p. 2, 1. ad Solit. p. 831. de fug. 703. ^d Sulp. Sever. p. 169. Hier. chron. ^e Bar. in marty. 31. Aug. ^f Hil. frag. 47. ^g Id. ib. ^h Id. ib. p. 39. 43.

Bishop of *Aquileia*, intreating them to assist his Legates with their Advice, and even with their Presence, should it be thought necessary. The Three Legates, on their Arrival at *Vercelli*, in their Way to *Arles*, were not only kindly received, but joined by *Eusebius*, who repaired with them to the Emperor. As the *Arians* were no-ways averse to the Proposal, nay, had even solicited the Emperor to convene a new Council, the Request of the Legates met with no Difficulty; so that a Council was appointed to meet at *Milan*, where it met accordingly in ^{which is} the Beginning of the Year 355ⁱ. We are told, that it consisted of ^{granted, and} Three hundred Western Bishops, and that from the East there came ^{assembled at} *Milan*. but very few^k. But *Constantius* and his Army may be said to have supplied their room. For the Council no sooner met, than the Emperor absolutely insisted upon their signing the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, and an Edict, containing the chief Tenets of *Arius*, which had been published in his Name. But in this Attempt he met with a vigorous Opposition from *Dionysius* Bishop of *Milan*, *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, and the Two other Legates, *Pancratius* and *Hilarius*; which provoked him to such a Degree, that he was upon the Point of commanding them to be executed upon the Spot as Rebels. But, upon second Thoughts, he contented himself with sending them into Exile, *Dionysius* into *Cappadocia*, or *Armenia*, where he died a few Years after, *Eusebius* to *Scythopolis* in *Palestine*, and *Lucifer* to *Germanicia* in *Syria*. To what Place *Pancratius* and *Hilarius* were confined, we know not; but the latter was most cruelly whipt before he was banished^l. As for the other Bishops, I shall only say, with *Ruffinus*^m, that, out of Three hundred, *Dionysius*, *Lucifer*, and *Eusebius*, alone shewed a Firmness and Intrepidity becoming Men of their Rank and Dignity. Among the rest *Fortunatianus* Bishop of *Aquileia* signed the Condemnation of *Athanasius*; which greatly added to the Grief and Concern of *Liberius*, who, till that Time, had entertained the highest Opinion of him.

And now *Constantius* had the Satisfaction of seeing *Athanasius* condemned by the far greater Part of the Western Bishops. But the Bishop of *Rome* still declared openly in his Favour, and did all that lay in his Power to gain others to his Party. To deprive him therefore of ^{Constantius} so powerful a Protector, the Emperor resolved to spare no Cost nor ^{endeavours} Labour. With this View he dispatched to *Rome* the Eunuch *Eusebius*, ^{in vain to} gain *Liberius*; ^{gain Libe-}

ⁱ Sulp. Sever. l. 2. p. 159. Hil. frag. 2. p. 43. Athan. ad Solit. p. 846.
p. 546, 547. Socr. l. 2. c. 36.

^l Athan. ad Sol. p. 838.

^k Soz.
^m Ruff. l. 1. c. 20.

*who is sent
Prisoner to
Milan.*

*His Inter-
view with
the Emperor.*

his great Chamberlain, with rich Presents in one Hand, and a threatening Letter in the other : but with an invincible Firmness *Liberius* withstood both ; so that the Eunuch, who was himself a sworn Enemy to *Athanasius*, returned to Court baffled and disappointed ; and there, by the Account he gave of his unsuccessful Embassy, added new Fuel to the Fire, which burnt already with great Violence. The Emperor, who pretended to govern the Church no less despotically than he did the State, transported with Rage at the stout Opposition he met with from the Bishop of *Rome*, immediately dispatched an Order to *Leoncius*, Prefect of that City, injoining him to apprehend *Liberius*, and send him under a strong Guard to Court. Pursuant to this Order, *Liberius* was seized in the Night-time, lest the People, by whom he was greatly beloved, should attempt his Rescue, and conveyed to *Milan*, where the Court then resided ⁿ. Soon after his Arrival he was brought before the Emperor, when, undaunted and unawed by the Presence of so great a Prince, he spoke with all the Liberty of an Apostle, and with all the Eloquence of a great Orator ^o. At this Interview were present *Eusebius* the Eunuch, and *Epiſtetus* Bishop of *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita-Vecchia*, who, for his ready Compliance with the Emperor's Will, had been raised by him to great Preferments ^p. The latter told *Liberius*, when he had ended the excellent Speech he made before the Emperor, That he had indeed expressed great Zeal for the Purity of the Faith, and the Liberty of Councils ; but the Whole was mere Mummery ; and that he only wanted to looked upon by his Party as a Person of some Significancy, and to brag among the Senators, on his Return to *Rome*, that he had had the Honour to dispute with the Emperor ^q. The Eunuch too thought he must speak, but it was only to betray his Ignorance ; for he reproached *Liberius* with defending *Athanasius*, who had been condemned, he said, as an Heretic, by the Council of *Nice* ^r. As for *Constantius*, the only Reply he made to the Reasons alleged by *Liberius* in favour of *Athanasius*, and the Faith of *Nice*, was, That the wicked and impious *Athanasius*, as he styled him, had been condemned by the whole World ; that, by his arrogant Conduct, he had provoked all Mankind, and himself in particular, by constantly stirring up his Brother against him ; that therefore he looked upon the Defeat of *Magentius* and *Sylvanus*,

ⁿ A han. ad Solit. p. 834, 835. Ammian. l. 15. p. 47. Theod. l. 2. c. 13. & l. 15. p. 38. 41. 47. ^o Athan. & Theod. ib. ^p Athan. in Ar. or. 1. p. 290. Marcell. & Faſtin. lib. prec. ad Theod. p. 30. ^q Theod. l. 2. c. 13. ^r Id. ib.

who had attempted to bereave him of his Crown, as less important to him than the deposing and condemning of a Man, by whom he had been so highly injured ^s. In Answer to this, *Liberius* begged, that, of all Men, he would not chuse Bishops for the Instruments of his private Revenge. *Constantius* made no Reply, but only told him, that he must either sign the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, or be sent into Exile; and that he allowed him Three Days to deliberate which of the Two he would chuse. *Liberius* answered, with great Intrepidity, ^{His Steadiness.} that he had already chosen, and was resolved; that in Three Days he should not change his Resolution; and therefore the Emperor might send him that Minute to what Place soever he pleased ^t. The Three Days were not yet expired when the Emperor sent for him anew to Court, hoping the Fear of Banishment had softened him, as it had done most others into a Compliance. But he found him unalterably fixed in the same Resolution; and therefore, despairing of being ever able to succeed in his Attempt, he ordered him to be conveyed forthwith to *Beræa* in *Thrace* ^u. *Liberius* had not yet left the Palace, ^{He is banished to Beræa in Thrace.} when the Emperor sent him a Present of Five hundred Pieces of Gold to defray his Charges; which he sent back by the same Person who brought them, saying, that the Emperor might want Money to pay his Troops. The like Sum was sent him by the Empress *Eusebia*; which, with the same Answer, he desired might be conveyed to the Emperor, adding, that if he knew not how to employ that Sum better, he might bestow it on *Epietetus*, or *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Milan*, who would be very thankful for it ^x. He left *Milan* Three Days after, and set out for the Place of his Exile. His Fate was no sooner known at *Rome*, than the Clergy, assembling the People, bound themselves by a solemn Oath, in their Presence, not to acknowledge any other for their Bishop so long as *Liberius* lived ^y.

Liberius being thus driven from his See, another was placed on it in his room; and the Person, whom the Emperor and the *Arian* Faction ^{Felix is chosen in his room.} pitched upon, was one *Felix*, then only Deacon of the Church of *Rome* ^a. But the Clergy could not proceed to a new Election, without an open Violation of the Oath they had taken; the People began to mutiny, and, assembling in Crouds would suffer none of the *Arian*

^s Theod. l. 1. c. 17.

^t Id. ib.

^u Id. ib. & Athan. ad Solit. p. 835.

^x Theod. l. 2. c. 13. Soz. l. 4. c. 11.

^y Marc. & Faust. &c. p. 3. Hier. chron.

^a Athan. ad Solit. p. 861. Ruf. l. 1. c. 22.

Constantius
goes to Rome.

The Roman
Ladies inter-
cede for Li-
berius.

Faction to enter their Churches. The Imperial Palace therefore served instead of a Church; Three of the Emperor's Eunuchs represented the People; and Three Bishops, Slaves of the Court, *viz. Epictetus of Centumcellæ, Acacius of Casarea, and Basilius of Ancyra*, ordained the new-elected Bishop ^b. Thus was *Felix* chosen, and thus ordained. As *Liberius* was greatly beloved by the People, chiefly on account of his vigorous Opposition to *Constantius*, the Intrusion of *Felix* occasioned a great Sedition, in which many lost their Lives ^c. The Clergy were not so zealous in the Cause as the People; for great Numbers of them, unmindful of the Oath they had taken, were by degrees reconciled to *Felix*, and communicated with him ^d; whereas the People continued to abhor and avoid him at least till the Year 357. when *Constantius* came to *Rome* ^e. For that Prince, being desirous to see the Metropolis of his Empire, undertook a Journey to *Rome* in the above-mentioned Year, and entered it in Triumph on the 28th of *April* ^f. During his short Stay in that City, the *Roman* Ladies gave a signal Instance of the Zeal and Affection they still retained for their exiled Bishop. They thought a more favourable Opportunity could never offer to solicit the Emperor for his Return; and therefore, by a private Agreement among themselves, they pressed their Husbands, with great Earnestness, to lay hold of it, threatening to abandon them, if they did not, and repairing to their Bishop to share with him the Hardships of his Exile. The Husbands, unmoved by such Menaces, which they well knew would never take place, answered, that by such an Application they might incur the Displeasure of the Prince, which would prove fatal to them, as well as to the Person in whose Behalf they interposed; whereas, should they themselves take such a pious and commendable Office upon them, the Respect due to their Sex would, in all Likelihood, extort from the Prince, the desired Favour, at least it would restrain his Resentment, and stifle all Thoughts of Revenge. The Proposal was universally applauded by the Ladies, unwilling to expose their Husbands to the dire Effects of the Emperor's Indignation. On an appointed Day therefore, attiring themselves in an Apparel suitable to their Rank, that the Emperor in seeing them might know who they were, and treat them accordingly, they repaired to Court; and being immediately admitted to the Prince's Presence, they con-

^b Ath. ib. Hier. ep. 98. Soz. l. 4. c. 24. Socr. l. 2. c. 37.

^d Hier. chron. Marc. & Faust. p. 3.

^c Soz. l. 4. c. 15.

^e Athan. ib. Theod. l. 2. c. 14. Ammian.

l. 16. p. 72.

^f Ammian. l. 16. p. 69. 72. Idat. chor. Alex.

jured

jured him, with Tears in their Eyes, to take Pity of that great City, of that numerous Flock, bereft of its Pastor, and, in his Absence, devoured by ravenous Wolves. This was not at all a courtly Language: however, *Constantius*, without betraying the least Emotion, said, *I thought you had a Pastor. Is not Felix as capable of discharging the Pastoral Office as any other?* Felix, replied they, *is detested, and avoided by all.* At these Words the Emperor first look'd grave; but, immediately changing his Gravity into a Smile, *If so*, said *The Emperor* he, with great Complaisance, *you must have Liberius again: I shall* promises to recall him. *without Delay, dispatch the proper Orders for his Return.* An Edi&th was accordingly issued the very next Day, recalling *Liberius* to govern the Church jointly with *Felix*; for *Constantius* thought it inconsistent with his Honour, and the Imperial Dignity, to drive *Felix* from the See, on which he himself had placed him.

When this Edi&th was read, in the Presence of the Emperor, to the People assembled in the *Circus*, they applauded it at first, by way of *The Edi&th recalling him to govern jointly with Felix, rallied by the Roman People.* Raillery, saying, That since the Spectators, at the public Sports, were divided into Two Parties, it was just and reasonable there should be Two Bishops to head them. The Multitude, not satisfied with thus pleasantly expressing their Dissatisfaction, cried out, immediately after, with one Voice, *There is but One God, One Christ, One Bishop* &c. And yet the Emperor was rather delighted than displeased with the Humour of the People, and the Liberty they took; for to what happened on this Occasion *Ammianus Marcellinus* probably alludes, where he writes, that *Constantius*, in exhibiting public Sports at *Rome*, was pleased with the Liberty they took to rally him, knowing it did not proceed from Pride or Ill-nature ^h. *Theodoret* tells us, that to Acclamations so worthy of the *Roman* Piety the Emperor granted the Return of *Liberius* ⁱ; and with him agree *Sulpitius Severus* ^k, and *Ruffinus* ^l. But *Sozomen* ^m, and all the Writers of those Times, assure us, that his Return did not happen this, but the following Year 358. when he bought it dear, by signing the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, and the Symbol or Creed, composed by the *Semi-Arians* at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish* in *Sclavonia*. *Constantius*, at the Request of the *Roman* Ladies and People, promised to recall him, as I have related; but it was on Condition, says *Sozomen* ⁿ, that he should agree with the Bishops of the Court, that is, with the *Semi-Arians*.

^g Theod. l. 2. c. 14. Soz. l. 4. c. 15.
Sever. l. 2. p. 160.

^l Ruf. l. 1. c. 27.

^h Amm. l. 16.

ⁱ Theod. ib.

^k Sulp.

^m Soz. l. 4. c. 11.

ⁿ Idem ib.

The Firmness which *Liberius* had hitherto shewn, left no room to doubt of his rejecting such a Proposal with the greatest Indignation. But he now felt what before he had only beheld at a Distance: he began to compare the Ease and Plenty in which he had lived at *Rome*, with the Inconveniences and Hardships of his present Exile. Besides, from the Menaces thrown out against him by the Emperor's Officers, he apprehended his Life to be in Danger ^o. 'Tis true, he had wished for an Opportunity of shedding his Blood in so good a Cause, as I have related above. But who is not brave at a Distance from Danger? The Jealousy he had of *Felix*, who, sitting in his Chair, acted the High Pontiff at *Rome*, was the *Dalila*, says *Baronius* ^p, speaking of his signing the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, who bereft this *Samson* of all his Strength and Courage. However that be, it is certain, that the Strength and Courage, which he had with great Glory exerted on other Occasions, vanished at once. For he not only signed the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, but moreover approved, and received as catholic, the Confession or Symbol of *Sirmium* ^q. Thus, to ingratiate himself with the Emperor, and return to *Rome*, did *Liberius* abandon, at last, his persecuted Friend, renounce the Catholic Faith, and solemnly promise to maintain inviolable the Doctrine of *Sirmium* ^r. As he was impatient to be reinstated in his See, he took care immediately to acquaint the Emperor with the Steps he had taken. With this Letter he dispatched *Fortunatianus* Bishop of *Aquileia*, charging him to solicit *Constantius* for his Return, since he had done all he had required of him ^s. *Constantius* took no Notice of, nor returned any Answer to, this Letter. On the other hand, *Liberius* was heartily sick of his Exile, heartily sick of suffering for the sake of Justice. In Hopes therefore of putting a speedy End to his Exile, and the Hardships attending it, he writ in a most submissive and cringing Style to the Eastern Bishops, assuring them, that it was merely out of Respect to his Predecessor *Julius*, and to maintain his Judgment, that he had undertaken the Defence of *Athanasius*; that as soon as it had pleased God to open his Eyes, and discover to him how justly he had been condemned, he had separated himself from his Communion, and joined them; that all their Decrees concerning him should be inviolably observed by the Apostolic See, as indeed they ought to be;

Liberius
signs the Con-
demnation of
Athanasius,
and embraces
the Doctrine
of Sirmium.

His Letter to
the Eastern
Bishops.

^o Ath. ad Solit. p. 837.
vir. il. c. 97.

^r Hl. ib.

^p Bar. ad ann. 357. n. 41.
^s Idem ib. p. 49.

^q Hil. frag. 1. p. 48. Hier.

that

that he sincerely and willingly received the true Catholic and Orthodox Faith, as it had been expounded and defined by several of his Brethren and Collegues at *Sirmium*, and had been proposed to him by his Collegue *Demophilus*; that he received every Article of that Symbol, and had nothing to object against any. This remarkable Letter he concludes thus: *And now that I agree with you in every Point, let me earnestly intreat your Holinesses to employ your joint Interest in my Behalf, that I may be recalled from Banishment, and suffered to return to the See, which God has been pleased to commit to my Care* ^t. This Letter has been conveyed to us by the great *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Poitiers*, who, in relating it, not able to restrain the just Indignation it kindled in his Breast, interrupts the Recital Three times, to anathematize the Author of it, the *prevaricating Liborius*, as he styles him ^u. He writ likewise to *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Germinius*, who bore great Sway at Court, and were at the Head of the *Arian* Faction in the West, to acquaint them, that he communicated with them, and also with *Auxentius* and *Epiſtetus*, Two of the most inveterate Enemies the Orthodox had; and that whoever did not communicate with them, that is, every Catholic Bishop, was cut off from his Communion. These Words *Hilarius* cannot repeat without anathematizing anew *Liborius*, and all the *Arians* with him. In the same Letter he lets them know, that he has separated himself from the Communion of *Athanasius*, late Bishop of *Alexandria*, acknowledging him, by that Expression, lawfully deposed. He declares, in the Beginning of his Letter, and calls God to witness, that it is not by Compulsion, but merely for the sake of Peace and Charity, far preferable to Martyrdom itself, that he writes to them. He conjures them, by the omnipotent God, by his Son *Jesus*, by the Holy Ghost, to intercede for him with the Emperor, that, by his Return, Peace and Tranquillity may be restored to the Church committed to his Care; assuring them, that the Zeal they exert in so pious, so just a Cause, will meet with a proportionable Reward in Heaven ^w.

As the Emperor had not yet taken the least Notice of his Letter; as the Eastern Bishops, as well as the Bishops at Court, did not act, as he thought, with all the Zeal and Expedition he expected, and his ready Compliance well deserved; he writ a Third Letter, directed to *Vincentius*, Bishop of *Capua*, acquainting him, that he had abandoned the Defence of *Athanasius*, and desiring him to give No-

He is anathematized by Hilarius. His Letter to the Bishops at Court;

and to Vincentius, Bishop of Capua.

^t Idem ib. p. 47, 48.

^u Idem ib.

^w Idem ib. p. 49.

tice thereof to all the Bishops of *Campania*; and, at the same time, to use his utmost Endeavours to persuade them to dispatch some of their Body with a Letter, in their common Name, to the Emperor, begging *Constantius* to deliver him, without further Delay, from his present most melancholy and deplorable Situation. To this Letter he adds the following Paragraph, in his own Hand: *We live in Peace with all the Bishops of the East, and with you. As for me, I have discharged my Conscience before God. Will you suffer me to perish in my present Exile? The same God will judge us both* *. The Bishop of *Capua* had been formerly sent by *Liberius* to the Council of *Arles*, with the Character of his Legate, as I have observed above, and had there signed the Condemnation of *Athanasius*; on which Occasion *Liberius* wished for an Opportunity of washing out, with his own Blood, the Stain which the Conduct of his Legate had brought upon his Character. But his only Wish now was to see himself delivered from his painful Exile, and restored to his former State, upon any Terms. *Vincentius*, touched with his Complaints, prevailed upon the Bishops of *Campania* to send a solemn Deputation to the Emperor in his Behalf; which *Constantius* complied with, so far as to recall him from the Place of his Exile to *Sirmium*, where the Court then was †. Upon his Arrival there, *Constantius*, who had lately embraced the Doctrine of the *Semi-Arians*, taking Advantage of his Weakness, and of the eager Desire he had betrayed of returning to his See, obliged him, as well as the Bishops of the Court, and Four *African* Bishops, who happened to be then at *Sirmium*, to sign the same Doctrine ‡. Thus did the infallible *Liberius* sign, and embrace, at least in Appearance, both the *Arian* and *Semi-Arian* Heresy; the *Arian* at *Beræa*, the Place of his Exile, and the *Semi-Arian* at *Sirmium*. That the Confession he signed at *Beræa* was *Arian*, cannot be doubted; for it was the Second of *Sirmium*, which all agree to have been *Arian* (A). Besides, it was proposed to him by

He is recalled from his Banishment to *Sirmium*.

He signs the Doctrine of the *Semi-Arians*.

* Idem ib. p. 51.

† Soz. l. 4. c. 15.

‡ Idem ib.

(A) Three Councils were held at *Sirmium*, one in 349. another in 352. and the Third in 357. In the First, *Photinus*, Bishop of that City, was condemned, for reviving the Heresy of *Paul of Samosata*. This Council was intirely composed of the Western Bishops, who attempted to depose *Photinus*, but were vigorously opposed by

the People. The Second Council of *Sirmium* was convened by the Emperor *Constantius*, and consisted of the Eastern Bishops only, who condemned anew, and deposed *Photinus*. By this Council a Symbol, or Creed, was composed, which has been transmitted to us in *Greek* by St. *Athanasius*, and in *Latin* by St. *Hilarius*; and is intirely

by *Demophilus* Bishop of *Beræa*, who was a most zealous Stickler for *Arianism*, and greatly attached to *Ursacius* and *Valens*, the Two leading Men among the *Arians* in the West; and it is not at all probable, that he would have required *Liberius* to sign a Doctrine different from that which he himself held.

The Advocates for the Pope's Infallibility are here quite at a Loss what to say in Defence of that Prerogative. That *Liberius* signed the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, that he communicated with the *Arians*, and, what above all galls them, that he received the *Sirmian* Confession of Faith as Catholic and Orthodox, are undeniable Matters of Fact. To reconcile them with Infallibility, is what they have been long drudging at: and to what pitiful Shifts, what eluding and unmeaning Distinctions, have they not been obliged to recur! Like a Man struggling for Life in deep Water, and catching at every Twig to save it, they flounce from Quibble to Quibble, from one Subterfuge to another, but all in vain; sink they must, and their Infallibility with them. To shew their Distress, I shall briefly transcribe what I find offered on this Occasion, by the most learned among them, in Defence of the Cause they have undertaken. *Baronius*^b, after relating and owning the above-mentioned Facts, addresses his Readers thus: *We have hitherto sailed among dangerous Rocks, among treacherous Shoals; but fear not, I shall at last pilot you safe into the Port of Truth.* Then, dropping his Allegory, he makes a long Descant to prove, that the *Sirmian* Confession of Faith, signed by *Liberius*, was, in every Article, Catholic and Orthodox. A rare Pilot indeed! If this (to pursue his Allegory) is *the Port of Truth*, who can help pitying *Jerom*, *Hilarius*, *Athanasius*, and in short all the Antients? for they certainly missed it, and, falling in among those dan-

What alleged by Baronius in his Defence;

^b Bar. ad ann. 357. n. 46.

intirely Orthodox. In the Third Council of *Sirmium* a new Creed was composed by *Potamius* Bishop of *Lisbone*, and signed by *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, and the other Bishops there present. This Creed was altogether *Arian*; for not only the Word *Consubstantial* was rejected by it, but the Son was declared to be unlike the Father in Essence, to be less than the Father, and to have had a Beginning. And it was this Second Symbol of *Sirmium* that *Liberius* signed at *Beræa*. Upon his Arrival at *Sirmium* he found there *Basilus* of *Ancyra*,

Eleusius of *Cyzicus*, and the other *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who were lately come from the Council of *Ancyra*, where they had condemned the Doctrine of the *Pure Arians*, and established that of the *Semi-Arians*, holding the Son to be like the Father in Nature and Essence, but not *Consubstantial*, or of the same Substance. And this Doctrine *Liberius* signed out of Complaisance to the Emperor, that nothing might obstruct his Return to *Rome*. He signed it in a kind of Council, consisting of the *Semi-Arian* Bishops, whom I have mentioned above.

and by Bel-
larmine.

gerous Rocks, those treacherous Shoals, which *Baronius* had the Skill and good Luck to avoid, were there unfortunately shipwrecked. For *Jerom* says, in express Terms, and in Two Places ^c, that *Liberius* signed an Heresy; *Hilarius*, that he approved of the *Arian* Perfidy ^d; *Athanasius*, that he joined the *Arians* ^e; and all the Antients, that he apostatized from the Faith: nay, *Liberius* himself, in his Letter to the Orientals, which is still to be seen, under his own Hand, in the *Vatican* Library, gives them Notice, that in all things he agrees with *Demophilus*, a most zealous *Arian*, and with them; which Words *Hilarius* could not repeat without anathematizing him. It is therefore manifest, beyond all Dispute, that the Confession of Faith, signed by *Liberius*, was not Catholic, but *Arian*. Of this *Baronius* himself was, without doubt, well apprised, and into this Port he had piloted his Reader, had Truth alone been his Land-mark. *Bellarmino*, the other great Stickler for Infallibility, pursues a different Method, but with worse Success, in my Opinion, than his Fellow-Champion *Baronius*; for, by striving to support that chimerical Privilege, he evidently oversets it. The Pope, according to him, may sign and receive heretical Opinions, as *Liberius* did, without prejudicing in the least his Infallibility, provided he does not internally assent to them ^f; so that the so much boasted Infallibility is by him, reduced at last to this; that the Pope cannot internally assent to an Error: which is confining his Infallibility to himself, and consequently disqualifying him for the Office of a Teacher. Infallibility, even thus curtailed, is, no doubt, a most valuable Treasure to the Owner, but of no more Use to the rest of Mankind than a Treasure concealed under ground; and, on that very Account, it ought in common Sense to be exploded. But it is scarce worth the while to quarrel with *Bellarmino* about it, since he cannot be so unreasonable as to require us, in virtue of such a Privilege, to pay any Regard to the Decisions of the Pope, till such time, at least, as we know them to be agreeable to his private Opinion; and this is what we can never know, since every Pope may, like *Liberius*, externally admit an Opinion as true; and, at the same time, internally reject it as false.

*Liberius re-
turns to
Rome.*

But, to return to *Liberius*; he was at last, in regard of his ready Compliance with the Will of the Emperor, allowed to return to

^c Hier. vir. ill. c. 97. & in chron.
^f Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 9.

^d Hil. frag. 2. p. 48.

^e Athan. ad Solit.

Rome;

Rome; but on Condition, that he should govern jointly with *Felix* ^g. Letters were accordingly dispatched both to *Felix*, and the *Roman* Clergy, to acquaint them therewith. *Sozomen* seems to insinuate, that they both governed thus for some time ^h. But, according to *St. Jerom*, and the Two Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, who lived then at *Rome*, and were Eye-witnesses of what they relate, *Felix* was driven not only from the See, but out of the City, as *Felix is driven out*. soon as *Liberius* entered it; which he did on the 2d of *August* 358. in a kind of Triumph, being met and received by the whole People, with loud Acclamations of Joy ⁱ. *Felix* returned soon after, at the Instigation of a few of the Ecclesiastics, who had, contrary to their Oath, adhered to him; and even attempted to perform Divine Service in the Basilic of *Julius*, beyond the *Tiber*; but the enraged Multitude drove him out a second time, and, with him, all the Ecclesiastics, who had acknowledged him ^k. *Socrates* writes, that the Emperor himself was in the End obliged to give him up, and consent to his Expulsion ^l. Mention is made in the Pontificals of a bloody Persecution, raised in *Rome* by *Liberius*, and his Party, against the Partisans of *Felix*, who, it is said, were inhumanly murdered in the Streets, in the Baths, in all public Places, and even in the Churches ^m. But as none of the Antients take the least Notice of such Cruelties, I will not charge *Liberius* with them, upon the bare Authority of such Records. *Felix*, being driven from *Rome*, withdrew to a small Estate he had on the Road to *Porto*, and there spent the remaining Part of his Life in Retirement ⁿ. *Sozomen* supposes him to have died soon after ^o. But the Two Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, who must have been better informed, assure us, that he lived Seven Years after the Return of *Liberius*, and died on the 22d of *November* 365 ^p.

Concerning *Felix*, all the Antients agree, that he was unlawfully ^{The Judgment of the Antients concerning Felix.} elected and ordained; that he communicated with the *Arians*; that to ingratiate himself with them, and the Emperor, he signed the Condemnation of *Athanasius*; that he was guilty of Perjury in accepting the Episcopal Dignity, having bound himself, with the rest of the Clergy, by a solemn Oath, to acknowledge no other Bishop while *Liberius* lived; and, lastly, that he strove to keep Possession of the

^g Soz. l. 4. c. 15. ^h Idem ib. ⁱ Hier. chron. Mar. & Faust. p. 4. ^k Idem ib.
^l Socr. l. 2. c. 37. ^m Anast. c. 37. Boll. Apr. t. 1. p. 31. ⁿ Theod. l. 2. c. 13.
^o Soz. l. 4. c. 15. ^p Marc. & Faust. p. 4.

He is honoured by the Church of Rome as a Saint and a Martyr.

His fabulous Acts.

Roman See, after the Return of the lawful Bishop, and to sit in it, together with him, in open Defiance of the Canons of the Church. *Socrates* adds, that he not only communicated with the *Arians*, but was infected with the *Arian Heresy* ^q. *Athanasius* styles him a *Monster*, raised to the See of Rome by the Malice of Antichrist, one worthy of those who raised him, and in every respect well qualified for the Execution of their wicked Designs ^r. And yet this Heretic, this Monster, this Intruder, or Antipope, is honoured (the Reader will be surpris'd to hear it, is honoured) by the Church of Rome as a Saint; nay, as a Martyr; and his Festival is kept to this Day, on the 29th of July. This Honour was conferred on him in the Ages of Darkness and Ignorance, upon the Authority of his fabulous Acts, and a more fabulous Pontifical, from which his Acts seem to have been copied. In the Pontifical it is said, that *Felix* declared *Constantius*, who had been twice baptized, an Heretic; and was therefore, by an Order from the incensed Emperor, apprehended, and privately beheaded, with many Ecclesiastics and Laymen, under the Walls of Rome, on the 11th of November. It is added, That the Presbyter *Damasus* privately conveyed his Body to a Church, which *Felix* had built, and there interred it; and that, upon his Death, the See remained vacant for the Space of Thirty-eight Days ^s. In the Acts of *Felix* we read, that *Constantius* was rebaptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*; that *Felix* having, on that Account, declared him an Heretic, he was driven from the See of Rome, and *Liberius* replaced on it; that *Felix* thereupon retired into the Country, but was brought back by the Emperor's Orders, and beheaded on the 10th of November; that his Body was interred on the 20th of the same Month in a Church, which he had built while he was a Presbyter: And we keep his Festival, adds the Author, on the 29th of July ^t. *Anastasius* has copied the Pontifical Word for Word, except that he pretends *Felix* to have been beheaded at *Cora*, in the *Campagna* of Rome ^u; though he has told us, in the foregoing Page, that he died in Peace, a Phrase never used in speaking of Martyrs, on the 29th of July, at his Estate on the Road to *Porto* ^w. The City of *Cere*, now *Cerventera*, in *Tuscany*, honours *Felix* to this Day, as their chief Patron or Protector. In those dark Times Legends alone were in request, and all other Books, even the Scripture itself, quite out of

^q Socrat. l. 2. c. 37.
p. 31. ^r MS. p. 219.

^r Athan. ad Solit. p. 861.
^u Anast. c. 37. p. 22.

^s Vide Bolland. Apr. t. 1.
^w Idem ib. p. 21.

Date, and neglected. No Wonder therefore that such Absurdities, ^{How he came to be honoured as a Saint.} however inconsistent with History, were swallowed without straining; and *Felix*, for his pretended Zeal and Constancy, ranked among the holy Martyrs. For I may venture to affirm, that the most learned Men, at that time, in the Church, knew nothing of *Felix* but what they had learned from his fabulous Acts, and from the above-mentioned Pontifical. That I may not be thought to exaggerate, I shall allege one Instance of the Ignorance of past Times: *Gulielmus a Sancto Amore*, one of the most learned Men of the 13th Century, knew that, in the Time of *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers*, a Pope, with most of the Bishops, had fallen into Heresy. He did not even pretend to be so well versed in History as to know for certain who the Pope was; but, indulging a Conjecture, which he thought probable enough, he named *Anastasius II.* who died in 498. about 150 Years after the Time of *Hilarius*: so that he was an utter Stranger to the History of Pope *Liberius*, and consequently to that of the Antipope *Felix*. Had it not been for the like Ignorance in more early Times, the Apotheosis of our pretended Martyr had never taken place. Be that as it will, during the Ages of Darkness he held undisturbed the Rank, to which he had been thus raised: but when the Dawn of Knowledge began to appear, and it was discovered at last from cotemporary and unexceptionable Writers, who *Felix* was, the Church of *Rome* was ashamed to own him among her Saints. ^{His Sanctity called in question;} On the other hand, to degrade him had been giving a fatal Blow to the Pope's Authority, and rendering it for ever precarious, in so material a Point as that of Canonization. *Felix* therefore was, at all Events, to keep his Place in Heaven; his Sanctity was to be confirmed, and the World imposed upon by some Contrivance or other, capable of utterly defeating the Testimony of the Antients.

This Point being settled, to prevent all Suspicion of Deceit, or underhand Dealings, Pope *Gregory XIII.* declared, in 1582. his Intention of having the Cause of *Felix* impartially examined. In order to this, he appointed *Baronius*, employed at that Time in reforming the *Roman* Martyrology, to put in Writing whatever could be objected against *Felix*, and Cardinal *Santorio* to answer his Objections, and collect likewise in Writing all that could be said in favour of his new Client, that the Pope might be thoroughly acquainted with the Merits of the Cause before he came to a final Decision. This Conduct in *Gregory* has been censured by some over-zealous Divines of the Church of

of *Rome*, as if he had thereby given the World Occasion to think that he questioned the Infallibility of his Predecessors, who had honoured *Felix* as a Saint ^x. But *Gregory* well knew what he was doing, and how the Whole would end. In Compliance with his Orders. *Baronius* writ a Dissertation, which he himself calls a Volume, and not a short one ^y, to prove that *Felix* was neither a Saint, nor a Martyr. As he had Truth on his Side, Cardinal *Santorio*, though a Man of Learning, could neither answer his Arguments, nor offer any thing in so desperate a Cause worthy of himself. He often addressed himself in his Prayers to his Client, intreating him to undertake his own Cause, by suggesting to him what might be alleged in his Defence. But the Client was no less at a Stand than the Advocate. Some other Person therefore must interpose: And whom did the carrying or losing such a Cause more nearly concern than the Pope, since his Authority in a most essential Point was at Stake? This was a nice Affair, and to be managed with great Art and Dexterity. *Gregory*, therefore, having often heard both Sides, in a full Congregation of Cardinals, without betraying the least Partiality for *Felix*, appointed them to meet for the last time on the 28th of *July*, the Eve of the pretended Saint's Festival, judging that the most proper Time to play off with good Success the Trick, which he had kept the whole Time *in petto*. The Cardinals met on the Day appointed; *Baronius* quite silenced his Adversary; the whole Assembly was fully convinced, that *Felix* was no Saint, no Martyr; the Pope himself seemed to fall in with the rest, and accordingly rose up to declare, as was thought, the unhappy *Felix* fallen from Heaven; when a great Noise was all on a sudden heard at the Door, and immediately a Messenger entered, who, after uttering these Words, *Holy Felix, pray for us*, acquainted the Pope and the Cardinals, that the Body of *Felix* was just discovered. Hereupon they all repaired in great haste to the Church of *Cosmas* and *Damianus*, where the miraculous Discovery had been made; and there saw, in a Marble Coffin of an extraordinary Size, on one Side the Bodies of *Mark*, *Marcellianus*, and *Tranquillinus*; and on the other that of *Felix*, with this Inscription on a Stone that lay by it, *The Body of Saint Felix, who condemned Constantius* ^z. Hereupon the *Te Deum* was sung with great Solemnity for the Triumph of Truth: *Felix* was declared worthy of the Veneration and Worship that had till then been

His Sanctity and Martyrdom confirmed by the Discovery of his Body.

^x Leuchefini de infall. sed. Rom. p. 97. Roffi vicario d. Cisto, p. 72.
ad ann. 557. n. 63.

^z Idem ib.

^y Bar.

paid him, and a Place was allowed him among the other Saints in the *Roman Martyrology*, where it is said, that *he was driven from his See for defending the Catholic Faith, by Constantius an Arian Emperor, and privately put to Death at Cere, now Cervetera, in Tuscany.* *Baronius*, transported with Joy, as he himself declares ^a, at so miraculous and seasonable a Discovery; immediately yielded, not to his Antagonist *Santorio*, but to *Felix*, who had evidently interposed; and, taking that Interposition for a satisfactory Answer to all his Arguments, he immediately retracted whatever he had said, and consigned to the Flames whatever he had written in Opposition to *Felix* ^b. Thus, to maintain a chimerical Prerogative, they sport with Truth; betray into Error those who confide in them; and, turning the worst of Men into Saints, honour Vice with the greatest Reward they can bestow on Virtue.

That this pretended Discovery was nothing but a Contrivance to confirm the Martyrdom of *Felix*, and impose upon the World, is ^{His Legend proved to be fabulous.} manifest; and that the Pontifical, and his Acts, on which his Martyrdom was originally founded, were a no less palpable and gross Imposition, may be easily demonstrated. For, in the first place, *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, who lived in the Time of *Felix* and *Liberius* at *Rome*, tell us, in express Terms, that *Felix, who had been substituted to Liberius, died on the 22d of November 365* ^c. that is, Four Years after the Death of *Constantius*, by whom he is said, in his Acts, and in the Pontifical, to have been martyred. *Athanasius* assures us ^d, and with him agree *Philostorgius* ^e, and the Chronicle of *Alexandria* ^f, that *Constantius* was not baptized till at the Point of Death, when he received that Sacrament at the Hands of *Euzoius*, the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*. And yet both the Acts of *Felix*, and the Pontifical, will have him to have been twice baptized before his Death; for it was on this Account that *Felix* is said to have declared him an Heretic. This Declaration *Baronius* improves into a solemn Excommunication; and, being become, after the above-mentioned Discovery, a most zealous Advocate for *Felix*, tells us, that the holy Martyr was no sooner placed on the Throne of *St. Peter*, than, changing his Conduct, he separated himself from the Communion of those by whom he had been raised, and boldly thundered an Anathema against the Emperor himself ^g.

^a Id. ib. n. 64.
syn. p. 907.
ann. 357. n. 65.

^b Id. ib.
^c Philost. l. 6. c. 6.

^d Marcell. & Faust. p. 4.
^e Chron. Alex. p. 684.

^f Athan. de
^g Bar. ad

He did not
excommuni-
ca's Con-
stantius.

What a Pity that *Athanasius* was not better acquainted with the Conduct of *Felix*! for if he had, he would never have styled him a *Monster plac'd on the See of Rome by the Malice of Antichrist*. Such an Attempt, unheard of till that Time, must have made a great Noise; and yet I find it was heard by none but *Baronius*, who lived at so great a Distance. I may add, that there was no room for an Excommunication against *Constantius*, who was still a Catechumen, and consequently did not partake of the sacred Mysteries.

Whether a
lawful Pope
or an Anti-
pope.

The *Roman* Catholic Writers, to save the Credit of *Felix*, maintain him to have been, at least for some time, lawful Pope. But, to confute whatever has been or can be said by them in his Favour, without entering into a Detail of the many sophistical and unconvulsive Arguments, false Assertions, and groundless Suppositions, with which they endeavour to disguise the Truth, and confound their Readers, I argue thus: That *Liberius* was lawfully chosen, and *Felix* unlawfully, is past all Dispute. Now, upon the Fall of *Liberius*, either there was, or there was not, a new Election: if there was not, *Liberius* continued to be lawful Bishop; or if by his Fall he forfeited his Dignity, as some think he did, the See became vacant; for nothing subsequent to the unlawful Election of *Felix* could render it lawful. If there was a new Election, and *Felix* was lawfully chosen, *Liberius* from that Minute either ceased to be Pope, or there were two lawful Popes at a time. The latter they will not admit, lest they should turn the Church into a Monster with Two Heads. They must therefore allow *Felix* to have been lawful Pope, and *Liberius* an Antipope, till the See became vacant by the Death of the former. But on the other hand, this new Election is quite groundless, highly improbable, and absolutely repugnant to what we read in the antient and cotemporary Writers. It is quite groundless; for though *Bellarmino* speaks of a new Election with as much Confidence as if he had been one of the Electors^b, yet we find not the least Hint of it in any of the Writers of those Times, who would not have passed over in Silence so remarkable an Event, had it come to their Knowledge. It is highly improbable; for *Liberius* was greatly beloved by the whole People, and the far greater Part of the Clergy, and *Felix* hated to such a Degree, that of all the Inhabitants of *Rome*, not one ever

Felix an
Antipope.

^b Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 9.

appeared in the Church while he was in it ⁱ; nay, he was by all avoided, even in the Streets and other public Places, as if he had carried about with him a Contagion ^k. Is it not therefore altogether improbable, that the People and Clergy should depose the Man, whom in a manner they adored, for communicating with the *Arians*, and appoint one in his room, who likewise communicated with them, and was universally detested, avoided, and abhorred? And yet all this is gravely supposed by *Bellarmino* ^l. Lastly, the Election of *Felix* is repugnant to what we read in the antient Writers, who all speak of him as an Antipope, and an Intruder. *Optatus*, who lived at that very Time, and *St. Austin*, who flourished soon after, have not allowed him a Place in their Catalogues of the Bishops of *Rome*. *Theodoret* takes no notice of him in his Catalogue of the Bishops of the chief Cities. *St. Jerom* and *Prosper* count *Liberius* the Thirty-fourth Bishop of *Rome*, and *Damasus*, who succeeded him, the Thirty-fifth; a plain Indication that they did not look upon *Felix* as lawful Bishop. Among the Moderns, *Onuphrius Panvinus*, in his Lives of the Popes, printed in 1557. some Years before the Discovery of *Felix's* Body, calls *Novatian* the First Antipope, and *Felix* the Second. But his Book was prohibited in 1583. the Year after the Second Canonization of *Felix*. The Writers, who came after, took Warning; and such of them as thought it base to concur in deceiving Mankind, since it was not safe to undeceive them, chose to wave this Subject, but not without giving some broad Hints of what they believed in their Hearts. Thus *F. Labbé* ^m, and Cardinal *Bona* ⁿ, take no notice of this *Felix*, but call Pope *Felix*, who was raised to the See of *Rome* in 485. the Second Pope of that Name. *Felix* I. was martyred under *Aurelian* in 274. as we have related elsewhere ^o. *F. Labbé*, at the Death of *Felix* II. which happened in 492. adds, that he was the Third of that Name, according to *Baronius* ^p. Had *Felix* never been canonized, no Man would have been so regardless of his own Reputation as to undertake his Defence; but *Gregory* having declared him a Saint, and, by such a Declaration, linked his Cause with Infallibility in a most essential Point, the hired Champions of that See found themselves under an indispensable Obligation of entering the Lists; which I need not say they have done to no Purpose.

*Acknowledged
as such by
some Roman
Catholic
Writers.*

ⁱ Theodoret. p. 610.
chron.

^k Athan. ad Solit. p. 861.
^l Bona, lit. l. 2. c. 11. p. 423.

^m Bell. ibid.
ⁿ Vide p. 78.

^o Lab.
^p Lab. ibid.

The Emperor
undertakes
the establish-
ing of Arian-
ism.

The Fall of the Bishop of *Rome*, who was at the Head of the Orthodox Party, inspired the Emperor with great Hopes of succeeding in the Design he had formed of utterly abolishing the Orthodox Faith; he found there were but few Bishops whose Virtue was Proof against the Frowns and Resentment of the Court. In the Council held at *Arles* in 353. they had all to a Man chosen rather to communicate with the *Arians*, than be driven from their Sees: in that which was convened Two Years after, at *Milan*, only Three Bishops were found; viz. *Dionysius* Bishop of that City, *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, and *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, who, equally unmoved by Threats and Promises, had maintained the Truth with the Loss of their Dignity. The Example of the Bishop of *Rome* had been followed by the far greater Part of the Bishops of *Italy*. But what above all encouraged the Emperor to pursue the Scheme he had so much at heart, was the Fall of the celebrated *Osius* Bishop of *Cordoua*, in the Hundredth Year of his Age, and sixty-second of his Episcopacy. As the Name of *Osius* is one of the most famous in the Ecclesiastical History of those Times, and his Fall is alleged by the Antients as a memorable Instance of the Weakness of human Nature, however strengthened and improved by a long Practice of the most eminent Virtues, a succinct Account of so remarkable an Event will not, I hope, be unacceptable to the Reader, or thought foreign to the Subject in hand.

A succinct
Account of
the Life of
Osius Bishop
of *Cordoua*.

Osius was a Native of *Spain* ^p, born, according to some, in *Cordoua*, about the Year 256. and raised, in regard of his extraordinary Merit, to the See of that City in 297 ^q. He was even then conspicuous for the Firmness of his Faith, and the Purity of his Life, says *Sozomen* ^r. *Athanasius*, who was well acquainted with him, speaks of him with the greatest Respect and Esteem, calling him a Man truly holy, according to the *Greek* Signification of his Name; one in whose Conduct even his most inveterate Enemies could discover nothing that was not commendable, his Life being irreprehensible, and his Reputation unspotted ^s. *Theodoret* ^t, and *Eusebius* ^u, extol him on Account of his extraordinary Prudence, Wisdom, and Learning, which gave great Weight to his Opinion in the many Councils at which he assisted, and often presided. In the Year 300. he was present at the Council of *Eliberis*, or *Illeberis*, in *Spain*, famous for the Severity of its Canons, and, in all Likelihood, made even then a

^p Athan. ad Sol. p. 838.

^q Soz. l. 1. c. 16.

^r Id. ib.

^s Athan. ad

Sol. p. 841.

^t Theod. l. 1. c. 6.

^u Euseb. vit. Const. l. 2. c. 63.

considerable Figure; since, in the Acts of that Council, he is named in the Second Place after *Felix* of *Acci*, now *Guadix*, in *Andalusia*, who probably presided ^w. Three Years after broke out the Persecution of *Maximian Hercules*, in which *Osius* distinguished himself by his Zeal, his Constancy, and his Sufferings; for, having with great Intrepidity confessed his Faith before the Pagan Magistrates, he was by them imprisoned, and kept under a very close and painful Confinement for the Space of Two Years, that is, from the Year 303. to 305. ^{He is imprisoned under Maximian} when, upon the Abdication of *Maximian* and *Dioclesian*, he was ^{for the Confession of the Faith.} set at Liberty by *Constantius Chlorus*, the Father of *Constantine the Great* ^x. He is honoured by *Athanasius* ^y, by the Council of *Sardica*, and by most of the Antients, with the Title of *Confessor*, which was given to such as had suffered Imprisonment, Torments, or Exile, but had not died, for the Confession of the Faith. He was highly esteemed and revered by *Constantine*, not only as a Confessor, but as a Person of extraordinary Wisdom and Probity ^z; whence he is thought to have been one of the Prelates whom that Prince consulted in 311 ^a. and kept with him to instruct him in the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. ^{He instructs Constantine.} Some think that *Osius* was meant by the *Egyptian Priest* come from *Spain*, to whom *Zosimus* ascribes the Change made by *Constantine* in point of Religion ^b. The Church of *Cordoua* was, out of Regard to him, enriched by *Constantine* with many valuable Presents, whence he is said to have been very rich ^c. But what Use he made of his Wealth we may learn from *Athanasius*, who assures us, that no one in Want ever applied to him without being relieved, and receiving the Supply he demanded ^d. In the famous Dispute, which I have taken notice of in its proper Place between *Cæcilianus* and the *Donatists* of *Africa*, *Osius* undertook, with great Zeal, the Defence of the former, and prevailed in the End upon *Constantine* to espouse his Cause, and declare against the *Donatists* ^e, whom he thenceforth punished with great Severity, taking their Churches from them, and sending the most obstinate among them into Exile. *Constantine* being become Master of the East in the Year 323. his first Care was to put an End to the unhappy Divisions that reigned in those Churches about the Celebration of *Easter*, and some other controverted Points. With

^w Concil. tom. 1. p. 969.^x Ath. ad Sol. p. 838. Euseb. vit. Const. l. 2. c. 63.^y Ath. ib. apol. 2. p. 760. & alibi.^z Euseb. ib. Socr. l. 1. c. 7.^a Euseb. ib.

l. 1. c. 7.

^b Zof. l. 2. p. 435.^c Marc. & Faust. p. 34.^d Ath. de

fug. p. 704.

^e Aug. in Parm. l. 1. c. 8.

He is sent by this View he dispatched Osius into the East, who, upon his Arrival him to compose some Disputes there.

there, summoned a Council to meet at *Alexandria*, which, under his Influence, condemned the Herefy of *Sabellius*, put a Stop to the Schism of one *Colluthus*, and greatly allayed the Animosity of the contending Parties about the Day on which *Easter* was to be kept ^f. On his Return to Court, the Account he gave of the *Arians*, whose Herefy he had endeavoured in vain to suppress, made so deep an Impression in the Mind of the Emperor, that, for a long time, he continued highly prejudiced against them ^g. It was at the Suggestion of *Osius* that *Constantine* assembled the Council of *Nice* in 325. at which he assisted, and distinguished himself above the rest ^h; for of all Coun-

He assists at the Council of Nice, and draws up the Nicene Creed.

cils he was the Head and Leader, as *Athanasius* styles him ⁱ. By him was worded and drawn up the famous *Nicene* Symbol or Creed, as we are told in express Terms by *Athanasius* ^k. He presided at the Council of *Sardica*, which, at his Request, was assembled by the Emperor *Constans* in 347 ^l. From that Council he retired to his Bishoprick, and continued there undisturbed till the Year 355. when *Constantius* seeing himself Master of the West, as well as of the East, undertook to oblige all the Bishops to condemn *Athanasius*, whose Cause was looked upon as inseparable from that of the Orthodox Faith. As *Osius* had on all Occasions declared highly in his Favour, and the Example of a Prelate so venerable for his Age, for the glorious Title of Confessor, and the Figure he had made for many Years in the Church, greatly prejudiced the World against the Enemies of the persecuted Bishop, the Emperor resolved to deprive, if possible, the Orthodox Party of so powerful a Support. With this View he ordered *Osius* to repair to *Milan*, where the Court then was, well knowing that he was not, like most other Bishops, to be terrified with threatening Letters. *Osius*, in Compliance with the Emperor's Orders, set out without Delay from *Cordoua*, notwithstanding his great Age; and, arriving at *Milan*, was there received by the Emperor with all the Respect that was due to the *Father of Bishops*, as he was styled. *Constantius* entertained him for some Days with the utmost Civility, hoping by that means to bring him into his Views; but he no sooner named *Athanasius* to him, than the zealous Prelate, well knowing the Drift of his Discourse, and armed against all Temptations, inter-

Constantius attempts in vain to gain him over to the Arian Party.

^f Euseb. vit. Const. l. 2. c. 73.

l. 2. c. 12.

ⁱ Athan. fug. p. 703.

^g Socr. l. 1. c. 8.

^h Sulp. l. 2. c. 55. Theod.

^k Athan. ad Sol. p. 837.

^l Hil. frag. 2. p. 16.

rupted him with declaring, that he was ready to sacrifice not One, but a Thousand Lives, in so just a Cause; nay, he even reprimanded the Emperor with great Freedom, who, out of an awful Reverence for a Prelate of his Years, Authority and Figure, heard him with great Patience, and not only forbore offering him any Violence, but gave him Leave to return unmolested to his See ^m.

The mild Treatment *Osius* met with gave great Uneasiness to the *Arian* Party, especially to the Two Bishops, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who thereupon never ceased soliciting the Emperor to proceed with Vigour against the only Man, who, they said, was capable of obstructing his great and pious Designs. They were powerfully seconded by the Eunuchs, who prevailed in the End upon the Emperor, as they bore a great Sway at Court, to try anew the Firmness and Constancy of so celebrated a Champion. *Constantius* therefore writ several Letters to him, treating him in some with great Respect, and styling him his Father, but menacing him in others, and naming to him the Bishops, whom he had banished for refusing to condemn a Man whom most Bishops, and several Councils, had already condemned ⁿ. *Osius*, inflexible and unmoved, answered the Emperor by a Letter worthy of himself, and the great Reputation he had acquired. It has been conveyed to us by *Athanasius*, and nothing can be said stronger in that Bishop's Defence; for he there shews unanswerably, that, whatever Crimes might be alleged against him, his only Guilt was a steady Adherence to the Faith of *Nice* ^o. But *Constantius*, without hearkening to the Reasons he urged in Justification of his own and *Athanasius's* Conduct, without paying the least Regard to the earnest Prayers and Intreaties, to the paternal Exhortations and Admonitions, of so venerable a Prelate, ordered him to quit his See forthwith, and repair to *Sirmium*, where he was kept a whole Year in a kind of Exile. But, unaffected with the many Hardships he suffered there, with the Loss of his Dignity, with the inhuman Treatment of his Relations, who were all persecuted, stripped of their Estates, and reduced to Beggary on his Account, *Osius* still stood up in Defence of *Athanasius*, still rejected with Indignation the Proposals of his Enemies ^p, striving to induce him at least to communicate with them. They therefore resolved to proceed to open Force, and either to gain over to their Party a Man of his Figure and Rank, or, by removing him out of the

His second Attempt to gain him.

His Letter to the Emperor.

He is sent to Sirmium.

^m Ath. ad Sol. p. 837—841. ⁿ Id. ib. p. 838. ^p Id. ib. p. 838—840.
^o Athan. ib. p. 841. Sulp. l. 2. p. 162. Socr. l. 2. c. 31.

Way, to deprive the Orthodox of their main Support ^q. Accordingly, with the Emperor's Consent and Approbation, they caused him first to be closely confined, and afterwards to be cruelly beaten; and lastly *Confined and* to be put to the Rack, and most inhumanly tortured, as if he had *racked.* been the worst of Criminals ^r. Even against such exquisite Torments the Firmness of his Mind was proof for some time; but the Weakness of his Body obliged him in a manner to yield at last, and communicate with *Ursacius* and *Valens* ^s. *Athanasius* seems to insinuate in some Places, that he signed his Condemnation ^t; but in another he expressly denies it ^u. *Sulpitius Severus* thinks he was guilty of no other Crime but that of communicating with the *Arians* ^w. *Athanasius* only says, that he consented to communicate with *Ursacius* and *Valens* ^x. However, that he did not stop there, but signed the *Arian* *He yields at* Confession of *Sirmium*, is but too manifest from several unexception- *ast.* able and cotemporary Writers. *Phœbadius* Bishop of *Agen*, in *France*, in his Answer written at this very Time to the *Arians*, brag-
ging that their Doctrine had been approved and embraced by the great *Osius*, allows the Fact; but adds, that he was induced thereunto by Force, and not Conviction ^y. *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, who writ at the same time, say, that *Osius* set his Hand, but never yielded his Heart, to the *Arian* Impiety ^z. Nay, *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers* supposes the *Sirmian* Confession of Faith to have been drawn up by *Osius* and *Potamus*; for he often calls it, *the Heresy, the Blasphemies, the wild and mad Conceits of Osius and Potamus* ^a. *Vigilius Tapsensis* ranks *Osius* with *Ursacius*, and the other wicked Men, who composed the sacrilegious Confession of *Sirmium* ^b. *Socrates* writes, that he signed the *Sirmian* Symbol ^c; *Sozomen*, that he consented to the Suppression of the Words *Omoousion*, and *Omoiousion* ^d; and *Eusebius* of *Vercelli* bestows high Encomiums on *Gregory* Bishop of *Elvira*, for opposing the great *Transgressor* *Osius* ^e. *Potamus*, whom I have mentioned above, was Bishop of *Lisbone*, and a most sanguine Stickler for the Orthodox Party; but upon the Emperor's yielding to him some Lands of the Imperial Demesne, that lay very convenient for him, he changed Sides, and became a most zealous

^q Ath. de fug. p. 704. Apol. 2. p. 807.^r Id. ib. Socr. p. 127.^s Ath.

ad Sol. p. 841.

^t Ath. de fug. p. 704. & apol. 2. p. 807.^u Id. ad Sol. p. 841.^w Sulp. l. 2. p. 161, 162.^x Ath. ad Sol. p. 841.^y Phœbad. contr. Arian.

p. 180.

^z Mar. & Faust. p. 34.^a Hil. de syn. p. 124, 125, 133.^b Vigil.

in Eutychian. l. 5. n. 3.

^c Socr. l. 2. c. 31.^d Soz. l. 4. c. 12.^e Hil.

frag. 2. p. 4.

Champion of the *Arian* Doctrine^f; insomuch that he is ranked by *Phæbadius* with *Ursacius* and *Valens*, the Two great Apostles of the *Arians*^g.

The Fall of the great *Osius*, whom the Orthodox Party looked upon as their invincible Hero, surpris'd the whole World^h. Some could not believe it; others ascribed it to his great Age, which might have weakened his Judgmentⁱ. It was immediately published all over the East, and great Rejoicings were made on the Occasion, by the Bishops in those Parts, who looked upon such a Conquest as a signal Victory over the Orthodox^k. *Phæbadius* tells us, that the chief Argument alleged by the *Arians*, in favour of their Doctrine, against the Bishops of *Gaul*, was the *Conversion* of *Osius*, as they styled it^l. Here *Davidius* pleases himself with ridiculing, and indeed very justly, this and several other Conversions, greatly boasted by the *Arians*; but he must give me Leave to put him in mind, that he ridicules, at the same time, the many Conversions which his Church is constantly boasting, since most of them, especially those thus made in the new World, have been owing to Arguments of the same Nature as that of *Osius*, and other *Arian* Proselytes, and were not perhaps at all more sincere. *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Poitiers*, who lived at this time in Exile, amidst the *Arians* in *Phrygia*, seems not to be well informed as to the Circumstances of the Fall of *Osius*; else he had made some Allowance for the barbarous and inhuman Treatment the unhappy Prelate met with, and not reflected on him with so much Bitterness and Severity, saying, that it had pleased God to prolong his Life till he fell, that the World might know what he had been before he fell^m. That a Man in the Hundredth Year of his Age should yield to most exquisite and repeated Torments, is not at all to be wondered at; and therefore had *Hilarius* been better informed, he had rather pitied than reproached him. But the *Arians*, among whom he lived, took care to conceal whatever could any ways depreciate their boasted Victory: at least that *Hilarius* was a Stranger to what *Osius* had suffered, is manifest, from his ascribing the Fall of that great Prelate not to the Cruelty of his Enemies, but to the too great Love he had for his Sepulchreⁿ, meaning, I suppose, the Desire he had of dying in his native Country, and not in Exile.

The Arians triumph.

Hilarius not well informed as to the Circumstances of his Fall.

^f Marcell. & Faust. p. 34. ^g Phæbad. p. 169. ^h Id. p. 180. Soz. l. 4. c. 12.
ⁱ Sulp. l. 2. p. 161, 162. ^k Soz. ib. ^l Phæbad. p. 180. ^m Hil. syn. p. 133.
ⁿ Idem ib. p. 137.

He is re-
ferred to his
Sec.

Osus having thus gratified the Emperor, by communicating with the *Arians*, and signing the *Sirmian* Confession of Faith, he was immediately reinstated in his See, and suffered to return to his native Country, where he gave some Trouble, it seems, to the Orthodox Bishops; for *Gregory* Bishop of *Elvira* is highly commended by *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, who lived then in Exile, for opposing the *Transgressor* *Osus*, as I have observed above. The unfortunate Prelate did not live long after his Fall, but died in the Latter-end of the same Year 357. according to the most probable Opinion. He did not forget the Crime he had committed, says *Athanasius*^o; but grievously complained, at the Point of Death, of the Violence that had been offered him, anathematized the Heresy of *Arius*, and exhorted, as by his last Will, all Mankind to reject it p. To his Repentance *Athanasius*, no doubt, alludes, where he writes, that *Osus* yielded only for a time^q; which he says of no other, not even of *Liberius*. As for the Account, which some Writers give of his tragical End^r, it is not worthy of Notice. The *Greek Church* honours him as a Saint, and his Festival is kept on the 27th of *August*^s; but they are certainly mistaken in supposing him to have died in Banishment. The Case of *Osus* deserves, without all Doubt, to be greatly pitied. But it would be still more worthy of our Pity and Compassion, had he been himself an Enemy to all Persecution. But it must be observed, that he was the Author and Promoter of the First Christian Persecution. For it was he who first stirred up *Constantine* against the *Donatists*; many of whom were sent into Exile, and some even sentenced to Death, nay, and led to the Place of Execution. I dare not interpret the very severe Treatment he met with, or his Fall and Apostasy, as a Judgment; but cannot help thinking him, on that Consideration, less worthy of our Compassion and Concern, than a Man of his Years and Merit would otherwise have been.

Constantius
appoints a
Council to
meet at Ni-
comedia;

Constantius, having thus gained over to the Heterodox Party the celebrated Bishop of *Cordona*, and sent those into Exile, whom he apprehended most capable of traversing his Design, resolved to assemble a Council, not doubting but he should be able, by some means or other, to prevail upon the Members, that composed it, to approve and embrace the Doctrine, which he was labouring with indefatigable Pains to establish. Accordingly he writ to the chief Bishops of each

^o Ath. ad Sol. p. 141. & 842. ^p Idem ib. ^q Idem de frag. p. 704. & apol. 2. p. 807. ^r Vide Isidor. de vir. ill. in Osio, c. 1. ^s Menæa, p. 293.

Province,

Province, injoining them to meet in the Name of the rest, at an appointed Time, in the City of *Nicomedia* ^t. In Compliance with his Orders the Bishops immediately set out; but, while they were on the Road, they were stopped by the News that was brought them of the utter Destruction of the City of *Nicomedia* by a sudden and most dreadful Earthquake. This public Calamity happened on the 24th of *August* 358 ^u, and the *Arians*, in the Account which they transmitted of it to Court, assured the Emperor, that several Bishops, who were for *Consubstantiality*, had been buried under the Ruins of the great Church ^w. It was probably, by this Account, that *Philostorgius* was deceived and misled, when he writ, that Fifteen Bishops, who were all Defenders of *Consubstantiality*, were crushed to Pieces by the Fall of the Church, together with *Cecrops* Bishop of the City ^x. But *Sozomen* assures us, that, when the Church fell, there was not a single Person in it; and that Two Bishops only perished in the Earthquake, *viz.* *Cecrops*, who was an *Arian*, and a Bishop of *Bosporus* ^y. This Misfortune obliged the Emperor to change the Place of the Council; and accordingly Letters were immediately dispatched to all the Bishops, ordering them to repair to *Nice*, which City was suggested to him by *Basilus*, the *Semi-Arian* Bishop of *Ancyra*, with a Design, says *Theodoret* ^z, to eclipse the Glory and Authority of the First Council by the Confusion of Two. Be that as it will, the Bishops were ordered to meet there early in the Summer of the Year 359. Such as were not in a Condition to undertake such a Journey, on account of their Age or Infirmities, were to send Priests or Deacons, as their Deputies, to vote and act in their Name; and the Council was strictly injoined to transmit to the Emperor such Decrees as they should enact, that he might examine them, and see whether they were agreeable to Scripture: for this Purpose Ten Deputies were to be appointed by the Bishops of the East, and the like Number by those of the West ^a. But while the World was expecting to see a second Oecumenical Council assembled at *Nice*, the Emperor all on a sudden changed his Mind, and instead of one, resolved to convene Two, the one in the East, and the other in the West ^b. This Change was owing to the Intrigues of the *Anomeans*, or *Pure Arians*, who, finding the far greater Part of the Bishops either for the Orthodox

which City is destroyed by an Earthquake.

The Council appointed to meet at Nice.

Two Councils appointed to meet instead of one.

^t Soz. l. 4. c. 16. & l. 3. c. 19. Ath. de syn. p. 873.

p. 75.

^w Soz. ib.

^x Philost. l. 4. c. 20.

^y Soz. ib.

^u Greg. Nyss. de facto,

^z Theodor. l. 1. c. 22.

^a Soz. l. 4. c. 16. Ath. de syn. p. 869.

^b Ath. de syn. p. 870.

The Occasion
of this
Change.

Faith of *Nice*, or the *Semi-Arian*, as established in a Council at *Antioch*, concluded, that there would be no Means to divert them, when assembled together, from condemning their Doctrine; whereas if they were divided, they did not despair of being able to manage both Assemblies, or at least one of the Two^c. This Design of dividing the Council they privately imparted to the Eunuch *Eusebius*, their great Friend, and the Emperor's chief Favourite, who, highly applauding the Scheme, took upon him to get it approved by *Constantius*. And this he easily effected, by representing, that a General Council would put the Bishops to greater Trouble and Inconveniencies than most of them could well bear, and, at the same time, the Treasury to an immense Charge; for on such Occasions their Expences were defrayed by the Emperor^d. He therefore advised him to assemble Two Councils at the same time, one in the East, and the other in the West, which, he said, would be less troublesome to the Bishops, and less expensive to the Exchequer. To these Reasons *Constantius* acquiesced; but, as he was a zealous *Semi-Arian*, *Eusebius* kept him in the Dark, as to the true Motive of such a Change: Thus was *Constantius*, and thus have many Princes been, since his Time, led, as it were, hoodwinked, by some in whom they reposed an intire Confidence, into Measures tending to promote Designs quite opposite to their own.

Rimini chosen for the
Western Bishops.

This Point being settled, to the great Satisfaction of the *Anomeans*, *Ariminum*, now *Rimini*, on the *Adriatic* Sea, was thought the most proper Place for the Western Bishops to meet at. But the City of *Nice*, where the General Council was to assemble, having suffered much by the late Earthquake, the Emperor desired the Eastern Bishops might not meet there, but in whatever other Place they should agree among themselves to be the most proper and convenient^e. This *Theodoret* ascribes to a particular Providence, that would not suffer the great Council of *Nice* to be ever confounded with a Conventicle of Heretics^f. As the Bishops could not agree about the Place, and it was not at all probable they should, the Emperor, by the Advice of a few, who were then with him at *Sirmium*, named the City of *Seleucia* in *Isauria* g. And now that the Place was settled for both Councils, *Constantius* issued an Order, injoining not only the chief Bishops of each Province, as he had done the Year before, but all,

and Seleucia
in Isauria for
those of the
East.

^c Ath. de syn. p. 873, 874. Soz. l. 4. c. 16.

^d Idem ib. & c. 17.

^e Soz.

l. 4. c. 24.

^f Theod. l. 2. c. 21.

^g Socr. l. 2. c. 39. Soz. l. 4. c. 16.

without

without Exception, to repair to one of the Two^h; nay, he dispatched Officers into the Provinces, with a strict Charge to see this Order punctually obeyed, and put in Executionⁱ. The Bishops therefore set out from all Parts; the public Carriages, Roads, and Houses, were every-where crouded with them; which gave great Offence to the Catechumens, and no small Diversion to the Pagans, who thought it equally strange and ridiculous, that Men, who had been brought up from their Infancy in the Christian Religion, and whose Business it was to instruct others in that Belief, should be constantly hurrying, in their old Age, from one Place to another, to know what they themselves should believe^k. *Ammianus Marcellinus* complains, that the necessary Funds for the Maintenance of the public Carriages were quite drained and exhausted, by the roaming about of the Christian Bishops^l. Their Charges were defrayed by the Emperor, as I have observed above; but the Bishops of *Gaul* and *Britain*, that they might be the more independent, insisted upon traveling at their own Expence; only Three of the latter, not having wherewithal to support themselves, chose rather to be obliged to the Emperor than burdensome to their Collegues, who generously offered to contribute to their Maintenance, every one according to his Ability^m.

The Western Bishops, that is, those of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, being assembled at *Rimini*, in all 400 and upwardsⁿ, the Emperor writ to *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, charging him to be present at all the Debates, and not to suffer the Bishops to separate, till, in Points of Faith, they had all agreed: if he succeeded therein, he was to be rewarded with the Consular Dignity^o. At the same time he writ to the Bishops, in-
 joining them to treat only of such Matters as related to the Faith,
 Unity, and Order of the Church, and forbidding them to meddle,
 on any Pretence whatsoever, with what concerned the Eastern Bi-
 shops, who, he said, would take care to settle their own Affairs,
 since they were met for that Purpose^p. This was to prevent their
 entering upon the Cause of *Athanasius*, whom he well knew the
 Western Bishops would have declared innocent. The Emperor's Let-
 ter is dated the 27th of *May* 359^q. At this Council *Restitutus* Bi-

*The Empe-
ror's Letter
to the Western
Bishops.*

^h Hil. de syn. p. 24. ⁱ Sulp. l. 2. p. 164. ^k Ath. de syn. p. 870. ^l Am-
 mian. l. 21. p. 203. ^m Sulp. l. 4. c. 17. ⁿ Ath. de syn. p. 874. Sulp. l. 2. p. 162.
 Soz. p. 563. ^o Hier. p. 143. Sulp. p. 162. ^p Hil. frag. 2. p. 43, 44. ^q Idem
 ib. p. 46.

The Arians
propose a new
Confession
drawn up at
Sirmium;

shop of *Carthage* is supposed to have presided, as he was, both for Piety and Learning, the most conspicuous in the Assembly. At their first Meeting, the Two *Arian* Bishops, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, appeared with a Paper in their Hands, containing a new Confession of Faith, composed lately at *Sirmium* by the Emperor, by a small Number of *Arian* and *Semi-Arian* Bishops, and several Presbyters and Deacons, who, after a Debate, which lasted the whole Day, had at length agreed to suppress the Word *Consubstantial*, and introduce the Word *like* in its room; so that the Son was no more to be said *consubstantial*, but *like to the Father in all Things*; the Three last Words *Constantius* added, and, by obliging all who were present to sign them, defeated, say the *Semi-Arians*, the wicked Designs of the Heretics, meaning the *Pure Arians*^r. However, excepting those Words, the whole Confession was thought to favour their Doctrine^s; whence the *Semi-Arians* held out till Night, when the Emperor, well satisfied with the Words *like in all things*, obliged them to sign it. This Confession of Faith was drawn up, and signed, on the Eve of *Pentecost*^t, that is, on the 22d or 23d of *May* 359^u. *Easter* having fallen that Year on the 4th of *April*^x (A). *Ursacius* and *Valens* read

^r Ath. de syn. p. 876. Hil. frag. 1. p. 44. Epiph. hæres. 73. c. 22. ^s Hil. & Epiph. ib. ^t Idem ib. ^u Ath. de syn. p. 875. ^x Buch. cycl.

(A) It was signed by the few Bishops, who were present, and by a good Number of Presbyters and Deacons. The Bishops were *Marcus* of *Arethusa*, *George*, who had been intruded into the See of *Alexandria*, *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, *Germinius* of *Sirmium*, *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*, *Valens*, *Ursacius*, and *Pancratius* of *Pelufium* (1). *Valens*, in signing it, added to his Name these Words; *I believe the Son to be like to the Father*. He was unwilling to acknowledge the Son like to the Father in all things, agreeably to the Confession, which he was to sign, and therefore suppressed these Words. But the Emperor insisting upon his adding them, he took his Will for the Rule of his Faith, and added them accordingly. *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, suspecting some Meaning contrary to the Doctrine which he held, to lie concealed and disguised under those Words, declared, that

he understood by them a Likeness in *Substance*, in *Existence*, and in *Essence*; and that he signed in this, and no other Sense, the present Symbol. Not satisfied with this Declaration, he writ, some time after, an Exposition of the Faith that was professed by him, and the other *Semi-Arian* Bishops. This Exposition is, by *Epiphanius*, styled a Letter, and was placed by him after the circular Letter of the Council of *Ancyra*. The present Confession of *Sirmium* is commonly styled the Third, but was, properly speaking, the Fourth: For before this, Three different Symbols had been composed at *Sirmium*; viz. one entirely Orthodox, in 351. another altogether *Arian*, in 357. a Third *Semi-Arian*, in 358. and the present in 359. The Second *Liberius* signed at *Beræa*, and the Third at *Sirmium*, upon his Arrival in that City.

(1) Athan. de syn. p. 873. Epi. 73. c. 22. Socr. l. 2. c. 29.

it to the Council, adding, when they had done, that it had been approved of by the Emperor, and therefore that they ought all to be satisfied with it, without recurring to any other Councils or Creeds, without demanding any other Confession of the Heretics, or inquiring too narrowly into their Doctrine and Opinions, which would be attended with much Trouble, endless Disputes, and eternal Divisions; that the Catholic Truths, which all Men were bound to believe, ought not to be darkened with Metaphysical Terms, but expressed by Words, which all Men understood; and, lastly, that it was quite idle to quarrel and make so much Noise about a Word (meaning the Word *consubstantial*) which none of the inspired Writers had thought fit to make use of in explaining the Mysteries of our holy Religion ^y. What Answer the Council returned, I can find no-where recorded. But a Motion being made soon after to condemn and anathematize the *Arian* and all other Heresies, *Ursacius* and his Party opposed it; which alarmed the Orthodox Bishops, concluding from thence, that whatever Expressions they made use of, their Belief was different from that of ^{which is re-} the Catholic Church. They therefore resolved to hearken to them ^{jected,} no longer; and accordingly, without the least Regard to their Remonstrances and Protestations, they condemned, with one Consent, all Heresies in general, and that of *Arius* in particular; declared heretical the Confession of Faith presented by *Ursacius* and *Valens*; confirmed that of *Nice*, and ordered the Word *consubstantial* to be retained, since the true Meaning of it might be sufficiently gathered from several Passages in Scripture ^z. They did not stop here; but, transported with Zeal on the *Arians* attempting to impose upon them by a Second Confession of Faith, they declared them all, and their ^{and they con-} Leaders *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, and *Caius*, by Name, ignorant ^{demned and} and deceitful Men, Impostors, Heretics, ^{deposed.} deposed them in the Council, and signed all to a Man this Declaration on the 21st of *July* of the present Year 359 ^a.

With this Act they put an End to the Sessions, and immediately ^{Deputies sent} dispatched Ten Deputies to acquaint the Emperor with what had passed, ^{by the Coun-} pursuant to his express Command. The like Number was sent by the ^{cil to the Em-} *Arians*, who had assisted at the Council. These, traveling with great Expedition, arrived at *Constantinople*, where the Court then was, some time before the others; and, being immediately admitted to the

^y Ath. Soz. ib. Theod. l. i. c. 15. ^z Ath. ib. p. 876. Soz. ib. Hil. frag. 2. p. 47, 48. ^a Ath. ib. Socr. l. i. c. 37. Hil. frag. 2. p. 46.

who leaves
Constanti-
nople with
out seeing
them.

He endea-
vours to tire
their Pa-
tience with
Delays.

Emperor, they prejudiced him to such a Degree against the Orthodox Party, that he would not so much as see their Deputies, pretending to be wholly taken up with the Affairs of the State. They were therefore obliged to deliver the Letter, which the Council had written on this Occasion, to one of his Ministers^b. They expected every Day to be admitted to an Audience, or, at least, to receive an Answer, and be dismissed. But, after they had been thus kept for some time in Expectation, the Emperor all on a sudden left *Constantinople*, in order to head his Army against the *Barbarians*, who had broken into the Empire. He was no sooner gone than one of the Ministers came to acquaint them, that it was the Emperor's Pleasure they should repair forthwith to *Adrianople*, and there wait his Return^c. However, before he set out, he writ to the Council, giving them notice of his sudden Departure from *Constantinople*; and alleging, by way of Excuse for not having seen or heard their Deputies, the present Situation of public Affairs, which had engrossed his whole Attention whereas, the discussing and settling of spiritual Affairs required a Mind quite free and disengaged from all worldly Cares. He concluded his short Letter with intreating them not to think of separating till he was at Leisure to settle, in Conjunction with them, Matters of so great Importance to the Church, and the whole Christian World^d. The Design of the most wicked *Constantius*, as *Athanasius* styles him^e, was to tire out the Bishops with such Delays, hoping they would, in the End, chuse rather to sign the last *Sirmian* Confession, which he was bent upon establishing in the room of the *Nicene*, than to be long kept, as it were, in Exile, at a Distance from their Sees^f. But this he could not compass for the present, the Bishops declaring, in their Answer to his Letter, that they could not, and hoped that they never should, upon any Consideration whatsoever, depart from what they had so unanimously settled and decreed^g. *Socrates* writes, that the Bishops, after having waited some time in vain for the Emperor's Answer to their Letter, left *Rimini*, and retired to their respective Sees^h. And here he ends his Account of that Council. It were greatly to be wished, that nothing else could be said of it; but several cotemporary and unexceptionable Writers, and *Hilarius* among the restⁱ, assure us, that *Constantius*

^b Sulp. l. 2. c. 163. Ath. ad Afr. p. 934. Hil. frag. 2. p. 36.

de syn. p. 930.

^d Ath. de syn. p. 929, 930.

^e Ib. ib.

^c Socr. ib. Ath.

^f Theod. l. 2.

c. 15, 16.

^g Id. ib.

^h Soc. l. 2. c. 37.

ⁱ Hil. in conf. l. 1. p. 113.

changed

changed at last the Faith of the Western Bishops into Impiety. Of this deplorable Change they give us the following Account.

The *Arians*, taking Occasion from the last Letter of the Bishops at *Rimini* to incense *Constantius* against them, prevailed upon him to order their Deputies to a City in *Thrace*, known at that Time by the Name of *Nice*, but formerly called *Ostodizus*, and placed by *Sanfon* a few Leagues to the East of *Adrianople*. This Place they chose, that the Symbol, which they designed to impose upon them, might be confounded by the ignorant People with that of the great Council of *Nice* in *Bithynia*^k. The Deputies no sooner arrived there, than a Confession of Faith was proposed to them intirely agreeable to the last made at *Sirmium*, except that in this new Creed the Son was declared *like to the Father*, without the Addition of the Words *in all Things*. This they rejected at first with great Resolution and Intrepidity; but the *Arians* were no less resolute, and therefore left nothing unattempted they could think of to carry their Point^l. But finding Hope and Fear, Threats and Promises, equally ineffectual, they proceeded at last to open Force and Violence^m. What Kind of Violence was employed against them, the Author does not tell us; but *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* ascribe their retracting what they had declared to be holy, and approving what they had condemned as impious, to the Love of their Sees, and the Dread they were in of being driven from themⁿ. Be that as it will, it is certain that they yielded at last; that they accepted and signed, without the least Limitation or Restriction, the above-mentioned Confession of Faith; consented to the Suppression of the Word *Consubstantial*; declared void and null all the Acts and Proceedings of the Council of *Rimini*; anathematized, as heretical, all Opinions contrary to the Doctrine contained in the said Confession; and, finally, admitted to their Communion *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, and *Caïus*, whom they had not long before deposed as Heretics^o. *Restitutus*, Bishop of *Carthage*, and one of the most eminent Prelates at that Time in the Church, signed the first, and the other Deputies after him, according to the Dignity of their Sees. The Emperor, transported with Joy at the News of their Compliance, which he looked upon as a signal Victory, gave them immediately Leave to return to *Rimini*. At the same time he wrote to *Taurus*, charging him anew not to suffer the Bishops to depart till

^k Theod. l. 2. c. 16. Hil. in ann. p. 122.

^l Id. ib.

^m Hil. frag. 2. p. 23.

ⁿ Marc. & Faust. p. 25.

^o Hil. frag. 2. p. 36, 37. Theod. ib. Sulp. l. 2. p. 165.

they had all signed the same Confession of Faith, and empowering him to send into Exile such as by their Obstinacy should distinguish themselves above the rest, provided they were not above Fifteen in Number p. He likewise writ to the Bishops, commanding them, on Pain of incurring his Indignation, to suppress for ever the Words *Substance* and *Consubstantial*, severely reprimanding them for presuming to depose *Ursacius* and his Collegues, and assuring them, that they should not be allowed to return to their Sees, till they had intitled themselves to his Favour by an intire and unreserved Compliance with his Will q. To this Letter the *Arians*, who had assisted at the Council, to the Number of Eighty, returned a most submissive Answer, and even thanked the Emperor for the great Pains he took to establish the true Doctrine r. However, *Taurus* declared that he could by no means suffer them to depart till the rest had agreed with them, and the whole Assembly was of one Mind. The orthodox Bishops shewed at first some Resolution, and even refused to communicate with their own Deputies. But this Resolution soon vanished; they were eager to return to their Sees; the Emperor was inflexible; *Taurus* took care to render the Place both inconvenient and disagreeable to them. Some therefore fell off, others followed their Example, the rest began to waver, and, being so far got the better of, yielded soon after, and went over to the *Arian* Party in such Crouds, that in a very short time the Number of the orthodox Bishops, who continued steady, was reduced to 20^s. At the Head of these was *Phæbadius*, the celebrated Bishop of *Agen*, who seemed invincible; but nevertheless was overcome in the End, not by the Menaces of the Emperor, or his Prefect, but by the Craft and Subtilty of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who, finding they could by no other Means prevail upon him to accept the *Sirmian* Confession, declared, that to put an End to the unhappy Divisions that had so long rent the Church, they had at last resolved to agree to such Alterations and Additions as should be judged proper and necessary by him and his Collegues. This Declaration was received by all with great Joy: *Phæbadius* triumphed, thinking he had carried his Point and saved the Reputation of the Council. To the Symbol were immediately added several Anathemas against the *Arian* Heresy, and an Article declaring *the Son equal to the Father, without Be-*

Constantius orders the Bishops at Rimini to suppress the Words Substance and Consubstantial.

The greater Part yield.

The others imposed upon by the Arians.

p Athan. ad Afr. p. 941. Sulp. p. 165. Marc. & Faust. p. 26. Hil. frag. p. 37.
q Ath. ib. p. 934. r Hil. frag. 2. p. 37, 38. Sulp. p. 166.

ginning,

ginning, and before all Time. When this Article was read, *Valens* desired, that, in order to leave no room for new Disputes or Chicancery, they would add, that *the Son was not a Creature like other Creatures* ^c. This was evidently supposing the Son to be a Creature only exalted above all other Creatures; so that by admitting such an Article they condemned the Doctrine which they designed to establish, and established that which they designed to condemn. And yet of this neither was *Phæbadius* aware, nor any of his Party, as they afterwards solemnly declared ^u. A most unaccountable Oversight, and hardly credible! But *Theodoret* ^w, *Ambrose* ^x, *Sulpitius Severus* ^y, and *Fulgentius* ^z, took it upon their Word, and so must we. Neither Party could brag of the Victory; for the *Arians* had anathematized the Heresy of *Arius*; and on the other hand the orthodox Bishops had deliberately agreed to the suppressing of the Words *Substance* and *Consubstantial*, and inadvertently acknowledged the Son to be a Creature; which was all the *Arians* aimed at, or could desire. The Council being thus ended, new Deputies were sent to acquaint the Emperor with what had passed, who being highly pleased with the Report made by *Ursacius* and *Valens* (for they were at the Head of the Deputation) immediately granted the Bishops Leave to return to their respective Sees, after they had been about Four Months at *Rimini*.

The Council no sooner broke up than the *Arians* began to proclaim aloud the Victory they had gained, bragging, that it had not been defined in the Council of *Rimini*, that the Son was not a Creature, but only that he was not like other Creatures; and declaring it was, and had always been their Opinion, that the Son was no more like the Father, than a Piece of Glass was like an Emerald ^a. *Phæbadius*, and the other Bishops who had adhered to him, were returned to their Sees with great Joy, flattering themselves that they had sufficiently established the Catholic Doctrine, and prevented all future Disputes: but, finding that the *Arians* pretended their Tenets had been confirmed by this very Council, and seriously reflecting on the Articles, which they themselves had agreed to, they discovered at last how grossly they had been imposed upon, and publicly retracted all they had said, done, or signed, repugnant to the Truths of the Catholic Church ^b. However, *Gregory* Bishop of *Elvira* refused to communicate with any of the

*They discover
their Mi-
stake.*

^c Sulp. ib. ^u Theod. l. 1. c. 17. ^w Id. ib. ^x Ambros. de fid. l. 3. c. 7. ^y Sulp. l. 2. p. 166. ^z Fulg. in Pint. c. 3. p. 536. ^a Hil. frag. 1. p. 53, 54. ^b Hier. in Lucif. c. 7.

Are judged
guilty by the
exiled Bi-
shops.

Bishops who had assisted at the Council of *Rimini*, and was on that account commended by *Eusebius* of *Vercelli* ^c. The exiled Bishops, and those who lay concealed, agreed among themselves by Letters, to declare them for ever incapable of performing any Episcopal or Sacerdotal Functions, and to admit them to the Communion of the Church only in the Capacity of Laymen ^d. When Peace was restored to the Church by the Death of *Constantius* in 361. most of the Orthodox Bishops were for deposing all those of the Council of *Rimini*, and placing others in their room. But this Sentence the People would not suffer to be put in Execution, rising every-where in Defence of their Pastors, and in some Places insulting, beating, and even killing, those who came to depose them ^e.

Great Dis-
agreement in
the Council of
Seleucia.

As for the Council of *Seleucia*, it met on the 27th of *September* 359. and consisted only of One hundred and Sixty Bishops, all *Arians*, or *Semi-Arians*, except Twelve or Thirteen orthodox Bishops from *Egypt* ^f. This Assembly *Gregory Nazianzen* calls the *Tower of Calane*, or *Babel*, the Council of *Caiaphas* ^g. And indeed with a great deal of Reason; for nothing was there seen but Tumult, Confusion, and Disorder. The *Anomeans* and *Semi-Arians* appeared so irreconcilably incensed against each other, and carried on their Debates with so much Animosity and Bitterness, that the Quæstor *Leonas*, whom the Emperor had appointed to assist at the Council, thinking it impossible they should ever agree in any one Point, rose up at their Fourth Meeting, while they were in the Heat of the Dispute, and, withdrawing abruptly, put an End to that Session, nay, and to the Council; for, being invited the next Day, the First of *October*, to the Assembly, he refused to go, saying, that he did not conceive his Presence to be at all necessary, since they might quarrel and scold as much as they pleased without him ^h. This he did, says *Sozomen*, to favour the *Anomeans*, who thence took Occasion to absent themselves from the Council, which, as it was chiefly composed of *Semi-Arians*, seemed determined to condemn their Doctrine ⁱ. However, the *Semi-Arians* met by themselves; and, finding they could by no means prevail upon the *Anomeans* to return to the Council, they condemned their Doctrine as heretical and blasphemous, excommunicated and deposed the leading Men of their Party, appointed others in their room,

The Semi-
Arians con-
demn and de-
pose the Ari-
ans.

^c Hil. frag. 2. p. 4, 5.
de syn. p. 881. Hil. in conf. l. 1. p. 114.
l. 2. c. 40.

^d Soz. l. 4. c. 22.

^e Mar. & Faust. p. 47.

^f Hier. ib.

^g Greg. Naz. or. 21. p. 386.

^h Ath.

ⁱ Socr.

and gave Notice thereof to their respective Churches ^k. Before they broke up, they dispatched Ten Deputies to acquaint the Emperor with the Transactions of the Council. But the Bishops whom they had deposed, arriving at Court before them, and being by their Friends there immediately introduced to *Constantius*, they prejudiced him against the Council of *Seleucia* to such a Degree, that it was some time before he could prevail upon himself to hear the Deputies. However, he heard them at last, and, by threatening them with Exile if they did not comply, obliged them to sign the last Confession of *Sirmium*, which had been rejected by the Council as *Arian* ^l. In this ^{They sign the last Confession of Sirmium.} he spent the whole Day, and great Part of the Night, preceding the First of *January*, though he was obliged to make the necessary Preparations for entering on that Day his Tenth Consulate with the usual Pomp and Solemnity ^m.

In the Beginning of the Year 360. the *Anomeans* assembling by themselves at *Constantinople*, as the *Semi-Arians* had done at *Seleucia*, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Emperor, not only received the last *Sirmian* Confession, but condemned all other Confessions or Symbols that had been made till then, or should be made for the future. They then declared all the Acts of the Council of *Seleucia* void and null; and, to be even with the *Semi-Arians*, deposed, under various Pretences, such of their Party as had most contributed to the deposing of them, and even prevailed upon the Emperor to send them into Exile ⁿ. ^{The Arians, in their Turn, condemn and depose the Semi-Arians, and also sign the last Confession of Sirmium.}

They did not stop here, but obtained of *Constantius* an Order, which was published throughout the Empire, commanding all Bishops to sign the *Sirmian* Confession, on pain of forfeiting their Dignity, and being set into Exile ^o (A). This Order was executed with the utmost ^{An Order from the Emperor injoining all Bishops to sign the Sirmian Confession.}

^k Id. ib. Socr. l. 1. c. 40. Ath. de syn. p. 381. Basil. in Eunom. l. 1. p. 697. Sulp. l. 1. p. 165. ^l Hil. in conf. l. 1. p. 115. Soz. l. 4. c. 23. Basil. ep. 74. ^m Soz. l. 4. c. 24. ⁿ Socr. l. 2. c. 12. Soz. l. 4. c. 24. Philost. l. 5. c. 1. ^o Soz. l. 4. c. 26.

(A) This Confession is called sometimes the *Confession of Nice* in Thrace, and sometimes the *Confession of Rimini*; but it differed from both. By the Confession of *Nice*, the Son was acknowledged to be like to the Father, without the Addition of the Words in *all Things*, which were an essential Part of the last Confession of *Sirmium*. In that of *Rimini* the Son was said *not to be*

a Creature like other Creatures, and there were no such Words in the Confession of *Sirmium*. But by all Three the Word *Consubstantial* was rejected, and no other would satisfy the Orthodox, acknowledging the Son to be *of the same Substance with the Father*. Both the *Arians* and *Semi-Arians* allowed the Son to be like to the Father: but that Likeness was by them very differently

most Rigour in all the Provinces of the Empire, and very few were found, who did not sign with their Hands what they condemned in their Hearts p. Many, who till then had been thought invincible, were overcome, and complied with the Times; and such as did not, were driven, without Distinction, from their Sees, into Exile, and others appointed in their room, the signing of that Confession being a Qualification indispensably requisite both for obtaining and keeping the Episcopal Dignity q. Thus were all the Sees throughout the Empire filled with *Arians*, insomuch that in the whole East not one orthodox Bishop was left, and in the West but One, viz. *Gregory* Bishop of *Elvira* in *Andalusia*, and he, in all Likelihood, obliged to absent himself from his Flock, and lie concealed, as were probably Pope *Liberius*, and *Vincentius* of *Capua*, if what *Theodoret* relates of them be true, viz. that they never consented to the Decrees of *Rimini* r, and thereby retrieved the Reputation they had lost, the former by signing the *Sirmian* Confession of the Year 357. and the other by communicating with the *Arians* in 353. as I have related above. But what *Theodoret* writes may be justly called in question; for it is not at all probable, that the Emperor, and the *Arian* Party, so warmly bent on establishing that Confession throughout the Empire, would have suffered the Bishop of the Imperial City of the first See to reject it, without deposing him, as they had done the Bishops of all the other great Sees, and appointing another more compliant in his room. This could not be prevented by his concealing himself in the Caverns and Coemeteries about *Rome*, as he is said to have done in his Acts quoted by *Baronius* s, though he might by that means have escaped being sent into Exile. Besides, had he, instead of complying with the Emperor's express Command, withdrawn and absconded, I cannot think that his Antagonist *Felix*, who was still alive, and had done nothing we know of to disoblige the Emperor, and the *Arian* Party,

It was probably signed by Liberius.

p Greg. Naz. orat. 21. p. 387.
ad ann. 359. n. 48.

q Id. ib.

r Theod. l. 2. c. 17.

s Bar.

differently understood and interpreted. The *Arians* held him to be like rather by Grace than by Nature, and as like as a Creature could be to the Creator (1). The *Semi-Arians* confessed him to be like in Nature, in Existence, in Essence, in Substance, and in every thing else. But the Orthodox maintained him to be of the same Substance with the Father, and consequently of the same Existence, Essence, &c. and, to express this Sameness or Identity, they chose the Word *Consubstantial*.

(1) Ruff. l. 1. c. 25.

by whom he had been formerly raised to that See, would have neglected so favourable an Opportunity of recovering his antient Dignity. If what *Theodoret* says be true, *Gregory Nazianzen* is highly to blame for not excepting *Liberius*, when he writ, that the Bishops either all complied, or were driven into Exile, excepting a few, who were too insignificant to be taken notice of by the Emperor, or his Ministers ^u. Be that as it will, it is certain, that at this time the *Arian* Doctrine universally obtained; that the Face of the Church appeared quite deformed and disfigured ^w; that the whole World saw itself, with Astonishment, all on a sudden become *Arian* ^x; that the Boat of *St. Peter*, to use *St. Jerom's* Expression, tossed by furious Winds, by violent Storms, was upon the Point of sinking, and no Hopes of Safety seemed to be left ^y.

Arianism
universally
obtains.

The following Year 361. the *Anomeans*, not fully satisfied with the Confession of Faith, which, at their Suggestion, the Emperor had taken so much Pains to establish throughout the Empire, assembled, with his Leave, at *Antioch*, and there drew up a new Symbol, or Creed, wherein it was expressly said, that *the Son was in every thing unlike to the Father*, and that *He was made out of nothing*. *Constantius* had formerly expressed the greatest Abhorrence to this Doctrine, and had even banished those who held, and refused to anathematize, such *impious Blasphemies*, as he then styled them ^z. But, having lately changed his Opinion, which was chiefly owing to the great Influence the Eunuch *Eusebius* had over him, he was now no less sanguine for the *Unlikeness* of the Son to the Father, than he had been hitherto for the *Likeness* ^a. In order therefore to abolish the antient, and establish this new Creed in its room, he appointed a Council to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia* ^b, which, without all Doubt, he would have treated in the same manner as he had done that of *Rimini*. But, as the Bishops were preparing to set out for the appointed Place, they were stopped by the sudden and unexpected News of the Emperor's Death, which put an End to all his Councils, and was heard with equal Joy by those of the *Orthodox* and *Semi-Arian* Party. He was succeeded by *Julian*, surnamed the *Apostate*, who immediately recalled all those who had been banished by *Constantius* on account of their Religion ^c. Whatever was his Motive, the

Constantius
designs to
establish the
Doctrine of
the Pure
Arians;

but is pre-
vented by
Death.

^u Greg. Naz. orat. 1. p. 387.
& in chron. syn. p. 906.

^v Idem. ib.

^w Ruf. 1. 1. c. 21.

^x Theod. 1. 2. c. 23.

^y Philost. 1. 6. c. 5.

^z Socr. 1. 3. c. 1.

^a Hier. in Lucifer. p. 143.

^b Socr. 1. 2. c. 45. Ath. de

The exiled
Bishops re-
called by Ju-
lian.

Church reaped great Advantages from the Return of so many eminent Prelates, who, in the worst of Times, had, with an invincible Firmness and Constancy, stood up in her Defence. Among the rest returned, on this Occasion, the famous *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, who had been all Three confined to the most distant Parts of *Thebais* in *Egypt*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea* in *Phœnicia*, and, to the inexpressible Joy of the Orthodox Party, their great Champion *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* ^e, who immediately resumed, undisturbed, his Episcopal Function; *George*, the Usurper of his See, having been assassinated a little while before by the Pagans of *Alexandria*, on account of his Avarice and Cruelty ^f. In other Places the Orthodox Bishops, finding the *Arians* in Possession of their Sees, contented themselves with being acknowledged by those of their Communion, without attempting to drive out their Antagonists, which would have created great Confusion, and endless Disturbances in the Church. *Julian* refused to interpose his Authority in favour of either Party, saying, that as he was not so well acquainted with the Nature of their Disputes as a just and impartial Judge ought to be, he hoped they would excuse him, lest he should be guilty of some Injustice, and settle Matters of such Importance among themselves. *Athanasius* entered *Alexandria* in a kind of Triumph, which is described in a lively manner by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who seems to have pleased himself with displaying, in that Description, all the Eloquence he was Master of ^g.

The Council
of Alexan-
dria.

The Bishop of *Alexandria* being thus reinstated, and again at full Liberty to exert his Zeal for the Catholic Cause, his first Care was to retrieve his fallen Brethren, and reunite them to the Church. With this View he assembled, in 362. a Council at *Alexandria*, composed only of Confessors, that is, of such Bishops as had chosen rather to forfeit their Dignities and Sees, than receive or sign the *Arian* Confession of *Rimini* or *Sirmium*. This was one the most respectable Councils that was ever held in the Church, not so much in regard of the Numbers (for I find not above Twenty named) as of the Merit, Virtue, and Sanctity of the Members that composed it. The chief Subject of their Debates, or rather Inquiries, was to find out the most proper Means of restoring Tranquillity to the Church, after so

^e Theod. l. 3. c. 2. Hier.in Lucif. c. 7. ^f Ammian. l. 22. p. 223. Soz. l. 4. c. 30. Philost. l. 7. c. 2. Epiph. p. 912. ^g Greg. Naz. 21.

dreadful a Storm. Some, and among the rest *Lucifer* Bishop of *Cagliari*, who did not assist in Person, but by his Deputies, the Two Deacons *Herennius* and *Agapetus*, were for deposing all those who had signed the Confession of *Rimini*, and cutting them off from the Communion of the Church. But this unseasonable Severity was condemned by the far greater Part, as tending to raise a new Storm, and involve the Church in greater Troubles than ever, which the Emperor *Julian* would take care to improve, to the total Ruin of the Christian Religion. *Athanasius* therefore was for using Severity only with the Authors, and chief Promoters, of the late general Defection: and his Opinion prevailed; for a Decree was enacted, importing, that the Authors of the late general Prevarication should, even upon their Repentance, be received to the Communion of the Church only in the Capacity of Laymen, but that the rest should be all kept in, or restored to, their Sees, upon their publicly renouncing the *Arian* Communion, and embracing the Faith of *Nice* ^b. This Decree was every-where received with the greatest Joy, the Bishop of *Cagliari* being the only Man, either in the East or West, who opposed it, and that with so much Obstinacy, that, rather than yield, he chose to separate himself from the Communion of the rest, and to form a new Schism, which bore his Name, and soon gained a considerable Footing, especially in the West; several Persons no less distinguished for Piety than Learning, and among the rest *Gregory*, the famous Bishop of *Elvira*, having adopted the Sentiments of a Man, who had suffered so much for the Purity of the Faith. As *Lucifer* is honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint, and his Festival is kept on the 20th of *May* ⁱ, *Baronius* pretends, that he abandoned his Schism, and returned to the Communion of the Church, before his Death ^k. But his Cotemporary *Ruffinus*, who probably knew him, assures us, that he died in the Schism, which he had formed ^l. *Jerom* often speaks of his Schism, but no-where gives us the least Hint of his having ever quitted it; which would have afforded him a strong Argument against the *Luciferians*, and he would not have failed to urge it, in the Book which he writ to convince them of their Error. That Writer speaks of *Lucifer*, on all Occasions, with the greatest Respect, even in the Book which he writ against his Followers: he owns,

*A Schism
formed by
Lucifer Bi-
shop of Cag-
liari.*

*He never re-
turned to the
Communion
of the Church.*

^b Ruf. l. 1. c. 28. Ath. ad Ruf. t. 2. p. 41. Amb. de salv. p. 316. Aug. ep. 50. Hier. in Lucif. c. 7.

ⁱ Bolland. Maii 20. p. 207.

^k Bar. ad ann. 371. n. 132.

^l Ruf. l. 1. c. 30.

that his Intention was pure and upright; that it was not Pride, Thirst after Glory, or a Desire of transmitting his Name to Posterity, but a mistaken Zeal, that lead him astray, and made him disapprove what the others approved; he even distinguishes him with the Title of the *Blessed Lucifer*^m. And hence *Baronius* concludes, that he returned to the Communion of the Church; for otherwise, says the Annalistⁿ, St. *Jerom* had never given him the Title of *Blessed*, or *Saint*. But that he did not return, is manifest from the Silence of St. *Jerom* on that Head, and from the Authority of a cotemporary Writer quoted above: and hence I may draw a Conclusion far better grounded than that of *Baronius*; viz. that St. *Jerom* excused him on account of his good Intention; and, consequently, that he did not hold the uncharitable Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, excluding from Salvation all who die out of her Communion, let their Intention be never so good. It is to be observed, that the *Luciferians* not only excluded from their Communion those who had received the *Arian* Confession, but all who communicated with them, even after they had anathematized that Confession, and publicly embraced the Faith of *Nice*.

The Council
of Alexan-
dria saves the
Church from
Ruin.

The Resolution taken by the Confessors in the Council of *Alexandria*, is said to have saved the Church from utter Ruin. For had that prevailed, which was urged with so much Warmth by *Lucifer*, the Bishops, who had chosen rather to sign the *Arian* Confession than forfeit their Sees, would have kept them in Defiance of a Decree made by a small Number of their Collegues, and in all Likelihood excommunicated and deposed, in their Turn, those who had excommunicated and deposed them: and, in that Case, the *Arian* Party, comprehending almost all the Bishops of the Church, must have prevailed. But as nothing was required of them, to keep their Sees, besides their renouncing the Confession of *Rimini*, which they had embraced, and embracing that of *Nice*, which they had renounced, they readily complied with the Decree of the Council; insomuch that the following Year 363. *Athanasius*, in a Letter, which he writ to the Emperor *Jovian*, immediately after the Death of *Julian*, could assure that Prince, that the Faith of *Nice* had been received, and was professed, in all the Provinces of the Empire, which he enumerates; but omits those of *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and the *Hellepont*^o, the Bi-

^m Hier. in Lucif. p. 144.
p. 246.

ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 371. n. 132.

^o Ath. ad Jov. t. 1.

shops there still continuing obstinately to maintain the Doctrine of *Arius*, and to reject the Faith of *Nice*, as we learn from *Sozomen* p. *Socrates* q, and *Basil* r; nay, at *Constantinople*, the Orthodox had but a small Chapel to assemble in, all the Churches being in Possession of the *Arians*, under *Eudoxius*, a leading Man among the *Pure Arians*, who had usurped that See s. For the better establishing of the Orthodox Faith, after the violent Shock it had lately received, Councils were held in several Provinces of the Empire (A), and by

p Soz. l. 6. c. 10.

q Socr. l. 4. c. 1.

r Bas. ep. 75.

s Socr. ib.

(A) The Bishops of *Gaul* assembled at *Paris* in 362. and, having first owned their Crime in approving and signing the Confession of *Rimini*, they acknowledged the Three Persons of the Trinity to be of the same Nature and Substance, and condemned *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Milan*. This Council was convened by *St. Hilarius*, Bishop of *Poitiers*; and a Letter, which the Council writ on this Occasion, has been transmitted to us, among the Fragments of his Works. He is said to have assembled several other Councils in *Gaul*, for the re-establishing of the Faith of *Nice*, which is all we know of them. The same Year 362. the Bishops of *Italy* assembling, declared void and null the Acts of the Council of *Rimini*, embraced the Faith of *Nice*, and, with one Accord, anathematized *Ursacius* and *Valens*, as the leading Men of the *Arian* Party. There is, among the Fragments of *St. Hilarius*, a Letter on this Subject, from the *Italian* to the *Illyrian* Bishops. Where this Council was held I find no-where recorded. In the Year 363. the Emperor *Jovian* desiring to be instructed in the Faith of the Catholic Church, by *Athanasius* and the *Egyptian* Bishops, who were come to wait on him, they assembled in Council, and agreed to propose no other Creed to him but that of *Nice*. At the same time they condemned the Heresy of *Macedonius*, denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. This Council is generally thought to have been held at *Alexandria*. But, from the Letter, which they presented to the Emperor, it appears to have consisted of some *Egyptian* Bishops, who, as it is there said, were appointed to represent all the others of the same Province (1). Had the Council been held at *Alexandria*, they had, I should think, been all present. It

must therefore have assembled in some Place out of *Egypt*; and where more likely than at *Antioch*? For there the Emperor was this very Year, and there *Athanasius* waited on him. The same Year another Council was held at *Antioch*, under *Melecius* Bishop of that City. In that Council *Acacius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, who had been at the Head of the *Arian* Party, in the Latter-end of the Reign of *Constantius*, and his Followers, commonly styled *Acacians*, embraced the Faith of *Nice*, and admitted the Term *Consubstantial*. *Acacius* had no other Faith but that of the Party which prevailed. Hence, in the Time of *Jovian*, who favoured the Orthodox Party, he professed the Faith of *Nice*; but Two Years after he had signed it, he joined the *Arians* anew, seeing them in great Favour with the Emperor *Valens*. Several other Councils were held from the Year 363. to 368. of which we have no particular Account. For *Athanasius* tells us, in general Terms, that many Councils assembled in *France*, in *Spain*, at *Rome*, in *Dalmatia*, in *Dardania*, in *Macedonia*, in *Epirus*, in *Greece*, in *Candia*, and the other Islands, in *Sicily*, in *Cyprus*, in *Lycia*, in *Isauria*, in *Egypt*, and in *Arabia*; and that they all met to maintain the Orthodox Faith, the Faith of the Council of *Nice* (2). In his Letter to the Emperor *Jovian* he assures him, that the Symbol of *Nice* was received in the above-mentioned Provinces, and, besides, in *Britain*, in *Africa*, in *Pamphylia*, in *Libya*, in *Pontus*, in *Cappadocia*, and in the East, that is, in the Patriarchate of *Antioch* (3). But in the Provinces of *Thrace*, of *Bitthynia*, and the *Hellepont*, the *Semi-Arians* prevailed, till they were overpowered by the *Arians*, strongly supported by the Emperor *Valens*, a most zealous Defender of *Arianism*.

(1) Theod. l. 4. c. 3.

(2) Athan. de Afr. & ad Epiet.

(3) Id. ad Jov.

The Faith of
Niece every-
where esta-
blished.

A Council
convened by
the Semi-
Arians.

The Sect of
the Macedo-
nians.

all was received the Faith of *Nice*, the Confession of *Rimini* condemned, and the Words *Substance* and *Consubstantial* re-established. A very strong Proof, that the Assent given before to the *Arian* Doctrines had been solely the Effect of Force, or of Interest; which being now removed, and all left at Liberty to act as their Consciences only directed, the Orthodox Faith prevailed as much as the other had done under *Constantius*.

As every one was allowed by *Julian* to believe what he pleased, and to own his Belief, whatever it was, the *Semi-Arians* convened a Council, soon after the Death of *Constantius*, who, in the Latter-end of his Life, had begun to persecute them as much as he had favoured them before. This Council was composed of those chiefly who had assisted at that of *Seleucia*, of which I have spoken above; and they all agreed to condemn and anathematize the Doctrine of the *Pure Arians*, with the Confession of *Rimini*, and to sign anew the Confession of *Antioch*, establishing a Likeness in Substance between the Son and the Father. Thus they pretended to keep a due Mean between the Two opposite Extremes, of the Western Bishops, whose *Consubstantiality*, they said, left no room for the Distinction of Persons; and of the *Pure Arians*, who denied all Likeness ^u. It was after this Council that the *Semi-Arians*, separating themselves from the Communion of the *Pure Arians*, began to form a distinct Sect, and to be called *Macedonians*; which Name was given them from *Macedonius*, late Bishop of *Constantinople*, but deposed by the *Pure Arians*, in the Council they held in that City in 360. to make room for their great Champion *Eudoxius*, translated formerly from *Germanicia* to *Antioch*, and now from *Antioch* to *Constantinople*. They were also named *Marathonians*, from *Marathonius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who, together with *Macedonius*, was at the Head of the Party; and *Pneumatomachi*, that is, Enemies to the Holy Ghost, whose Divinity they denied, which was their chief, if not their only Error; for some are of Opinion, that tho' they rejected the Word *Consubstantial*, yet they agreed with the Orthodox in the Meaning of it. They led very regular, austere, and edifying Lives; and are, on that Score, highly commended and extolled by *Gregory Nazianzen* ^w. No Wonder therefore, that they soon spread all over the East, and gained every-where great Numbers of Followers. At *Constantinople*, and in the neighbouring Cities and Provinces, they

^u Ath. ad Afr. p. 931. & ad Epiet. p. 582.
Naz. orat. 44.

^v Soz. l. 5. c. 14.

^w Greg.

were followed not only by the greater Part of the People, but by some Persons of Distinction, by such as were most remarkable for their Piety, by intire Monasteries, both of Men and Women *. The Inhabitants of *Cyzicus* in the *Propontis* were almost all of this Sect, and we are told of some Miracles wrought by a *Macedonian* of that Place †, which *Baronius* will not allow, though as well attested as any he relates.

The Emperor *Valens*, who reigned in the East, which had been yielded to him by his Brother *Valentinian*, when he took him for his Colleague in the Empire, spared no Pains to reconcile this Sect with that of the *Arians*, which he greatly favoured. But, finding them no less averse to the *Arians* than the Orthodox themselves, he began in the Year 366. to persecute them with great Cruelty. To avoid this Persecution they resolved to recur to the Emperor *Valentinian*, and, embracing the Faith professed by him and the Western Bishops, to put themselves under his Protection. Accordingly they dispatched Three of their Body, *viz.* *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebaste*, *Sylvanus* of *Tarsus*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabala*, to acquaint the Emperor, in the Name of the rest, with the Resolution they had taken, and implore his Protection ‡. These, being informed, on their Arrival in *Italy*, that *Valentinian* was waging War with the Barbarians on the Borders of *Gaul*, instead of repairing to him, which they apprehended might be attended with no small Danger, went strait to *Rome*, and there delivered to *Liberius* Letters from their Brethren, directed to him, and to the other Bishops of the West, whom they earnestly intreated to use their Interest with the Emperor in their Behalf, assuring them, that they sincerely renounced the Errors they had hitherto held, and embraced the Catholic Faith, as explained and defined by the Council of *Nice* §. But *Liberius*, notwithstanding these Assurances, suspected their Sincerity; and therefore could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to communicate with them, or even to hear them, till they had delivered to him a Confession of Faith, under their Hand, and in the Name of the whole Party, wherein they anathematized those of *Rimini*, and *Nice* in *Bithynia*; condemned the Heresy of *Arius*, with all other Heresies; and received the Definitions of the Council of *Nice*, those particularly that related to *Consubstantiality*. To this Confession they added a solemn Protestation, declaring themselves ready to submit to the Sentence of

They are persecuted by the Emperor Valens.

Deliver to Liberius their Confession of Faith,

* Ruf. l. 7. c. 25. † Socr. l. 2. c. 45. l. 4. c. 4. l. 5. c. 8. ‡ Id. l. 4. c. 12. § Soz. l. 6. c. 10. § Soz. Socr. ib.

who admits
them to his
Communion.

such Judges as the Pope should think fit to appoint, should they, or those by whom they had been sent, be ever for the future accused or suspected of swerving in the least from the Faith they now embraced and professed ^b. In virtue of this Confession, whereof the Original was carefully lodged in the Archives of the Church of *Rome*, *Liberius* admitted the Deputies to his Communion; and, upon their Departure, writ, in the Name of all the Bishops of *Italy*, and the West, to the *Macedonian* Bishops, of whom he names 59, signifying the great Joy, which their Letters, and the Confession of Faith, signed by their Deputies, had occasioned at *Rome*, and in all the Western Churches, since by such a Confession they were all again happily united in one Faith. In this Letter *Liberius* assures them, that all the Bishops, who had assisted at the Council of *Rimini*, had retracted the Doctrine, which they had been forced to sign there; and were more than ever incensed against the *Arians*, on account of the Violence, which, at their Instigation, had been offered them ^c. The *Macedonians* admitted the Divinity of the Son, but denied that of the Holy Ghost; nay, this was their favourite Doctrine, and, as it were, the Characteristic of their Sect; but *Liberius*, and the other Western Bishops, not suspecting them of such an Error, which in all Likelihood they had not yet publicly owned, admitted them to their Communion, without examining them on that Head.

Liberius dies. *Liberius* died soon after, that is, on the 23d or 24th of *September*, of the present Year 366. as we are told by *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, whose Authority is preferable to that of any other, since, at this very time, they lived at *Rome* ^d. He had been chosen on the 22d of *May* 352. so that he governed the Church of *Rome* Fourteen Years, Four Months, and a Day or Two. *Liberius* lived in troublesome Times, the worst the Church had ever yet seen. She had Two dangerous Enemies to contend with at the same time, the Power of the Prince then on the Imperial Throne, and the Craft of a most subtle and deceitful Party. The Prince employed all his Power to overcome, with Oppression, those whom the Party could not over-reach with their Craft; and the Party to over-reach with their Craft such as the Prince could not overcome with Oppression. On the other hand, the Prelates, even some who were reputed the Pillars of the Church, seemed to have lost that Zeal, Firmness, and Intrepidity, which they had so

The deplorable
Condition of the
Church in his
Time.

^b Socr. ib. ^c Socr. l. 4. c. 12. Basil. ep. 82. ^d Marcell. & Faust. p. 4, 5.

gloriously

gloriously exerted under the Pagan Princes; and few were found among them, whose Virtue was proof against the Loss of their Dignity, or Exile. Hence the Defection became general, and the Orthodox Party was brought so low, that it must have been utterly quashed, had *Constantius* lived a few Years longer. But Providence interposed; *Constantius* died while he was pursuing his Scheme with the greatest Success; and *Julian*, his Successor, by betraying an equal Hatred and Aversion to Christians of all Denominations, obliged them to forget their Quarrels among themselves, to lay aside their Animosity against each other, and to unite in their mutual Defence against him, as a common Enemy. *Jovian*, who succeeded him, proved no less favourable to the Orthodox, than *Constantius* had been to the *Arians*. Many therefore of the latter, and among the rest *Acacius*, who was at the Head of the *Pure Arians*, to gain the Favour of the Emperor, publicly renounced the Doctrine of *Arius*, and embraced that of *Nice*. *Jovian*, after a short Reign of Seven Months and Twenty Days, was succeeded by *Valentinian*, who continued to countenance the Orthodox, as his Predecessor had done, though he did not use the *Arians* with that Rigour which some Zealots expected from a Confessor, which Title he had deserved under *Julian*. However, as he professed the Orthodox Faith, that Party universally prevailed; inso-much that, in a very short time, no Traces of *Arianism* were left in the West, except at *Milan*, under the *Arian* Bishop *Auxentius*, and in a few Cities of *Illyricum*, where it was kept up by *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, and their Disciples, till the following Century, when it was every-where re-established there by the *Goths*.

Baronius ascribes to *Liberius* the banishing of *Arianism* out of the West, and the establishing of the Orthodox Faith in its room; but that Glory was owing, according to *Ruffinus*, to *Hilarius* of *Poitiers*, and *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, who, like the Two great Luminaries of the Universe, to use his Words, enlightened with their Rays *Illyricum*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, dispelling every-where the Darkness of Heresy^e. He minutely describes the great Success that attended them, with the Difficulties and Obstructions they met with in so pious and commendable an Undertaking^f. But, as for *Liberius*, he does not so much as mention him. And truly, from the Year 357. in which he fell, to his admitting the *Macedonians* to his Communion in 366. which was the

^e Ruf. l. 3. c. 30, 31.

^f Idem ib.

last of his Life, the only thing I find recorded of him in the Antients, is his writing a Letter to the Catholic Bishops of *Italy*, wherein he exhorts them to atone for their past Conduct by renouncing the Errors of the *Arians*, and receiving anew the Symbol of *Nice*. He adds, that as this is the only Atonement, which it has been thought proper to require of them, they ought to exert their Zeal against the Authors of the Fault they committed, in proportion to the Grief they must feel for committing it ^g. This Letter has been transmitted to us among the Fragments of *Hilarius*. It is hard to guess what could induce

Neither Vincentius of Capua, nor Liberius, assisted at the Council of Rimini.

Baronius to write so confidently as he does, that *Vincentius* of *Capua* assisted at the Council of *Rimini* with the Character of the Pope's Legate ^h. In what antient Author did he find the least Intimation or distant Hint of such a Legation? *Vincentius* of *Capua*, though a Person of great Eminency, is not even mentioned by any of the cotemporary Writers, who relate the Transactions of that Council, and name the chief Prelates who composed it. 'Tis true we read of him in one Author, that he never consented to the Confession of *Rimini* ⁱ: but that is said of *Liberius* too ^k, whom *Baronius* owns not to have been present at that Assembly.

Liberius is honoured as a Saint.

Liberius, notwithstanding his Fall, is honoured both by the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches as a Saint. By the former his Festival is kept on the 23d of *September*, and by the latter on the 27th of *August* ^l. He erected a Church on the *Esquiline* Mount at *Rome*, which bore his Name, and was called the *Basilic* of *Liberius*, till it was consecrated to the Virgin *Mary* by *Sixtus* III. when it took the Name of *Sancta Maria Major*, or *Saint Mary the Greater*. It owes its Foundation, as is universally believed in the Church of *Rome*, to the following Miracle. A *Roman* of the Patrician Order, and of Wealth equal to his Rank, named *John*, having no Children, resolved to make a free Gift of his whole Estate to the Virgin *Mary*. This Resolution he imparted to his Wife, who consenting to it with great Alacrity, the Estate was immediately made over to the holy Virgin, whom they thenceforth jointly intreated, in their daily Prayers, to let them know by some Token in what Manner she chose to dispose of it. Their Prayers were heard, and, on the Night preceding the 5th of *August*, when the Heat is most violent at *Rome*, a miraculous Snow fell from Heaven, which covered Part of the *Esquiline* Mount. The same

The Founding of the Church of St. Mary the Greater.

^g Hil. frag. 1. p. 37, 38.

^k Id. ib.

^h Bar. ad ann. 359. n. 3.

ⁱ Menæa. p. 293.

^l Theoph. l. 2. c. 13.

Night the Patrician and his Wife were admonished in a Dream to build a Church on the Spot of Ground which they should find covered with Snow. Early next Morning they went to acquaint Pope *Liberius* with what had happened, whom they found to have had the same Dream; so that no room being now left to doubt of the Revelation, the Pope appointed a grand Procession of the whole Clergy, in which he walked himself, attended by Crouds of People, to the above-mentioned Mount; and there, having caused the Snow, which still lay unmelted, to be removed, on the Spot, which it had covered, he laid the Foundation of that magnificent Basilic, which was reared at the Expence of the Patrician, and is now known by the Name of *Saint Mary the Greater*, and *Saint Mary in the Snow*^m. I should not have thought such an idle Tale worthy of a Place in a grave History, were it not recorded in the most authentic Book the Church of *Rome* has after the Scripture, the *Roman Breviary*, a Book approved and commended by the Council of *Trent*, and by the special Bulls of Three Popes, *Pius V.* *Clement VIII.* and *Urban VIII.* of whom the latter declares every thing it contains to be extracted from antient and approved Authors, and to be agreeable to Truthⁿ. So that it would be less dangerous, at least in *Italy*, to deny any Truth revealed in the Scripture, than to question any Fable related in the *Breviary*. The Feast of *the Snow*, or *St. Mary in the Snow*, is kept annually at *Rome*, on the 5th of *August*, with the greatest Solemnity. The College of Cardinals assists that Day at Divine Service in the Church of *Saint Mary the Greater*; and the Pope, if not indisposed, or otherwise prevented, officiates in Person: the *Primicerio*, or Dean of that Church, reads the Account, which I have delivered above; and, that nothing may be wanting to complete the Farce, Numbers of Children are employed, during the Service, to drop Jessamins from the Gallery on the Congregation, in Remembrance and Imitation of the miraculous Snow. And truly by Children alone such Fables are proper to be acted and believed.

Several Pieces have reached our Times, which were either written by, or have been falsely ascribed to, *Liberius*. Among the former are, ^{The Writings of Liberius.} his Letter in Answer to the *Macedonian* Bishops; another to the Catholic Bishops of *Italy*; which have been both mentioned above;

^m Breviar. Rom. 5 Aug.

ⁿ Vide Bull. Urb. VIII. Breviario præfix.

*Writings
falsely ascribed
to him.*

*Strange Con-
jectures of
Baronius.*

and a Discourse, which he pronounced on *Christmas-day* in the Church of *St. Peter*, on Occasion of his giving the sacred Veil to *Marcellina* the Sister of *St. Ambrose* when she embraced the State of Virginity. This Discourse *St. Ambrose*, has inserted in his Third Book on Virgins, but in his own Style, which is very different from that of *Liberius*, who had not the Gift of Eloquence °. Among the Pieces falsely ascribed to *Liberius*, most Men of Learning reckon the Confession of Faith, written in *Greek*, which he is supposed to have sent to *Athanasius*. This Piece *Baronius* will, by all means, have to be genuine; and the Use he makes of it is somewhat extraordinary. The Council of *Alexandria*, to which the Church owed her Safety, was convened by *Athanasius*, upon his Return from Exile, as I have related above. By that small Assembly, consisting only of Confessors, was enacted the famous Decree with respect to those, who had communicated with the *Arians*, and signed the Confession of *Rimini*. To that Decree the whole Church readily conformed; so that the Honour of saving the Church was chiefly owing to *Athanasius*, and wholly to him and the other Confessors. Of *Liberius* not the least Mention is made; so that he had no Share in that Glory. The *Annalist* therefore, not being able to bring in his Sovereign Pontiff upon the Authority of any Records now extant, has recourse to those that probably never were; or, if they ever were, are now no more. He supposes Part of the above-mentioned Confession of Faith, sent by *Liberius* to *Athanasius*, to be wanting; and *Liberius*, in the Part that is wanting, to have impowered *Athanasius* to convene a Council, and to have appointed *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, and *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, to assist at that Council with the Character of his Legates. Such wild and extravagant Suppositions require a very strong Proof to support them, some plausible Conjectures at least to give them an Appearance of Truth. But that we must not expect of *Baronius*. The only Argument, if it may be so called, which he pretends to offer on this Occasion, is, that he cannot conceive *Athanasius*, and the other holy Confessors, would have taken upon them to act as they did, and enact a Decree extending to the whole Church, had they not received such a Power from him, to whom all Power was given, meaning the Pope. The other Pieces, falsely ascribed to *Liberius*, are another Letter to *Athanasius*,

° Amb. de virg. l. 3. p. 437.

P Bar. ad ann. 362. n. 206.

and one to all the Catholic Bishops; which are both reputed supposititious, being dated by Consuls who never existed.

VALENTINIAN,
VALENS,

DAMASUS,

GRATIAN,
THEODOSIUS.

Thirty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

LIBERIUS was succeeded by *Damafus*, whom the *Spanish* Writers, upon the Authority of *Anastafius*, suppose to have been a Native of *Spain* ¹; though there is no room to doubt of his being born in *Rome*, since it appears, from an Inscription quoted by *Baronius* ², that his Father had been Lector, Deacon, and Presbyter, of the Church of *St. Laurence* in that City, and consequently must have lived there from his Youth. *Damafus* had a Sister named *Irene*, who embraced the State of Virginity, and died before she was Twenty, as we read in her Epitaph ³. It is not therefore probable that her Death happened in the Twelfth Year of her Brother's Pontificate, as the *Spanish* Author of her Life tells us, he being then Seventy. *Damafus* served, as his Father had done, the Church of *St. Laurence*, till he was stricken in Years; for he was upwards of Sixty when raised to the Episcopal Dignity. He was Deacon of *Rome* in 355. when *Liberius* was sent into Exile; on which Occasion he not only bound himself, with the rest of the Clergy, by a solemn Oath not to acknowledge any other Bishop so long as *Liberius* lived, but attended him on his Journey to the Place of his Banishment ⁴. *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* seem to insinuate, that soon afterwards, giving way to his Ambition, he forgot the Oath he had taken, abandoned *Liberius*, for whom he had professed the greatest Friendship, and sided with *Felix* his Antagonist ⁵. But these Two Presbyters were zealous Partisans of the Antipope *Ursinus*, of whom hereafter; and therefore we ought to be very cautious of what they write to the Prejudice of *Damafus*. *Jerom*, who lived then at *Rome*, and in great Intimacy with *Damafus*, reproaches such of the Ecclesiastics as forsook *Liberius*, and joined *Felix*, with the Breach of a most solemn Oath; styles them

Year of
Christ 366.

*Damafus a
Native of
Rome,*

and Deacon
of that
Church.

Whether he
abandoned
Liberius, and
sided with
Felix.

¹ Anast. c. 38.

² Bar. 384. 16. in appar. ad annal.

³ Boll. 21 Feb. p. 244.

⁴ Marcell. & Faust. p. 3.

⁵ Id. p. 3—5.

Perjurers, Deserters, Time-servers, &c. which I cannot think he would have done so freely, had *Damafus* been one of the Number. I am therefore not a little surpris'd, that *Baronius* should blindly acquiesce to the Accounts of the above-mentioned Writers, and, without further Inquiry, condemn *Damafus* as guilty of Perjury, by ranking him among the Followers of *Felix* ^w. And yet the Annalist supposes him to have been appointed Great Vicar of *Rome* by *Liberius*, upon his withdrawing from the City to avoid the Persecution rais'd by *Constantius* after the Council of *Rimini* ^{*}: so that, according to him, he must have changed Sides anew, and, abandoning *Felix*, returned to *Liberius*, which is representing him as a Man sway'd by no other Principles but those of Interest and Ambition, and therefore always siding with those who were uppermost. This is all we know of *Damafus* before his Election.

*He is chosen
Bishop of
Rome, and
likewise Ur-
finus.*

Liberius dying on the 23d or 24th of *September* 366. as I have related above, great Disturbances were rais'd in *Rome* by the Election of Two Bishops to succeed him, viz. *Damafus* and *Urfinus*, whom the later Writers style *Urficinus*, a Deacon of that Church. This double Election gave Rise to a dangerous Schism, and a kind of Civil War, within the Walls of the City, which did not end without a great deal of Bloodshed. I shall impartially relate what I find concerning this important Transaction in the cotemporary Writers of either Side, leaving the Reader to judge which of the Two Pretenders was the Cause of so much Mischief, and which legally chosen. I shall begin with the Account which *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, who were then at *Rome*, give us of these Elections. They were both Presbyters of that Church, but, being strict Followers of *Lucifer* Bishop of *Cagliari*, of whom I have spoken above, they and their whole Party were deemed Schismatics, and consequently cruelly persecuted by the Catholic Bishops, especially *Damafus*. Finding themselves thus oppress'd, the Two Presbyters, between 383. and 388. drew up a Petition in Behalf of themselves and their afflicted Brethren, address'd to *Valentinian II.* *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, intreating those Princes to protect their Innocence, and put a Stop to the unbridled Rage of their Enemies. With this Request the Two Presbyters repaired to *Constantinople*, being driven from *Rome* by *Damafus*, and there presented it to *Theo-*

^w Bar. ad ann. 357. n. 60. & ad ann. 367. n. 8.

^{*} Id. ad ann. 359. n. 48.

dosius, who, pitying their Condition, in his Rescript directed to *Cynegius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, treated them as Catholics, granted them the free Exercise of their Religion, and declared all those wicked Men, nay, and Heretics, who had presumed, or should for the future presume, to persecute or molest them *y*. In the Preface, prefixed to this Petition, I find the following Account of both the above-mentioned Elections. *Ursinus*, say they, was chosen in the Basilic of *Julius* by the Deacons *Amantius* and *Lupus*, and the People, who had continued in the Communion of *Liberius*; but *Damafus*, by those who had adhered to *Felix*, assembled for that Purpose in the Church of St. *Laurence*, called *in Lucinis*. *Ursinus* was ordained the first, by *Paul* Bishop of *Tivoli*; which *Damafus*, who had always panted after the Episcopal Dignity, no sooner knew, than he hired a great Number of Chariot-drivers, and other such despicable Wretches, who, violently breaking into the Basilic of *Julius*, massacred a great many People there. Seven Days afterwards they made themselves Masters of the *Lateran* Basilic, and there was *Damafus* ordained Bishop *z*. This Account charges *Damafus* alone with the Schism, and the Evils attending it. On the other hand, the Council of *Rome*, held about Twelve Years after, lays the whole Blame on *Ursinus*, who, say they, boldly attempted to usurp a Dignity, which on no Score was due to him *a*; and that which met at *Aquileia* in 381. and consisted of all the most eminent Bishops of the West, ascribes to *Ursinus*, and his Temerity, the many Calamities the Church had suffered; paints him as a Man of no Credit, Character, or Reputation; and adds, that he seized by Force what he had no Hopes of attaining by lawful Means *b*. *Ambrose* writes, that the Suffrage of Heaven concurred in the Election of *Damafus* *c*. According to these Authorities *Damafus* was lawfully elected, and *Ursinus* unlawfully. As to the Particulars of his Election, *Jerom*, who perhaps was then at *Rome*, tells us, that *Damafus* was first chosen, and then *Ursinus*, who, after his Election, seized by Force on the Basilic of *Sicinus* *d*, that is, according to the most probable Opinion, the Basilic of *Liberius*, now *Saint Mary the Greater*: *Socrates* says, that *Ursinus* having near as many Votes as *Damafus*, he was thereby encouraged to hold separate Assemblies, and to get himself ordained in a dark and retired Corner of

y Marc. & Faust. p. 18. 100. 103. Gennad. c. 16.

a Cod. Theod. ap. p. 8.

b Ibid. p. 68, 69, 71.

z Marc. & Faust. p. 5, 6.

c Amb. ep. 11. tom. 5.

d Hier. chron.

the Basilic of *Sicinus* ^e. *Ruffinus* assures us, that *Damafus* was already ordained, when *Ursinus*, transported with Rage at his being preferred to him, assembled a great Number of seditious People, and, supported by them, caused himself, in Defiance of the Canons of the Church, to be ordained, in the Basilic of *Sicinus*, by *Paul* Bishop of *Tivoli*; whereas the Bishops of *Rome* were always ordained and consecrated by those of *Ostia*. After his Consecration, continues this Author, he ordained several Persons; which was adding a Sacrilege to his unlawful Election ^f. Both *Ruffinus*, and *Socrates*, who follows him, were certainly mistaken as to the Place of this Ordination, since we are told by *Marcellinus* and *Fauftinus*, that *Ursinus* was ordained, not in the Basilic of *Sicinus*, but in that of *Julius* ^g. These Two Writers, who were in *Rome* at the Time of the Elections, tell us, in express Terms, that *Ursinus* was chosen before *Damafus*; and *Jerom*, who was probably in *Rome* at the same Time, assures us, in Terms no less express, that *Damafus* was chosen before *Ursinus*. The former were greatly addicted to *Ursinus*, and the latter no less attached to *Damafus*. As for the Two Councils, which I have quoted above, they were held some Years after, when the Party of *Damafus* had universally prevailed; and it was a Crime to acknowledge *Ursinus*. *Jerom* has been followed by most of the Writers who came after, and the Authority of the other Two quite disregarded, for no other Reason but because they were Schismatics; for they joined *Lucifer*, as I have observed above, and refused to communicate with the Bishops who had signed the Confession of *Rimini*, nay, and with those who communicated with them.

Great Disturbances in Rome, occasioned by this double Election.

By this double Election the Citizens of *Rome* saw themselves, before they were aware, involved in a Civil War. The whole People were divided, some siding with *Damafus*, and some with *Ursinus*; and neither of the Competitors shewed the least Inclination to yield to the other. No Day passed without Skirmishes and Bloodshed; in-somuch that *Juventius* Governor of the City, and *Julian* the *Praefectus Annona*, to put a Stop to the present, and prevent greater Disturbances, agreed to banish *Ursinus*, whose Party seemed less powerful, together with his Two Deacons *Amantius* and *Lupus*. The Two Authors I have often quoted write, that both *Juventius* and *Julian* were bribed by *Damafus*, who, taking Advantage of the Absence of

^e Socr. l. 4. c. 21.

^f Ruff. l. 2. c. 10.

^g Marc. & Faust. p. 5, 6.

his Competitor, armed his Followers with Clubs and Swords, hoping thus to intimidate the Friends of the exiled Bishop, and bring them in the End to acknowledge him. Seven Presbyters of the Party of *Ursinus* were seized, at the Request of *Damafus*, in order to be sent into Exile, but rescued by the People of the same Party, and carried in Triumph to the Basilic of *Liberius*; which *Damafus* no sooner heard, than, arming all his Followers, both Clergy and Laymen, with Clubs, Swords, Axes, &c. he marched at the Head of the seditious and enraged Multitude to the Basilic, which he and his Partisans immediately invested, and attacked with the utmost Fury. It was set on fire in several Places; the Doors were forced, the Roof uncovered, and thence Showers of Tiles discharged on the People assembled there: great was the Massacre; One hundred and Sixty Persons, Men and Women, were inhumanly murdered on the Side of *Ursinus*, and a great many more wounded, some of whom died of their Wounds. On the Side of *Damafus* not one single Person was killed. This Riot began on the 25th of *October* 366. at Eight in the Morning.

Thus the above-mentioned Writer ^b. *Ruffinus* writes in general Terms, that the illegal Election of *Ursinus*, in Opposition to *Damafus*, occasioned such a Tumult, or rather Civil War among the People, some siding with the one, and some with the other, that the Places destined for Prayer streamed with Human Blood ⁱ. The Heathen *Am-
mianus Marcellinus* assures us, that the Partisans of *Damafus* and *Ursinus* were so implacably incensed against each other, that several Persons were wounded in the Quarrel, and some killed: nay, it is certain, adds he, that in the Basilic of *Sicinus* One hundred and Thirty-seven Persons were found dead, all killed the same Day: but *Damafus* in the End, by the Efforts of his Party, got the better of his Antagonist ^k. *Jerom*, however partial, owns, that *Ursinus* having got Possession of the Basilic of *Sicinus*, the Partisans of *Damafus* repaired thither in Crouds, and that several Persons were thereupon inhumanly massacred ^l. The Sedition became general, and the Seditious on either Side so numerous and powerful, that *Juventius*, not thinking it advisable to punish, nor being able to appease, the enraged Populace, abandoned the City, and retired to the Country ^m. He was perhaps for *Ursinus*, whose Party being over-matched by that of *Damafus*, he might not think it safe to continue in *Rome*. Three Days after the Massacre in the

^b Id. p. 6, 7.
ⁱ Hier. chron.

^k Ruff. l. 2. c. 10.
^m Ammian. ib.

^l Ammian. Mar. l. 27. p. 337.

Basilic of *Liberius*, that is, on the 28th of *October*, the Partifans of *Urfinus*, say *Marcellinus* and *Fauftinus*, affembling, cried out aloud againft *Damafus*, complaining of his Conduct, and begging that a fufficient Number of Bifhops might be convened, and the Controversy referred to their Judgment and Decifion ⁿ. *Damafus* was greatly favoured, and chiefly fupported, by the *Roman Ladies*, which probably gave Occafion to the Charge of Adultery that was brought againft him. But *Ferom*, either to clear him of this Charge, or to obviate the like Suspitions, naturally arifing from his familiar Conversation with the Female Sex, ftyles him a *Virgin Doctor of the Virgin Church* o.

*Damafus not
eafily cleared
from all
Guilt.*

Baronius finding he can neither difguife nor extenuate the Cruelties committed by thofe who adhered to *Damafus*, is at a great deal of Trouble to difculpate him, and lay the whole Blame on *Maximinus*, who, as appears from History, difcharged the Office of *Præfectus Annone* from the Latter-end of the Year 367. to the Beginning of 370. and was noted for his Cruelty. *Baronius* is fupported herein by the Authority of *Ferom* and *Ruffinus*, of whom the former writes, that *Damafus* remained Conqueror, without hurting the Conquered p; and the latter, that the Cruelties practifed by the Prefect *Maximinus*, who had efpoufed the Cause of *Damafus*, upon thofe of the adverfe Party, rendered the Name of that virtuous Prelate odious, though he had no Share in them q. But who is to be charged with the Maffacre in the Basilic of *Sicinus*, or *Liberius*? On whom are the Murders to be laid, committed there? *Maximinus* was not then in Power, and perhaps not at *Rome*. I cannot help thinking but *Damafus* might at leaft have reftained his Followers from fuch Excefles; and confequently, as he did not, I cannot, with *Ruffinus*, conclude him to have had no Share in them; I fay, *at leaft reftained*; for I will not charge him with heading and encouraging the riotous Multitude in that wicked Attempt, upon the bare Authority of *Marcellinus* and *Fauftinus*, both zealous Partifans of *Urfinus*. But neither ought *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, *Davidius*, &c. upon the bare Testimony of Two Writers, no lefs fanguine in the Cause of *Damafus*, fuppofe him to have been noways concerned in thofe Diforders. The famous *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived at this very time in *Rome*, and, as a Pagan, was noways concerned in the Quarrel, nor more inclined

ⁿ Marc. & Fauft. p. 9.

^o Hier. ep. 5. t. 2.

^p Hier. ep. 49.

^q Ruf. l. 2. c. 20.

to one Side than the other, assures us, that both were equally ambitious of the Episcopal Dignity, and both equally guilty ^r. The Authority of a Writer, thus unbyassed, and in every other respect unexceptionable, ought to be preferred, without the least Hesitation, to that of any other, whom we have just Reason to suspect of Partiality. *Jerom* indeed speaks with more Modesty and Reserve than *Ruffinus*, and those who have copied after him; for he only says, that *Damafus* did not hurt his Enemies after he had conquered them. But, in relating the above-mentioned Massacre, and the Skirmishes that happened before the Party of *Damafus* prevailed, he always describes his Partisans as the Aggressors, without ever pretending to excuse him, as having no Share in those Riots; which he would not have failed to do, had he not paid a greater Regard to Truth than *Ruffinus* seems to have done.

The Heathen *Marcellinus*, after telling us, that *Damafus* and *Ursinus* aspired with equal Ambition to the Episcopal Chair, adds this famous Remark, which I shall set down in his own Words: *I must own*, says he, *that when I reflect on the Pomp attending that Dignity, I do not at all wonder, that those, who are fond of Shew and Parade, should scold, quarrel, fight, and strain every Nerve to attain it; since they are sure, if they succeed, to be enriched with the Offerings of the Ladies; to appear no more abroad on foot, but in stately Chariots, and gorgeously attired; to keep costly and sumptuous Tables; nay, and to surpass the Emperors themselves in the Splendor and Magnificence of their Entertainments. But how happy would they be, if, despising the Grandeur of the City, which they allege to excuse their Luxury, they followed the Example of some Bishops in the Provinces, who, by the Temperance and Frugality of their Diet, the Poverty and Plainness of their Dress, the Modesty of their Looks fixed on the Ground, the Purity of their Lives, and the Regularity of their whole Conduct, approve themselves to the eternal God, and all his true Worshipers!* Thus *Ammianus*. And that *Damafus* was fond of all that Pomp, Grandeur, and Parade, that he led such a voluptuous Life, as *Ammianus* here so justly censures and condemns in the Bishops of Rome, is not to be doubted, since *Prætextatus*, a Man of the first Quality, honoured with the greatest Employments of the Empire, and zealously attached to Paganism, in

*The Luxury
of the Bishops
of Rome.*

^r *Ammian.* l. 27. p. 337.

^r *Id. ib.* p. 337, 338.

How the Oblations of the Faithful disposed of.

converſing familiarly with him, uſed pleaſantly to ſay, *Make me Biſhop of Rome, and I'll immediately turn Chriſtian*^t. But, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of this Subject hereafter, I ſhall only obſerve here, that the Offerings of thoſe devout Women, and other pious Chriſtians, were no better employed in the Days of *Damaſus*, than the immenſe Wealth, which the Church of *Rome* acquired in After-Ages, by the voluntary Contributions of all the Chriſtian Nations, is diſpoſed of in ours. With theſe Offerings the Biſhops of *Rome* uſed in more early Times, to maintain the Poor of their own Church, and ſend the Overplus to other Churches, where the Poor were numerous, and the Offerings ſmall. Of this generous Practice I have mentioned ſome Inſtances, that well deſerve to be recorded. But when Ambition began to take place of Charity, the Poor were forgotten, and nothing thought of but ſplendid Equipages, numerous Retinues, princely Apparel, ſumptuous Tables, and whatever elſe could feed the Vanity of theſe upſtart Princes, and put them upon the Level with the greateſt Monarchs. To ſuch Purpoſes were the Oblations of the Faithful perverted. *Baronius* takes it very much amiſs of *Ammianus*, that he ſhould find Fault with the coſtly Tables and Entertainments of the Popes, ſince it is manifeſt from St. *Auſtin*, that the Chriſtians at *Rome*, and, no doubt, the Pope with the reſt, kept a rigorous Faſt Three Days in the Week^u; ſo that, in his Opinion, they ought not to be blamed for rioting Four Days in the Week, provided they faſted Three. But to this Doctrin *Ammianus* was a Stranger, and therefore, notwithstanding the Faſts they might keep, he juſtly cenſured their expensive Tables and Banquets, as no-ways ſuited to their Profeſſion and Character.

Urfinus recalled by Valentinian;

But to return to *Urfinus*; he had been baniſhed *Rome* by the Prefect *Juventius*, before the 26th of *October* 366. as I have related above; but the Emperor *Valentinian*, who was at this time in *Gaul*, having, at the Requeſt of his Friends, granted him Leave to return, he entered the City on the 15th of *September* 367. in a kind of Triumph, being met and received with loud Acclamations by thoſe of his Party^w. At the ſame time the Emperor directed a Reſcript to *Prætextatus*, who had ſucceeded *Juventius* in the Prefecture of *Rome*, injoining him to recall all thoſe, who had been baniſhed for the late Riots, and reſtate them in their former Condition, after

^t Hier. ep. 61. t. 2. Fauf. p. 6—9.

^u Aug. ep. 86. Ear. ann. 367. n. 10.

^w Marc. &

warning them, that if, for the future, they disturbed the Peace of the Public, they should be punished without Mercy ^x. But notwithstanding this Warning, new Disturbances must have happened, since *Ursinus* was, by an Order from the Emperor, banished again on the 16th of *November* of the same Year 367. together with Seven of his Followers, who were all confined to different Places in *Gaul*, where they continued till the Year 371 ^y. The Two Presbyters tell us, that *Damasus*, having, with large Sums, gained the Ministers and Favourites at Court, by their Means extorted from the Emperor the above-mentioned Order. They add, that the Friends of *Ursinus* were resolved to stand by him; but that he, to prevent Bloodshed, delivered himself up into the Hands of the Officers of Justice ^z. However that be, by the Banishment of *Ursinus*, and some of the leading Men of his Party, Tranquillity was restored for a while, and the Disturbances composed, says *Ammianus*, which the Christians had raised by quarreling among themselves ^a.

About this Time the Emperor *Valentinian* enacted a Law, im-^{The Bishop of}powering the Bishop of *Rome* to examine and judge other Bishops, ^{Rome im-}that religious and ecclesiastical Disputes might not be decided by pro-^{powered by}fane or secular Judges, but by a *Pontiff of the same Religion*, and ^{the Emperor}*his Collegues* ^{to judge}^{other Bishops.} ^b. A very imprudent Law, considering the Nature and Consequences of such a Concession. The Bishops assembled in Council at *Rome*, in 378. after declaring, in the strongest Terms, their Approbation of this Law, agreed to present an Address to the Emperor *Gratian*, wherein they earnestly recommended to him the Execution of it, because it greatly redounded, say they, to the Honour of the sacred Ministry; because the Judgment of Bishops was more sure and certain than that of any Civil Magistrate; and, lastly, because it delivered the Prelates of the Church from the just Concern they were under, to find that they could not make their Innocence appear without Racks and Tortures, which innocent Persons were put to by the Secular Judges ^c. This Exemption seems to have been understood by the Council as extending to all Cases, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical. Be that as it will, whatever Exemption was by the above-mentioned Law granted to the Bishops, whatever Power was by that Law vested in the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Collegues, the Council, with a due Sense of Gratitude, acknowledged such Power and Immu-

^x Vide Bar. ad ann. 368. n. 4.

^y Marc. & Faust. p. 9, 10.

^z Idem ib.

^a Ammian. l. 27. p. 349.

^b Cod. Theod. ap. p. 80.

^c Id. p. 81.

nity to be intirely owing to the Indulgence of the Emperor : a plain Proof that the absurd and chimerical Notion of a *Divine Right* was not yet broached. The Bishops chose rather to be judged by the Pope and his Collegues, that is, by their own Brethren, than by Lay Judges, for the Reasons they allege in their Address to *Gratian*. Hence they chearfully submitted to his Judgment, and applauded every new Power that was granted him, as redounding to the Honour of the Episcopal Order. But, alas ! they were not aware, that every new Power, yielded to the Bishop of *Rome*, was a new Link added to the Chain they were forging, if not for themselves, for those, at least, who were to succeed them. They little apprehended, that the Bishop of *Rome* would, in Process of Time, claim all the Power vested in him, and his Collegues, as due to him alone, and that too by *Divine Right* ; that, in virtue of such a Claim, he would set up for universal and sole Monarch of the Church, exercise an unbounded Authority and Jurisdiction, and degrade all other Bishops from his Collegues to his Vassals and Slaves. *Blondel* is of Opinion, that the Bishop of *Rome* was, by that Law, only impowered to judge the Bishops within the Limits of his Jurisdiction, that is, those of the Suburbicarian Provinces ^d. Others think that such a Power was only for a time, and extended to those Bishops alone who were concerned in the present Schism ; which seems most probable, since *Valentinian* declares, that he enacted the above-mentioned Law to settle the Church, shaken by the Fury of the Schism ^e.

The Followers of Ursinus driven out of Rome.

Ursinus, and the leading Men of his Party, being driven out of the City, the Inhabitants began to enjoy their former Peace and Tranquillity. But yet his Followers continued to assemble in the Coemeteries of the Martyrs, and even kept Possession of a Church, supposed to be that of *St. Agnes*, without the Walls ^f. Of this *Damasus* took care to transmit an Account to the Emperor, in a Memorial ; who, fearing that, from such a Spark, the Fire might break out again, which he had been striving to extinguish, enjoined *Prætextatus* to put *Damasus* forthwith in Possession of that Church ; and, in the Execution of this Order, probably happened what we find related, perhaps with some Exaggeration, by the Two Writers I have often quoted ; for they tell us, that one Day, while the Followers of *Ursinus* were assembled, in great Numbers, in the Church of *St. Agnes*, *Damasus*,

^d Blond. Prim. p. 165.
Bar. ad ann. 368.

^e Cod. Theod. ap. p. 80.

^f Marc. & Faust. p. 10.

falling

falling unexpectedly upon them with his Satellites, made a dreadful Havock of the innocent and defenceleſs Multitude g. After this Second Maſſacre *Prætextatus*, to ſecure the Tranquillity of the City, ſent ſeveral more of the Party of *Urſinus* into Exile. *Valentinian*, however, would not conſent to their being confined to any particular Place; but gave them full Liberty to live where they pleaſed, provided they kept out of *Rome* h. The two Writers add, that the Cruelties exerciſed in the Church of *St. Agnes* gave great Offence to the Biſhops of *Italy*; and that *Damaſus* having invited ſome of them to *Rome*, to ſolemnize with him the Anniversary of his Conſecration, he laid hold of that Opportunity to ſolicit them with Intreaties, nay, and to tempt them with Money, to condemn *Urſinus*; but all in vain; the Biſhops equally unmoved by his Prayers and Offers, reſuſing, with great Firmneſs and Reſolution, to condemn a Man whom they had not heard. *Marcellinus* and *Fauſtinus* cloſe their Preface with a ſhort Account of themſelves, telling us, that the Presbyters of *Urſinus*'s Party were imprifoned, racked, baniſhed, diſperſed, and ſent into different Countries; and that they themſelves, who were of that Number, preſented a Petition to the Emperors, begging them to put a Stop to ſo cruel a Perſecution i.

Damaſus having thus, in the End, by the Favour of the Emperors, *Damaſus af-*
intirely got the better of the adverſe Party, and ſecured his Dignity, *ſembles a*
he turned his Thoughts to Eccleſiaſtical Matters. In the Weſt there *Council at*
were now but Three Biſhops, who ſtill maintained the Doctrines of *Rome*.
Arius; viz. *Urſacius* Biſhop of *Singidunum*, *Valens* of *Murſa*, and
Auxentius of *Milan*. *Damaſus*, however, convened a numerous
Council at *Rome*; and there examined anew, and anew condemned, *Urſacius and*
the Tenets of *Arius*, and all who held them, namely *Urſacius* and *Valens con-*
Valens k. *Auxentius* was a pure, and no leſs zealous, *Arian*, than *denied*.
either of theſe Two; but as he was in favour with *Valentinian*, *Auxentius*
whom he had deceived by an equivocal Confeſſion of Faith, *Dama-*
ſus, and his Council, thought it adviſeable not to name him. The *why ſpared*.
Council writ a ſynodal Letter to the other Biſhops, acquainting them
with what had paſſed; which was answered by *Athanaſius*, and the
Biſhops of *Egypt*, then aſſembled at *Alexandria*. In their Answer
they thank *Damaſus* for condemning *Urſacius* and *Valens*; but, at
the ſame time, expreſs no ſmall Surprize to find, that *Auxentius* was

g Id. p. 10, 11.

h Vide Bar. ad ann. 368. n. 3.

i Marc. & Fauſt. p. 11, 12.

k Ath. ad Afr. p. 931.

not yet depofed, tho' guilty not only of *Arianism*, but of many other Crimes, which they enumerate ^l. *Damafus* and his Collegues paid, no doubt, great Regard to the Remonftrances of *Athanasius*; but, as *Auxentius* was fupported by the Emperor, and they were better Courtiers than *Athanasius*, they never attempted to depofe him; nay, they carried their Complaisance fo far as to condemn *Urfacius* and *Valens*, as if they had been the only *Arian* Bifhops in the Weft, without ever naming *Auxentius*. He therefore kept, for many Years, quiet Poffeffion of the See he had ufurped, and was at laft deprived of it by Death alone.

*The Avarice
of the Ro-
man Clergy
reftained by
Valentinian.*

The many Abufes and Diforders, that reigned at this Time among the Ecclefiastics of *Rome*, offered a larger Field to the Zeal of *Damafus*, than the Heresy of *Arius*, now confined in the Weft to a Corner of *Illyricum*. But he was by no means a fit Perfon to fet up for a Reformer of Manners, and the Evil required a more powerful Remedy than he could apply. The Prelates of the Church, even the Bifhops of *Rome*, could yet only preach againft Vice, admonifh the Vicious, and inflict ecclefiastical Cenfures on fuch as gave no Ear to their Admonitions: all other Power was ftill lodged in Lay Hands, and only imparted to the Ecclefiastics in fome extraordinary Cafes. The infatiable Avarice of the *Roman* Clergy, the mean and fcandalous Arts they were daily praftifing to circumvent the Orphans, plunder the Widows, and rob the lawful Heirs of their juft Inheritance, cried loudly for a Reform; but were Evils too ftrong for the Curb of Exhortation, Admonition, or Cenfures merely ecclefiastical; and *Damafus* himfelf was not quite free from Imputations of this Nature. It was therefore neceffary, that the Secular Power fhould interpofe in Defence of the deluded Laity, againft the Craft and Rapines of the ravenous Clergy. A Law was accordingly enacted by the Emperor *Valentinian*, in the Year 370. addreffed to *Damafus* Bifhop of *Rome*, and read, on the 29th of *July*, in all the Churches of that City, ftictly forbidding the Ecclefiastics, and fuch as profefled Celibacy, meaning the Monks, to frequent the Houfes, of Orphans or Widows, or to accept from thofe, whom they attended under the Veil of Religion, any thing whatfoever by way of Donation, Legacy, or Feoffment in Truft. Whatever was thus given or accepted, is declared forfeited to the public Treafury ^m.

*Law enacted
by him.*

^l Id. ib. p. 931—941.

^m Cod. Theod. 16. t. 2. l. 20. p. 48.

This Law, taken in a literal Senſe, only forbids the Eccleſiaſtics to accept of ſuch Donations as were made by the Women whom they attended in ſpiritual Matters as their Guides or Directors; but it was either underſtood and interpreted as extending to all Donations from pious Perſons, or a new Law was made at this Time excluding the Eccleſiaſtics from all ſuch Donations, as plainly appears from *Jerom* and *Ambroſe*, of whom the former, in one of his Letters, writes thus: *I am aſhamed to ſay it, the Priests of the Idols, the Stage-players, Charioteers, Whores, are capable of inheriting Eſtates, and receiving Legacies; from this common Privilege, Clerks alone, and Monks, are debarred by Law; debarred, not under perſecuting Tyrants, but Chriſtian Princes* ^{n.} And *Ambroſe*; *We are excluded by Laws, lately enacted, from all Inheritances, Donations, and Legacies; yet we do not complain: And why ſhould we? By ſuch Laws we only loſe Wealth; and the Loſs of Wealth is no Loſs to us. Eſtates are lawfully bequeathed to the Miniſters of the Heathen Temples; no Layman is excluded, let his Condition be ever ſo low, let his Life be ever ſo ſcandalous: Clerks alone are debarred of a Right common to the reſt of Mankind. Let a Chriſtian Widow bequeath her whole Eſtate to a Pagan Priſt, her Will is good in Law; let her bequeath the leaſt Share of it to a Miniſter of God, her Will is null. I do not mention theſe Things by way of Complaint, but only to let the World know that I do not complain; for I had rather we ſhould want Money, than Virtue or Grace* ^{o.} From theſe Teſtimonies it is manifeſt, that either by the above-mentioned Law, or by ſome other publiſhed at this Time, the Eccleſiaſtics were reſtrained from receiving any Donations or Legacies whatever, by whomſoever bequeathed: and that ſuch a Law was abſolutely neceſſary, is no leſs manifeſt from the unqueſtionable Authority of *Jerom*, who lived at this very Time in *Rome*, and deſcribes, as an Eye-witneſs, the Arts that were praſiſed with great Succeſs, by the *Roman* Clergy to circumvent rich Widows, and old Men. *The Clerks, ſays he, who ought to inſtruct and awe the Women with a grave and compoſed Behaviour, firſt kiſs their Heads, and then, ſtretching out their Hand, as it were to beſtow a Bleſſing, ſlily receive a Fee for their Salutation. The Women in the mean time, elated with Pride in ſeeing themſelves thus courted by the Clergy, prefer the Freedom of Widowhood to the Subjection attend-*

The Sentiments of S. Jerom and Ambroſe concerning this Law.

^{n.} Hier. ep. 2. p. 13.

^{o.} Amb. ep. 12. t. 5. p. 200.

ing the State of Matrimony. Some of the Clergy make it the whole Business and Employment of their Lives to learn the Names of the Ladies, to find out their Habitations, to study their Humour. One of these (perhaps Antimus or Sophronius, two Monkish Harpyes, of whom he speaks elsewhere), an Adept in the Art, rises with the Sun, settles the Order of his Visits, acquaints himself with the shortest Ways, and almost breaks into the Rooms of the Women before they are awake. If he sees any curious Piece of Household Furniture, he extols, admires, and handles it; and, sighing that he too should stand in need of such Trifles, in the End, rather extorts it by Force, than obtains it by Good-will, the Ladies being afraid to disoblige the prating old Fellow, that is always running about from House to House. The same Writer, speaking elsewhere of the Monks, displays the Arts which they practised to deceive, captivate, and plunder, the rich Widows, and old Men; and adds, that, by professing Poverty, they were become rich, and that the Church grieved to see many acquire great Wealth by serving her, who had been Beggars, while they lived in the World ^q. So that the Monastic Profession was in those early Times what it is now, a gainful Trade, under the Mask of Religion. As for the mean, nay, and nauseous Offices, to which they were prompted by their Avarice, and the greedy Expectation of Legacies, to submit, about the childless old Men and Women in their Sickness, it would be forgetting the Dignity of an Historian to mention them. The Reader will find them described by *Jerom*, and perhaps too minutely, in the Letter he writ to his Friend *Nepotian* ^r. In the same Letter he informs us, how the Wealth thus acquired was disposed of. *I*, says he, applying to himself what he levelled at others, to render the Truth he spoke less disagreeable; *I, who was born in a poor Country Cottage, who had scarce Millet enough, and coarse Bread, to satiate my craving Stomach, now despise the finest Flour, the choicest Honey, am well acquainted with the different Kinds and Names of Fishes, and can tell by the Taste from what Coast each Shell fish was brought, from what Province each Bird* ^s. A Law was therefore necessary to restrain the insatiable Avarice of the Roman Clergy, and obviate the unhallowed Use they made of the Wealth, which by such scandalous Means they had acquired. This Law *Jerom* calls a Caustic; and adds, that he does not complain of it, but of the Sore that required it ^t. However, that he complains,

^q Hier. ep. 22.^r Id. ep. 3.^s Id. ep. 2.^t Id. ib.^u Id. ib.

and *Ambrose* too, not only of the Sore, but the Caustic, is manifest from their Words, and Manner of writing. To exaggerate the pretended Hardship, they both observe, that the Pagan Priests lay under no such Restraints: An unseasonable Observation! since it shews the Difference between the Pagan and Christian Priesthood in a mortifying Light. The former gave no Occasion to such a Law, their Avarice wanted no such Restraints; if it had, we may be sure they had met with no Quarter from a Christian, nay, from an Orthodox Prince; and if he had spared them, such Partiality had not been tamely put up, and passed over in Silence, by the Ecclesiastical Writers of those Times, namely, by the Two I have mentioned.

Baronius is of Opinion, that the above-mentioned Law was procured by *Damafus*, who, finding his Clergy no longer awed by the Spiritual Sword, had recourse to the Temporal, for the Temporal, adds he, ^{That Law probably not procured by} *Damafus*, though in the Emperor's Hands, was given by our Saviour to St. *Peter* and his Successors, as well as the Spiritual^u. Thus he puts at once both Swords into the Popes Hands, though he has not yet been able to allege one single Instance of their having either. They got both, 'tis true, in After-ages; and we shall see, in the Sequel of this History, how they came by them. But that Law, says *Baronius*, was read in all the Churches of *Rome*. And so have others been, when they concerned the Clergy, and were addressed to, though not procured by, the Bishop of that City^w. Besides, as *Damafus* loved Pomp and Grandeur, it is not at all probable, that he was instrumental in the enacting of a Law, which deprived him of the main Fund to support them, the Generosity of the *Roman Ladies*.

Two Years after, that is, in 372. the Law I have mentioned above was extended by the same Prince, viz. *Valentinian*, to the sacred Virgins and Bishops, so as to exclude the former from the Right of giving, and the latter from that of receiving, any thing whatsoever by way of Donation, Legacy, &c^x. But this Law, with another still more severe, published Twenty Years afterwards by the Emperor *Theodosius*, was abrogated by the Emperor *Marcian* in the Year 455. as I shall have Occasion to relate hereafter. In the mean time I cannot help observing with Astonishment, how early the primitive Rigour of Discipline and Manners was utterly neglected and forgotten by the Ecclesiastics of *Rome*; how early the most exorbitant Luxury, ^{The primitive Rigour and Discipline utterly neglected at} *Rome*.

^u Bar. ad ann. 370. n. 118.
Theod. nov. 16. t. 2. l. 22. p. 50.

^w Vide Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 50.

^x Cod.

with all the Vices attending it, was introduced among them, and the most scandalous and unchristian Arts of acquiring Wealth universally practised. They seem to have rivalled, in riotous living, the greatest Epicures of Pagan *Rome*, when Luxury was there at the highest Pitch. For *Jerom*, who was an Eye-witness of what he writ, reproaches the *Roman* Clergy with the same Excesses, which the Poet *Juvenal* so severely censured in the *Roman* Nobility, under the Reign of *Domitian*. And how much more worthy were the former of the severest Censure, not only in regard of their Calling, and the Religion they professed, teaching them to curb and subdue all irregular Passions and Appetites, but from this aggravating Circumstance, that the Estates they so squandered and wasted were not their own, but the Patrimony of the Poor, the Substance of the Orphans, Widows, and unhappy Persons, whom, under the Cloke of Religion, they robbed of their just Inheritance! And herein they conformed to the Example of their Chief, who, finding an inexhaustible Fund in the Generosity of the *Roman* Ladies to support his Extravagance, lived in that Pomp and Grandeur which *Ammianus* has described above.

The Orthodox persecuted in the East.

But he was roused from the easy and indolent Life he led at *Rome*, by Letters from the famous *Basil*, lately raised to the See of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, the Metropolis of *Pontus*, imploring his Assistance, and that of the other Western Bishops, in the present unhappy Condition of the Churches in the East. *Arianism* was almost utterly extirpated in the West under the Orthodox Emperor *Valentinian*, as I have observed above; but in the East it triumphed under his Brother *Valens*, a most zealous Favourer of the *Arians*, a most implacable Enemy to the Orthodox, who were by him every-where driven from their Sees, and sent into Exile: nay, he gave full Power to the *Arian* Bishops and Magistrates to imprison, fine, beat, rack, and banish, at Pleasure, such of the Orthodox Clergy as they could not win over by more gentle Methods. This Power they used so tyrannically, especially at *Constantinople*, that the Clergy of that City resolved to apply to *Valens* himself for Relief, not doubting but the Miseries they groaned under might, if duly represented, even move him to Compassion. Accordingly they appointed Eighty of their Body, all Men of unblemished Characters, and known Piety, to repair to *Nicomedia*, where that Prince then was, and lay their Grievances before him. Upon their Arrival at Court, they were introduced to the Emperor, who heard them with great Attention, without shewing the least Emotion either of

of Refentment or Compaffion. However, as upon his difmiffing them, he immediately fent for *Modestus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, they concluded that he had given Ear to their juft Complaints, and began to expect a fpeedy Redrefs of their Grievances. But the Charge he gave him, very different from what they expected, was to difpatch them all without Mercy or Delay. The Prefect, apprehending the Death of fo many eminent Ecclefiastics might occafion a Tumult in the City, gave out that the Emperor had ordered them into Exile; and accordingly caufed them to be put on board a Veffel, in order to be conveyed, as he pretended, to the Place of their Banifhment. But the Veffel was no fooner out of Sight, than the Mariners, purfuant to their private Inftuctions, fet Fire to it, and, betaking themfelves to their Boat, left thofe they had on board to the Mercy of the Flames and Waves *r*.

*Inhumanly
treated by
the Emperor
Valens.*

But *Athanasius*, *Bafil*, and the other Champions of the Orthodox Party, were not fo much alarmed at the cruel Perfecution raifed againft them by their Enemies, as at the unhappy Divifions that reigned at this very time among themfelves. It was to procure a Remedy for thefe Divifions, to heal a dangerous Schifm, that rent the Orthodox Party into two oppofite Factions, that *Bafil*, by the Advice of *Athanasius*, writ the above-mentioned Letter to *Damafus*, and that the Orthodox Bifhops of the Eaft writ in common a Letter to all their Brethren in the Weft. As this Schifm did more Hurt to the Orthodox Caufe than it was in the Power of their Enemies to have done, I fhall not think it foreign to my Purpofe to insert a fuccinct Account of its Rife and Progreff. *Eufathius*, the Orthodox Bifhop of *Antioch*, being depofed by the *Arians* in 331. and one of their own Party put in his room, the greater Part of the Clergy and People of that City, acknowledging the new-chosen Bifhop, and his *Arian* Succeffors, affifted at their Affemblies, mixed with the *Arians*, and received the Sacraments at their Hands, though they difagreed with them in Belief. But fome more zealous than the reft, refufing to own any other Bifhop fo long as *Eufathius* lived, held their Affemblies apart, under the Direction of Presbyters animated with the like Zeal. Thefe, from their fteady Attachment to *Eufathius*, were called *Eufathians*, and with them alone *Athanasius* communicated while he was at *Antioch* *2*. This Schifm or Separation continued even after the Death of *Eufathius*, thofe of his Party declining not only the

*The Ortho-
dox divided
among them-
felves.*

*What occa-
fioned this
Divifion.*

1 Socr. l. 4. c. 15. Soz. l. 6. c. 13. Theod. l. 4. c. 21. Naz. or. 20. c. 45. Theod. l. 2. c. 27. ep. 73. c. 28. Hier. chro.

2 Socr. l. 2.

Communion of the *Arians* and their Bishops, but of the Orthodox, who communicated with them. In the Year 360. the See of *Antioch* being vacant, by the Translation of *Eudoxius* the *Arian* to that of *Constantinople*, the *Arians*, and the Orthodox, who communicated with them, chose with one Consent the famous *Meletius* to succeed him. Both Parties joyfully concurred in this Election; the Orthodox, because they knew his Doctrine to be no less pure than his Manners; and the *Arians*, because they hoped, by such a distinguishing Mark of their Friendship and Esteem, to win him, and by his Means to gain over to their Party the whole City of *Antioch*, nay, and the *Eustathians* themselves ^a. But they soon found, to their great Mortification, that the Orthodox were better acquainted with *Meletius* than they, that he was most zealously attached to the Orthodox Party, and was not to be swayed by Friendship or Enmity, by Hopes or Terrors. He was no sooner installed, which Ceremony was performed with the greatest Solemnity,

Meletius the new Bishop of Antioch declares in favour of the Orthodox.

than he loudly declared in favour of *Consubstantiality*, and boldly cut off from his Communion, as rotten and incurable Members, all who held the opposite Doctrine. The *Arians* of *Antioch* were thunderstruck with the Boldness of the Attempt; the whole Party took the Alarm; *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and the neighbouring Bishops, forgetful of every thing else, hastened to *Antioch*; Hopes, Fears, Prayers, Menaces, were successively employed, and nothing left unattempted to divert, at least to allay, the impending Storm. But all in vain; the Zeal of *Meletius* was incapable of Controul: he openly declared, that nothing should, nothing could, make him desist from, or relent in, the Work he had undertaken, till he had utterly extirpated the *Arian* Heresy, without leaving the least Shoot of so poisonous a Weed in the Field, which by Divine Appointment he was to guard and cultivate ^b. The *Arians* finding him immovably fixed in his Resolution, and, what doubled their Concern, the whole Party in imminent Danger from one of their own chusing, they applied with better Success to the Emperor *Constantius*; and, charging the new Bishop of *Antioch* with *Sabellianism*, which Charge the credulous and unwary Prince believed upon their Word, they extorted from him a Rescript banishing *Meletius* from *Antioch* about Thirty Days after his Installment, and confining him to *Melitene* in *Armenia*, his native City ^c. *Euzoius* was preferred in his room, formerly

He is banished.

^a Soz. l. 4. c. 28. ^b Chryf. or. 45. c. 28. Theod. l. 2. c. 27. Philost. l. 5. c. 5.

^c Chryf. ib. Epiph. c. 38. Soz. l. 4.

peared in the Council of *Alexandria* ^f; forgetting, no doubt, what he elsewhere so strenuously maintains ^g; viz. that *Lucifer* assisted at that Assembly, in the Name of Pope *Liberius*, and as his Legate.

The Council of Alexandria strive to heal these Divisions.

The Fathers of the Council not only approved of the Bishop of *Cagliari's* Resolution, but appointed *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, and *Asterius* of *Petra* in *Arabia*, to assist him in so pious an Undertaking. What seemed chiefly to obstruct the so much wished for Union, was a great Attachment on one Side to *Meletius*, and an equal Obstinacy on the other, in refusing to acknowledge one preferred by the *Arians*. The Confessors therefore assembled in *Alexandria* (for of Confessors alone that Assembly was composed) were of Opinion, that, if every other Remedy proved ineffectual, their Deputies should apply to *Meletius*; and, having persuaded him to resign his Dignity, chuse another in his room, equally acceptable to both Parties. They did not in the least doubt but *Meletius* would readily, nay, with great Joy, sacrifice his Dignity, and every other private View, to the public Tranquillity ^h; so great was the Opinion they entertained of his Virtue. Had this wise Resolution taken place, it had, in all Likelihood, been attended with the desired Effect. But before the Deputies could

All Means of an Accommodation cut off by the imprudent Conduct of the Bishop of Cagliari.

reach *Antioch*, *Lucifer*, more commendable for Zeal than Prudence, had cut off all means of an Accommodation, by conferring, of his own Authority, the Episcopal Dignity on the Presbyter *Paulinus*, who was at the Head of the *Eustathians*, and had with more Warmth than any other opposed *Meletius*, and those who adhered to him. He was assisted in that irregular Ordination by Two other Confessors ⁱ; viz. *Gorgonius* of *Germanicia*, and *Cymatius* of *Gabala*, or rather of *Paltos* ^k. This Step he took to oblige the *Eustathians*, when he found that they could by no means be induced to acknowledge *Meletius*. But, instead of closing, he thereby widened, the Breach, the *Meletians* declaring, that they would never abandon a Bishop of their own Party, to acknowledge one of another, chosen without their Consent, or even their Knowledge ^l. This unhappy Division, thus settled and confirmed between the Two Orthodox Parties in *Antioch*, did not continue long confined to that particular Church, but soon extended to the Church universal; some owning *Meletius* for lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, and others *Paulinus*. *Athanasius* communicated with *Pauli-*

^f Bar. ad ann. 362. n. 180. ^g Id. ib. n. 206. ^h Athan. de Ant. p. 574—577.
ⁱ Hier. chron. ^k Ath. ep. ad Solit. & de Antioch. Eccl. p. 580. ^l Ruf. l. 1. c. 27. Theod. l. 3. c. 2.

nus, and not with *Meletius*; and his Example was followed by the Bishops of *Egypt*, of *Cyprus*, and all the Bishops in the West ^m. On the other hand, all the Orthodox Bishops in the East, except *Athanasius*, and those I have mentioned, espoused, with great Warmth, the Cause of *Meletius* ⁿ. They all continued, however, notwithstanding this Disagreement, to communicate with each other, though with some Indifference and Coldness. The Ordination of *Paulinus* gave Rise to another Schism; for *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, finding, on his Arrival at *Antioch*, all Hopes of an Accommodation cut off, and no Room left for the Measures concerted and agreed to by the Council, immediately quitted the City, without communicating with either Party. This was condemning the Conduct of *Lucifer*; which he could not brook; and therefore, full of Resentment, he renounced the Communion of *Eusebius*, with whom he had hitherto lived in the greatest Intimacy, and suffered together with him a most painful Exile for the common Cause ^o.

Basil Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, one of the great Lights ^{St. Basil Bishop of Cæsarea applies to Damascus.} of the Church, left nothing unattempted, which he apprehended could any-ways contribute to the reuniting of the Orthodox among themselves, and putting an End to the present Schism. But, despairing at last of Success, and finding the Prelates in the East all warmly engaged in the Dispute, some in favour of *Meletius*, and some of *Paulinus*, he resolved to apply to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had not yet declared for either of the Competitors, his Thoughts being wholly employed in securing his Dignity against a Competitor at Home. He writ therefore to *Damascus*, intreating him to dispatch Deputies into the East, who, in Concert with the Prelates there, inclined to an Accommodation, might settle the proper Means of accomplishing so desirable a Work, and uniting in Charity those, who were already united in Faith. He added, that it was from his Zeal alone they expected Relief, from that Zeal which he had made so eminently appear on other Occasions; that *Dionysius*, one of his Predecessors, had afforded them a seasonable Assistance, when their Wants were less pressing, and their Condition not so deplorable; and therefore that there was no Room left to doubt of his readily conforming to so glorious an Example ^p. With this Letter, and another from the Bishops in the East, soliciting the Advice, Assistance, and Mediation of

^m Id. ib. c. 30.ⁿ Id. ib.^o Id. ib. Theod. l. 3. c. 2.^p Basil. ep. 320.

their Collegues in the Weft, *Dorotheus*, Deacon of the Church of *Antioch*, was difpatched into *Italy*: whence he returned in the Beginning of the following Year 372. with an Answer from the Bifhops of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul* ^q. But *Damafus* did not condefcend to return an Answer to *Bafil*, or take the leaft Notice of his Letter; which haughty Conduct he juftly refented, and in pretty fharp Terms, taxing *Damafus*, in one of his Letters ^r, with a Spirit of Pride and Vanity, which made him overlook other Bifhops as below his Attention, and expect to be accofted by them with the meaneft Flattery. But his thus difregarding the Request and Intreaties of the Bifhop of *Cefarea*, was not owing to his Pride alone. He was fo little acquainted with the State of the Churches in the Eaft, and what paffed there, that he looked upon *Eusebius* Bifhop of *Samofata*, and *Meletius*, with whom *Bafil* lived in great Intimacy, as rank *Arians*, tho' they both lived at that very time in Exile, having been driven from their Sees by the *Arians*, on account of the Zeal, which they had, with an invincible Firmnefs, exerted in Defence of the Orthodox Faith ^s. The Bifhop of *Rome* might, with very little Trouble, have been better informed; but his Mind, it feems, was fo deeply engaged in worldly Affairs, and his Thoughts fo taken up with State, Pomp, and Grandeur, that he was never at Leifure to mind thofe Matters, which juftly claimed, and ought to have engroffed, his whole Attention. By him the Weftern Bifhops were led into the fame Miftake concerning *Eusebius* and *Meletius*; and hence the Backwardnefs they fhewed to correfpond with *Bafil*, as if he defigned to impofe upon them, or was himfelf impofed upon by others. Of this *Bafil* juftly complained in a Letter he writ to *Eusebius* of *Samofata*. If the Wrath of God, fays he, is in the End appeafed, if Mercy takes place, what other Help do we ftand in need of? But, if his Anger continues, what Relief will the Pride of the Weft afford us? They neither know the Truth, nor can they patiently bear it. They are ever preposfeffed with idle Jealoufies, ever fwayed by groundlefs Surmifes; and therefore act now the fame Part they lately acted in the Cafe of *Marcellinus*; that is, they quarrel with thofe, who inform them of the Truth, and, being left to themfelves, they introduce and eftablifh Herefies. As for my own Part, I had once fome Thoughts of writing a private Letter to their Chief (that is, to *Damafus*), and, waving all Mention of Church Affairs, only tell him, that they

The haughty
Conduct of
Damafus re-
fented by St.
Bafil.

St. Bafil
complains
of
Damafus,
and the
Weftern Bi-
fhops.

^q Id. ep. 273.

^r Id. ep. 250.

^s Id. ep. 321.

neither

neither know what passes here, nor take the right Method to be informed; and that they ought not to oppress those who are already humbled by Affliction, nor mistake Pride for Dignity, since that Sin alone is capable of setting a Man at Enmity with God^r. From these Words it is pretty plain, that the Notion of the Pope's Infallibility was not yet broached, or at least was not yet known to *Basil*. The Bishop of the Metropolis of the Empire was deservedly looked upon, in regard of the Dignity of his See, as the Chief and Head of all the Western Bishops; and to him as such, not as an infallible and unerring Judge, the Eastern Bishops frequently applied in the Disputes, that happened to rise among them; so that all we can infer from their applying to him is, that his Authority bore a great Sway; which was owing to the Pre-eminence of his See, and not to any Power or Prerogative peculiar to him, and superior to others.

It was long ere *Damascus* could be brought to give any Attention to the Affairs of the East; and when he did, it was only to add Fewel to the Fire, which had lately begun to rage with great Violence. For, looking upon the Office of a bare Mediator, which alone had been offered him, as no-ways suitable to his Dignity, he arrogantly assumed that of a Judge, and not only acknowledged *Paulinus* for lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, but, misled by false and groundless Reports, declared *Meletius* a Transgressor of the Canons, an Intruder, a Schismatic, and even an Heretic^s; that *Meletius*, who had suffered Exile, and innumerable Hardships, in Defence of the Orthodox Faith, who was then revered all over the East, as a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, and is now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint of the first Class. But his thus openly declaring in favour of *Paulinus*, his treating in such a base and unworthy manner one of the most eminent Prelates in the East, served only to engage the Followers of *Meletius* more warmly in his Cause; and the great *Basil*, among the rest, who could not help censuring the Conduct of *Damascus* as rash, partial, and injudicious: he even repented his having ever applied to him; for, in one of his Letters to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, he expresses himself thus: *The Saying of Diomedes occurs to my Mind; Intreaties are not to be used with Achilles, he is too haughty*^t; *and truly the more you flatter haughty and insolent Men, the more haughty and insolent they become*^u. As no Regard was had to the

Damascus takes on him the Office of Judge, being only chosen Mediator.

His Conduct condemned by St. Basil.

^r Id. ep. 8.

^s Id. ep. 10.

^t Hom. il. 9. ver. 694.

^u Basil. ep. 10.

Authority of *Damafus*, and the Western Bishops, who, following his Example, acknowledged *Paulinus*, and not *Meletius*, the Orthodox Bishops in the East not only continued divided among themselves, but a new Division arose between the Western Bishops, and those of the Party of *Meletius*, at the Head of which was *Basil* Bishop of *Casarea*. But, of these unhappy Divisions, so far as the Bishops of *Rome* were concerned in them, we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

New Disturbances raised in Rome, by the Partisans of Ursinus;

Damafus was far more successful in suppressing the Schism of *Ursinus*, which about this time was revived at *Rome*. The Emperor *Valentinian*, some time before, by a Rescript addressed to *Ampelius* Governor, and *Maximinus* Vicar of *Rome*, had allowed *Ursinus*, and the leading Men of his Party, who had been confined with him to *Gaul*, Liberty to live where they pleased, provided they kept out of *Rome*, and the Suburbicarian Provinces^w. This Indulgence shewn by the Emperor to *Ursinus*, encouraged his Followers in *Rome* to declare openly in his Favour, and even to assemble apart from those who communicated with *Damafus*. But, being therein opposed by the Party of *Damafus* with their usual Violence, new Disturbances arose, and the City was upon the point of becoming again the Scene of a Civil War. *Simplicius*, then Vicar of *Rome*, at the Request of *Damafus*, gave the Emperor immediate Notice of the approaching Danger; and the Emperor, in Answer to his Letter, sent him a Rescript, commanding *all those who, in Contempt of Religion, held or frequented unlawful Assemblies, to be banished an Hundred Miles from Rome, that their Obstinacy might hurt none but themselves*^x. Thus for the present a Stop was put to the Disorders that had begun to reign in the City.

who are banished.

The Luciferians persecuted by Damafus.

The two Presbyters *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* pretend, that this Law was levelled at the *Ursinians* alone, but was interpreted by *Damafus*, as comprehending the *Luciferians*, or the Followers of *Lucifer* Bishop of *Cagliari*, who, refusing to communicate with the Bishops who signed the Confession of *Rimini*, and with all who communicated with them, had separate Assemblies at *Rome*, and even a Bishop of their own, named *Aurelius*. But *Damafus*, say they, using them, in virtue of the above-mentioned Law, with no less Cruelty than he did the *Ursinians*, they thenceforth assembled only in the Night, under a Presbyter, named *Macarius*, of whose Sanctity and

^w Cod. Theod. 9. t. 29. l. 1. p. 221.

^x Cod. Theod. ap. p. 91.

Austerities they relate wonderful Things. But Night and Darkneſs could not proteſt them againſt the perſecuting Spirit of *Damaſus*, whoſe Clerks, breaking one Night in upon them, while they were performing Divine Service in a private Houſe, diſperſed the Congregation, ſeized *Macarius*, and dragging him along with them over the ſharp Flints, by which he was cruelly bruifed, and dangerously wounded in the Thigh, they kept him the remaining Part of the Night cloſely confined. Next Morning he was carried before the Judge, who, finding him inflexible in rejecting the Communion of *Damaſus*, condemned him to Exile; but the holy Presbyter, being arrived at *Oſtia*, died there of his Wounds *y*. The ſame Authors add, that *Damaſus* cauſed ſeveral Catholic Presbyters to be ſent into Exile, and ſome Laymen; but that *Aurelius*, the *Luciferian* Biſhop, in ſpite of all his Efforts, continued in *Rome* to the Hour of his Death *z*.

About this Time, that is, in the Year 377. a great Council was held at *Rome*, in which the famous *Apollinaris*, Biſhop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, was condemned and depoſed with his Two Diſciples *Vitalis* and *Timotheus*. *Apollinaris* was a Man of uncommon Parts, great Penetration, univerſal Knowledge, and had at firſt been ſo zealous a Defender of the Orthodox Faith, that he was looked upon by all, particularly by *Epiphanius* and *Athanaſius*, as one of the great Champions of that Cauſe *a*, and ranked by *Philoſtorgius* with *Baſil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen* *b*. He contracted a ſtrict Friendſhip with *Athanaſius*, when that Prelate paſſed through *Laodicea* in 349. on his Return to *Egypt*, and ever after maintained a cloſe Correſpondence with him, on which Account he was excommunicated by *Gregory* the *Arian* Biſhop of that City *c*. When the *Arians* began to prevail in the Eaſt, *Apollinaris* was cruelly perſecuted by the Men in Power of that Party, and at laſt driven into Exile *d*. *Baſil* writ ſeveral Letters to him, and in thoſe he writ to others, often mentions him as a Perſon for whom he had the greateſt Eſteem *e*. He is ſaid to have excelled in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, which he publicly interpreted at *Antioch*, where he had *Jerom* among the many Diſciples, who flocked from all Parts to hear him *f*. But he was equally verſed in human Learning, eſpecially in Poetry; and his Knowledge in that Branch of Literature proved very uſeful in the Time of the Emperor *Julian*. For that Prince having

y Marc. & Fauſt. p. 65—69.
Hier. vir. ill. c. 104.
ep. 257.

z Id. ib.

b Suidas, p. 373.

a Baſil. ep. 82.

c Hier. ep. 65.

e Baſil. ep. 293. Epiph. 77. c. 24.

d Soz. l. 6. c. 25.

f Nil. l. 1.

by a Law debarred the Christians from perusing or studying the Pagan Authors, *Apollinaris*, to supply the want of those Writers, composed several Pieces in Imitation of them, and, among the rest, a Poem comprising the History of the *Jews* to the Time of *Saul*, and divided into Twenty-four Books, which he distinguished by so many Letters of the Greek Alphabet, as *Homer* had done ^g. He likewise writ Comedies, Tragedies, Lyric Verses, &c. imitating *Pindar* in the latter, and *Menander* and *Euripides* in the Two former ^h. *Sozomen* thinks his Compositions fell in no respect short of the Works of the Antients; who, upon the Whole, says he, were far inferior to him, since they excelled, each in one Kind only, but he equally in all ⁱ. The Tragedy, intituled, *Christ suffering*, which is to be found among the Works of *Gregory Nazianzen*, is by some ascribed to *Apollinaris*; but that Piece does not at all answer the great Opinion *Sozomen* seems to have entertained of him. His Paraphrase in Hexameter Verse on the Psalms, the only intire Work of his that has reached our Times, is an elegant, exact, and sublime Translation of them, greatly commended and admired by the best Judges ^k. His Poetry proved very serviceable to him, when he began to broach his Heresy; for great Numbers of People, especially Women, embraced his Doctrine, being taken, and in a manner enchanted, with the Sweetness of his Verses; for he composed a great many Songs and Odes equally pious and elegant, adapted to all Occasions, and on all Occasions sung with suitable Airs by his Followers ^l. To these *Gregory Nazianzen* no doubt alludes, where he speaks of the Psalms of the *Apollinarists*, to which the Psalms of *David* had given place; of those sweet and so much admired Verses, which were looked upon by them as a Third Testament ^m. It was chiefly to oppose the Progress *Apollinaris* made, by the insinuating Means of his Poetry, that *Gregory Nazianzen* applied himself to the same Study. About the Year 362. *Apollinaris* was raised, in Consideration of his great Piety and Learning, to the See of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, in which City he was born, according to the most probable Opinion, and had spent the greater Part of his Life.

The Doctrine held by Apollinaris and his Disciples. As for the Doctrine held by *Apollinaris*, and his Followers, called from him *Apollinarists*; they maintained at first, that *Christ* had human Flesh, but not a human Soul, the Want of which was supplied,

^g Soz. l. 5. c. 18.
^p 76. Baillet. t. 6. p. 453. 455.

^h Id. ib.

ⁱ Id. ib.

^j Soz. l. 6. c. 25.

^k Voss. poet. Græc. c. 9.

^l Naz. or. 52. p. 745.

according

according to them, by the Divinity. But being afterwards convinced that fuch a Doctrine was repugnant to feveral plain and exprefs Paſſages of Scripture, they abandoned it in Part; and, diſtinguiſhing, with ſome Philoſophers, the Soul, by which we live, from the Intelligence, by which we reaſon, they allowed the former in our *Saviour*, but denied the latter; the Operations of which, ſaid they, were performed by the Divinity ⁿ. Thus they allowed him, ſays St. *Auſtin*, the Soul of a Beaſt, but denied him that of a Man ^o. By means of this Doctrine they avoided the Abſurdity with which they reproached the Catholics, admitting in Chriſt, as they falſly imagined, Two oppoſite and diſtinct Natures, without any Union or Subordination between them ^p. The Catholics indeed acknowledged Two diſtinct and complete Natures in Chriſt, but at the ſame time maintained an Union between them, ſuch an Union as was admitted by the *Apollinarifts* between the Fleſh and the Divinity. The latter upbraided the Catholics with adoring a Man, ſtyling them *Anthropolaters*, and the Catholics reproached in their Turn the *Apollinarifts* with adoring the Fleſh, calling them *Sarcolaters* ^q. The *Apollinarifts* diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the Catholics, by cauſing the following Words to be fixed on the Front of their Houſes; *We muſt not adore a Man that bears a God, but a God that bears Fleſh*. The Errors of the *Apollinarifts* were not only concerning the Soul, but likewise the Body of our Saviour; for they maintained, that his Body, like other Bodies only in Appearance, was coeval with the Divinity, and of the ſame Subſtance with the eternal Wiſdom ^r. Hence it followed, by a natural Conſequence, that the Body of our Saviour was impaſſible and immortal; that it was not taken of the Virgin *Mary*; that he was not born of her; that his Birth, Paſſion, Death, and Reſurrection, were mere Illuſions; or elſe, that the Divine Nature was paſſible: both which Abſurdities were admitted by ſome of the Sects into which the *Apollinarifts* were afterwards divided ^s.

This Doctrine was firſt heard of in 362. and condemned the ſame Year in the Council of *Alexandria*. In 373. it began to make a great Noiſe in the Church; but it was not known even then by whom it had been broached: for *Apollinaris* was ſo far from owning himſelf

Apollinaris
not known
nor ſuſpected
to be the Au-
thor of the
Hereſy be-
broached.

ⁿ Epiph. 77. c. 23. Theod. hæ. 4. c. 8. Ath. de incarn. p. 615. Nem. l. 1. p. 710.
Naz. orat. 46. p. 722. ^o Aug. in Jo. hom. 47. ^p Naz. or. 52. p. 749.
^q Nyſ. in Apol. l. 2. p. 47. Naz. car. 146. ^r Athan. ad Epiph. 582. Aug. perf.
c. 24. & hæ. 55. Theod. l. 5. c. 3. Naz. or. 51. ^s Ath. ib. p. 583. Naz. or. 46.
Nil. l. 1. ep. 257. Theod. l. 5. c. 3.

the Author of those Tenets, that, in one of his Letters to *Serapion* Bishop of *Thmuis* in *Egypt*, which is still extant ^t, he expreffes, in the ftrongest Terms, his Approbation of a Letter from *Athanasius* to *Epictetus* Bishop of *Corinth*, confuting the very Errors he held; and at the fame time condemns the Folly of thofe, who maintained the Flefh to be confubftantial to the Divine Nature. In another Letter to the fame *Serapion*, he owns the Body of our Saviour to have been taken of the Virgin *Mary*, to have been formed in her Womb, and his Flefh to have been of the fame Subftance with ours; adding, *And thefe are Truths not to be called in queftion* ^u. In a Third Letter he affures *Serapion*, that he has ever denied in his Writings the Flefh of our Saviour to have defcended from Heaven, or to be of the fame Subftance with the Divinity ^w. *Apollinaris*, by thus publicly declaring againft the Doctrines, which at the fame time he was privately propagating, eluded the Vigilance of *Athanasius* himfelf, who, in confuting his Errors, never mentions his Name, nor feems to have entertained the leaft Suspicion of him; nay, he recommended *Timotheus*, a favourite Difciple of his, to *Damafus*, as a Perfon whole Orthodoxy was not to be queftioned; and as fuch he was received, not only by the Bishop of *Rome*, but by all the Western Bifhops, of whom he obtained Letters, on his Return, directed to *Apollinaris*, as to a Bishop of the Catholic Communion ^x.

*His Errors
condemned in
a Council at
Rome.*

In the Year 374. or 375. *Damafus* convened a great Council at *Rome*, in which the Errors of *Apollinaris* were condemned; but neither was he nor any other named as the Broacher or Author of that Doctrines. The very Year that *Damafus* condemned the Doctrines of

*Damafus im-
posed upon by
by Vitalis
one of his
Disciples.*

Apollinaris, he was deceived and over-reached by one of the Difciples of that Herefiarch, named *Vitalis*. He was a Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, and of the Communion of *Meletius*, by whom he had been ordained; but afterwards, renouncing his Communion, he joined *Apollinaris*, and, being in high Esteem with the People, drew great Numbers over with him to that Side. Of thefe, called from him *Vitalians*, *Apollinaris* fome Years after appointed him Bishop, adding thereby a Fourth Party to the Three that already divided the Church of *Antioch*, viz. the *Arians*, *Paulinians*, and *Meletians* ^y. Before he threw off the Mask, and publicly maintained the Tenets of *Apollinaris*, he ftrove to be admitted with his Followers to the Com-

^t Leont. p. 1031.

^u Id. p. 1032.

^w Id. p. 1035.

^x Id. p. 1042.

^y Epi. 77. c. 20. Theod. l. 5. c. 4. Soz. l. 6. c. 25. Chron. Alex. p. 688.

munion of *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, and of *Damasus*; and with this View he undertook a Journey to *Rome* in the Year 375. As he had been suspected, and even accused, of holding the Doctrine of *Apollinaris*, *Damasus* required of him, before he admitted him to his Communion, a Confession of his Faith, which he gave under his Hand, but in such Terms as bore a double Meaning. *Damasus*, however, well satisfied with it, gave him a Letter for *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, and sent him back to be admitted by that Bishop to the Communion of the Church ^z. But *Damasus* soon after, either upon his own Reflection, or at the Suggestion of others, apprehending himself imposed upon, writ another Letter to *Paulinus*, by the Presbyter *Petronius*, and afterwards a Third, which *Holstenius* has inserted at Length in his *Roman Collection* ^a. Together with this Letter *Damasus* sent to *Paulinus* a Confession of Faith, drawn up by a Council summoned for that Purpose, desiring him to admit none to his Communion, but such as should sign that Confession, and the Confession of *Nice* ^b. To this Piece the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* no doubt allude, in commending *Damasus* for pointing out, in his Letters to *Paulinus*, the Rules all Catholics ought to be guided by in reasoning of the Mystery of the Incarnation ^c. What *Baronius* observes here is true, viz. that *Vitalis*, by the same ambiguous Confession of Faith, imposed upon *Gregory Nazianzen*, who received the *Apollinarists* as Brethren, and not as Enemies ^d. He adds, *And no Wonder that Vitalis imposed upon Damasus, since by the same Confession he imposed upon Gregorian Nazianzen*: he ought rather to have said, *No Wonder that he imposed upon Gregory, who did not pretend to Infallibility, since he imposed upon Damasus, who was infallible*. As *Vitalis* refused to sign the Confession sent by *Damasus*, *Paulinus* would not admit him to his Communion; upon which he pulled off the Mask, publicly renounced the Communion both of *Damasus* and *Paulinus*, and, bidding Defiance to the Canons, accepted the Title and Dignity of Bishop of *Antioch*, offered him by *Apollinaris*. At the same time that Heresiarch, finding he could conceal himself no longer, openly *Apollinaris* declared, that he would communicate with none who held, that our ^{openly de-} Saviour had taken a human Soul, and human Understanding: which ^{clares against} was separating himself from the Communion of the Catholic Church ^{the Church.} ^e.

^z Epiph. 77. c. 20. Theod. l. 5. c. 4. Naz. or. 52. collect. p. 181.

^b Ib. p. 180. & Theod. l. 5. c. 10.

^a Vet. Rom. ecclef. mon.

^c Conc. t. 4. p. 826.

^d Naz. or. 51.

^e Theod. l. 5. c. 4. Facund. l. 4. c. 2.

It was long before it was believed in the Church that those Tenets had been broached, or were held, by *Apollinaris*: no Credit was given, at first, even to his Disciples, most People being inclined to think, that they were mistaken, and did not comprehend the sublime Thoughts of that great Man^f. But when no room was left for any further Doubt, the Surprize and Concern of the whole Catholic Party were equal to the high Opinion they had entertained of him till that Time g. When *Epiphanius* writ against the *Apollinarists*, he well knew *Apollinaris* to be the Author of that Sect; for he reproaches him with this unwarrantable Separation from the Church; and yet he speaks of him with the greatest Respect; seems to think, that many Things had been unjustly fathered upon him; and takes a great deal of Pains to assure his Reader, that what he writes is Truth, and not Calumny proceeding from any private Pique, Malice, or Grudge^h.

A great
Schism in
the Church.

The Schism, which the establishing of a new Bishop occasioned in the Church of *Antioch*, was not confined to that alone, but extended to most other Churches, over which *Apollinaris* appointed Bishops of his own Sect, who held separate Assemblies, practised different Rites, and, instead of the sacred Hymns commonly sung at Divine Service by the rest of the Church, introduced Canticles composed by their Leader, and containing the Substance of his Doctrineⁱ. The many perplexed Questions and Difficulties, which he and his Emissaries were daily starting about the Incarnation, bred such Confusion in the Minds of Men, that many began to question the Truth of that Mystery^k. The Objections they moved against our Saviour's taking Flesh, and being born of the Virgin *Mary*, seemed calculated merely to raise improper Ideas, and sully the Thoughts of chaste Minds; for they themselves held his Body to be coeval with the Divinity, and to have only been conveyed into the World by means of the Virgin *Mary*^l. Their Doctrine was applauded and received by many, and few who read their Books were content with, or kept to the plain and antient Doctrine of the Church^m. *Basil* therefore, and the other orthodox Bishops in the East, to put a Stop the more effectually to the growing Evil, not only declaimed against it in all their Writings, but dispatched the Two Presbyters *Dorotheus* and *Sanctissimus* with Letters to *Damafus* and the other Western Bishops, intreating them to condemn

*Basil recurs
to the Western
Bishops;*

^f Nil. ep. 257.

77. c. 2.

5. Nil. l. 1. ep. 257.

^g Basil. ep. 293. Epiph. 77. c. 34.

ⁱ Basil. ep. 293. Soz. l. 6. c. 25.

^m Basil. ep. 74.

^h Epiph. 66. c. 20.

^k Basil. ib.

^l Naz. or. 46, &c.

with

without Delay the Doctrine of *Apollinaris*, and *Apollinaris* himself, since he had at last openly declared against the Church, and owned himself the Author of the new Sectⁿ. In Compliance with this Request, a great Council was convened at *Rome* the following Year, 378. in which *Apollinaris* was not only condemned with great Solemnity, but deposed, with his Two favourite Disciples, *Vitalis* and *Timotheus*; the former Bishop of the *Apollinarists* at *Antioch*, and the latter at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*^o. By the same Council it was defined, that *Jesus* was true Man, and true God; and whoever maintained or asserted any thing to be wanting either to his Humanity or Divinity, was declared an Enemy to the Church^p. *Vitalis* had deceived *Damafus*, as I have observed above, by a Confession of Faith, in which, under equivocal Terms, he had artfully concealed his Heresy. The Bishop of *Rome* therefore, now undeceived, caused the Confession he had formerly approved of to be anathematized by the Council, together with its Author, exerting himself, says *Gregory Nazianzen*, with so much the more Vigour against them, as they had formerly taken Advantage of his Candour and Sincerity to impose upon him^q. *Gregory Nazianzen* therefore supposes, that the Pope could be imposed upon in a Matter concerning the Faith. Indeed the Sticklers for Infallibility must either give up that Prerogative, or allow all the Fathers to have talked Nonsense.

Baronius is certainly mistaken, and so was *Ruffinus*^r, whom he follows, in asserting the Heresy of *Apollinaris* to have been first condemned by the Council of *Rome*, since it is manifest, that the Doctrine of that Heresiarch had been condemned long before by *Athanasius*, *Basil*, and *Epiphanius*; in their Writings, and by the Council held at *Alexandria* in 362. But *Ruffinus* probably meant no more, than that those Errors were first condemned by the Council of *Rome*, under the Name, and together with the Person, of *Apollinaris*; which is undeniable. I cannot help observing here another Mistake of *Baronius*, pretending that *Damafus* (for whatever was done by the Council is by him ascribed to *Damafus* alone) in condemning *Apollinaris* condemned all the Errors he held; and consequently the Opinion of the *Millenarians*, holding that *Christ* was to return upon the Earth, and reign over the Faithful a Thousand Years before the End of the World.

ⁿ Id. ep. 74. ^o Ruff. l. 2. c. 20. Soz. l. 6. c. 25.
p. 719. Concil. t. 5. p. 741. Leon. Sulp. p. 1042. Phot. p. 231.
or. 52. ^r Ruff. ib.

^p Ruff. ib. Theod.
^q Greg. Naz.

The Doctrine of the Millenarians held by the greatest Men in the Church.

This Opinion was first broached about the Year 118. by *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, a Man of great Piety, and honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint^s. He declares, in the few Fragments of his Works, which have been conveyed to us by *Eusebius*^t, that, as he lived near the Times of the Apostles, he made it his chief Business to learn of their Disciples whatever they could recollect to have been done or said by them, on different Occasions, that was not recorded in Holy Writ. Thus he learned the above-mentioned Doctrine^u, which, upon the Authority of such a Tradition, countenanced by some Passages in the *Revelations*^w, and one Text in St. *Paul*, was embraced and held by the most eminent Men for Piety and Learning, at that time, in the Church; and, among the rest, by *Irenæus*, and *Justin* the Martyr. And yet such a Doctrine is now rank Heresy in the Church of *Rome*. But, by declaring it such, have they not overfet their own System, which places Tradition upon a Level with the Canonical Books of the Scripture? Can they allege a more ancient Tradition, one more universally received, or equally countenanced by Scripture, in favour of the many traditional Articles of Faith, which they have obtruded upon the World? *Papias* declares, he received the above-mentioned Doctrine of those who had learned it immediately of the Apostles. If such a Tradition be rejected as false, what other has a Right to be admitted as true? If we deny or question St. *Peter's* having been at *Rome*, Tradition, and the Authority of *Irenæus* (for all the others have copied from him), are immediately produced against us. But what Weight either ought to bear, the Case before us sufficiently demonstrates.

How little Tradition to be depended upon.

The Apollinarists condemned by several Councils.

To return to *Apollinaris*: It is very certain, that he held and taught the Doctrine of the *Millenarians*; but it is no less certain, that such a Doctrine was not condemned, as *Baronius* pretends^x, by the Council of *Rome* in 378. since many eminent Men in the Church held it, and *Sulpitius Severus* among the rest, after that Council, without being deemed Heretics on that score. The Sentence, pronounced against *Apollinaris*, and his Disciples, by the Council of *Rome*, was confirmed by a Council held the same Year at *Alexandria*^y, by an Oecumenical Council assembled at *Constantinople* in 381. and by the Council of *Antioch* in 379^z. However, the *Apollinarists*, though

^s Martyrol. Rom. 22 Febr. ^t Euseb. l. 3. c. 33. ^u Id. ib. ^w Revel. c. xx.
^x Bar. ad ann. 118. n. 2. & 373. n. 14. ^y Ruf. l. 2. c. 20. ^z Cod. Theod. ap. p. 99. Prædestinat. de hæres. c. 55.

thus condemned and depofed by all the Councils of the Eaſt and Weſt, as we read in *Gregory Nazianzen*^a, ſtill kept their Ground, till Recourſe was had to the Secular Power. For the Emperor *Theodofius*, at the Requeſt of *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, enacted a Law, dated the Tenth of *March* 388. forbidding the *Apollinarifts* to hold Aſſemblies, to have any Eccleſiaſtics or Biſhops, or to dwell in the Cities^b. As this Law was executed with the utmoſt Rigour, at leaſt againſt the leading Men of the Party, who were baniſhed the Cities, and confined to the Deſerts^c, the *Apollinarifts* were in a few Years reduced to a very ſmall Number, when they begged to be admitted to the Communion of the Catholic Church, which was in the End granted them by *Theodotus*^d, who governed the Church of *Antioch*, from the Year 416. to 428. But as their Converſion was owing not to Conviction, but Perſecution, they ſtill held in their Hearts the ſame Sentiments, which ever muſt happen in the like Caſe; nay, and privately inſtilled their Errors into the Minds of many, whoſe Faith had been, till that time, untainted^e. It was to theſe pretended Catholics, or diſguiſed *Apollinarifts*, that the *Eutychian* Heresy, and that of the *Monothelites*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, owed their Birth^f. Hence the Emperor *Marcian*, by an Ediſt in 455. declared the *Eutychians* to be *Apollinarifts*, and conſequently liable to the ſame Penalties^g. As for *Apollinaris* himſelf, he died about the Year 392. having maintained, to the Hour of his Death, the ſame Sentiments, in which he had lived; and, with them, the ſame outward Appearance, at leaſt, of a moſt holy and exemplary Life^h; which is all the Authors of thoſe Times will allow him.

While *Damaſus*, and the other Weſtern Biſhops, were wholly intent upon ſuppreſſing the Heresy of *Apollinaris*, and reſtoring the Eaſtern Churches to their former Tranquillity, the Antipope *Urfinus*, <sup>New Diſ-
turbances
raiſed by Ur-
ſinus.</sup> laying hold of that Opportunity, arrived privately at *Milan*, and there joined the *Arians*, upon their promiſing to ſupport him with the whole Power of their Partyⁱ. But *Ambroſe*, who then governed that Church, and kept a watchful Eye over the Flock committed to his Care, gave immediate Notice of their clandestine Meetings, and perſidious Deſigns, to the Emperor *Gratian*, who ſoon after ordered *Ur-*

^a Naz. ep. 77. ^b Cod. Theod. 16. t. 5. l. 14. p. 130. ^c Soz. l. 6. c. 26.
^d Theod. l. 5. c. 3. ^e Id. ib. ^f Leo, ep. 134. c. 2. Pet. dog. t. 4. p. 24. ^g Conc.
t. 4. p. 886, 887. ^h Hier. vii. ill. c. 104. Nil. l. 1. ep. 257. Greg. Nyſſ. in Ephr.
t. 3. p. 609. ⁱ Amb. ep. 4.

Damascus
falsely ac-
cused, but
cleared by the
Emperor.

sinus to quit *Italy*, and confined him to *Cologne*^k. During his Exile his Partisans were not idle; they found the Emperor *Gratian*, who in 375. had succeeded his Father *Valentinian* I. warmly engaged in favour of *Damascus*: they well knew, that so long as he continued in that Disposition, it would be in vain to solicit the Return of *Ursinus*, or to put up any Petition in his Behalf. In order therefore to estrange the Mind of the Emperor from *Damascus*, they suborned a Jew, named *Isaac*, who had embraced the Christian Religion, but was then returned to Judaism, to accuse him before the Civil Magistrate of an heinous Crime, which I find not specified by any of the Antients. But the Emperor, taking upon himself the judging of that Cause, soon discovered the Innocence of the Accused, and the Malice of the Accuser; and therefore, honourably acquitting the former, and punishing the latter according to his Deserts, confined him to a Corner of *Spain*^l.

Some Bishops,
deposed by
Damascus,
keep their
Seats.

This Attempt on the Reputation of *Damascus* was not the only thing that gave him great Uneasiness at this time. The Emperor *Valentinian* had transferred, as I have related above, the Power of judging Bishops, such at least as were concerned in the Schism of *Ursinus*, from the Civil Magistrate to the Bishop of *Rome*. But several Bishops, though deposed by him, still maintained themselves in their Seats, with open Force, in Defiance of his Sentence, and the Imperial Law. Among these were the Bishop of *Parma*, and *Florentius* Bishop of *Puzzuolo*, who, for their Attachment to *Ursinus*, had been both deposed by *Damascus*, and other Bishops assembled at *Rome*^m. The *Donatists* too, notwithstanding the severe Laws enacted against them by several Emperors, had got footing in *Italy*, and in *Rome* itself, where they were known by the Names of *Montenenses*, and *Rupenses*, on account of their assembling in a Church or Oratory, which they had among the neighbouring Rocks and Mountainsⁿ. They had a Bishop of their own, either sent from *Africa*, or ordained by Bishops sent from thence for that Purpose. *Claudian*, who governed them at this time, was their Fifth Bishop of *Rome*^o. The Emperor ordered him to be sent back to *Africa*, whence he came. But though he had been several times imprisoned, in order to oblige him by that means to return, he could not even

^k Cod. Theod. ap. 82. 92. ^l Cod. Theod. ap. p. 84—92. ^m Ib. p. 82—93. ⁿ Opt. l. 2. p. 49. Aug. de Unit. c. 3. t. 7. & ep. Hier. 165. chron. ^o Opt. l. 2. p. 49.

fo be prevailed upon to abandon his Flock; but continued at *Rome*, perverting many there, and rebaptizing all he could pervert p. To put a Stop to thefe Evils, the Bifhops of *Italy*, afsembling at *Rome*, The Italian Bifhops rector to the Emperor. had recourse to the Emperor *Gratian*, acquainting him with the Conduct of the contumacious Bifhops, and earneftly intreating him to caufe the Law, commanding the Bifhops to be judged by the Bifhop of *Rome*, and not by the Civil Magiftrate, which he himfelf had enacted with his Father, to be put in Execution. By that Law, the Emperor, in all Likelihood, only intended to confirm, with refpect to the Bifhop of *Rome*, the Canons of the Church, appointing the Metropolitan, with his Council, Judge of the Bifhops of his Province in Ecclefiastical Caufes. But the Bifhops, afsembled on this Occafion at *Rome*, attempted to extend the Authority of the Bifhop of *Rome*, far beyond the Bounds to which the Emperors and Canons had confined it. For, in their Letter to *Gratian*, they fuggested the following Regulations as neceffary for the Tranquillity of the Church, and Their Letter to him. intreated him to eftablifh them by Law: 1. That if any, who had been condemned by the Bifhop of *Rome*, or other Catholic Bifhops, fhould, after fuch Condemnation, prefume to keep their Churches, they fhould be banifhed from the Territories of the Cities, where they had been Bifhops. 2. That fuch as fhould refuse, when lawfully fummoned, to appear before the Bifhops, fhould be obliged, by the Prefect of *Italy*, or his Vicar, to repair to *Rome*, to be judged there. 3. That, if the accused Bifhop refided in a diftant Province, he fhould be obliged, by the Judges of the Place, to appear before his Metropolitan; and, if his Metropolitan was fufpected as partial, or prejudiced againft him, he might be allowed to appeal to the Bifhop of *Rome*, or to a Council of Fifteen neighbouring Bifhops; but, if the Accused was himfelf a Metropolitan, he fhould either repair to *Rome*, or appear before fuch Judges as the Bifhop of *Rome* fhould appoint; and, when thus condemned, fubmit to the Sentence. In Behalf of the Bifhop of *Rome* in particular they begged, in the fame Letter, What they demand in particular for the Bifhop of Rome. that, as he was above other Bifhops by the Prerogative of the Apoftolic See, though upon a Level with them as to the Miniftry, he might not be obliged to appear before the Civil Magiftrate, fince other Bifhops had been exempted from their Jurifdiction, but before a Council; or that the Emperor would referve to himfelf the Cognifance of what concerned him, leaving to the ordinary Judges the

p Cod. Theod. ap. p. 83, 84.

1 Ibid. p. 85—87.

*The Empe-
ror's Answer.*

Power of examining Facts and Witnesses, but not the Authority of pronouncing Sentence ^r. What Answer the Emperor returned to the Council, we know not; but, in a Rescript, address'd to the Vicar *Aquilinus*, after summing up the Heads of the Letter from the Council, and severely reprimanding his Officers for their Neglect, in not causing the Imperial Law to be put in Execution, he confirms the Rescript address'd to *Simplicius*, which I have mentioned above; commands the Bishop of *Parma*, *Florentius* of *Puzzuolo*, and *Claudian* the *Donatist*, with all those who shall be condemned by the Councils, as Disturbers of the Quiet of the Church, to be driven from their Dioceses, and banished an Hundred Miles from *Rome*: he grants all the Council had desired, with respect to the judging of Bishops; but requires the Bishop of *Rome* to act with the Advice of Five or Seven other Bishops; and, lastly, he forbids Persons of infamous Characters, or known Slanderers, to be admitted as Informers or Witnesses against Bishops ^s. In this Rescript he takes no notice of what the Council had asked for the Bishop of *Rome* in particular.

*In what
Sense the
Pope above
other Bishops.*

From these Pieces, which are still extant, it is manifest beyond all Dispute, as the Reader must have observed, that, in the Year 378. when this Council was held, no Prerogative was yet discovered in the Pope, peculiar to him, and not common to all Bishops, besides that of Rank, which arose from the Dignity of his See, that is, from his being Bishop of the Metropolis of the Empire; for, in that respect alone, the Bishops, who composed the Council, acknowledged him *to be above them*; nay, by declaring themselves, in express Terms, *equal to him as to the Ministry*, they seem to have taken particular Care, that no Room or Pretence should be left for his claiming a Superiority in any other respect. And how great would their Surprise have been, had *Damafus*, in hearing that Part of their Address to the Emperor, started up, and, protesting against it, as derogatory to his Prerogative, declared, that, *to him all Power was given in Heaven and on Earth*; that, *so far from being equal to him, they, and all other Bishops, were but his Deputies and Delegates*; that *the Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction, which they enjoyed, were derived to them from the Plenitude of his!* Had he talked in this Strain, the whole Council would have concluded him delirious. And yet these are the Sentiments of his Successors; these the very Words, with

^r Ibid. p. 87—89.

^s Ibid. p. 90, 91.

which

which they and their Divines have expressed them^t; so that it is now reckoned Heresy not to believe what in the Fourth Century it had been deemed Madness to have gravely uttered. It would perhaps have seemed still more strange and surprising to the Fathers of the Council, however prejudiced in his Favour, if *Damasus*, instead of gratefully acknowledging their Regard for him in petitioning the Emperor, that he might not be judged by the Civil Magistrate, but either by a Council, or the Emperor himself, had severely rebuked them as Strangers to, or Betrayers of, his inherent Right, acquainting them, that, in virtue thereof, *all Men were to be judged by him, but him-^{The Power}self by no Man^u*; that *the greatest Monarchs were his Slaves and^{he now claims}Vassals, and he King of Kings, Monarch of the World, sole Lord^{unknown in}and Governor both in Spirituals and Temporals^{the Time of}^w*; that *he was ap-^{Damasus.}pointed Prince over all Nations and Kingdoms^x*; that *his Power excelled all Powers^y*; that *it was necessary to Salvation for every human Creature to be subject to him^z*. And yet these are the Notions, that have been uttered by his Successors, and the very Terms in which they were uttered. In the Age I am now writing of, they had been looked upon no otherwise than the Ravings of a distempered Brain; but they are now held by the Church of *Rome*, and her Divines, as Oracles, and inserted as such into her Canons. *Bellarmino* owns, that, in the Fourth Century, the Pope was still subject to the Emperors, nay, and to the Civil Magistrate, without the least Distinction between him and other Vassals. *But this Subjection*, says he, in his Apology against King *James*^a, *the Emperors exacted by Force, because the Power of the Pope was not known to them*. Nor to any body else, he might have added, since the Writers of those Times seem to have been no better acquainted with the Power of the Pope than the Emperors; at least, they take no Notice of it, even in describing, as some of them have done, the State of the Church at the time they writ, and relating the Customs, Laws, and Practices, that then obtained. Besides, how could the Power of the Pope be unknown to the Christian Emperors, if it was one of the chief Tenets of the Christian Doctrine? Neither *Damasus*, nor any of his Predecessors, can be justly charged with Bashfulness, in acquainting the

^t Bellar. de summ. Pont. l. 4. c. 24. Aug. Triumph. de potest. Eccles. in præf. ad Joh. XXII. Concil. Later. sub Lec. X. ^u Grat. dist. 40. c. 6. ^w Bonif. VIII. in ap. ad Mart. Polon. & Conc. Vienn. p. 909. ^x Pius V. in Bull. apud Cam. ad ann. 1570. ^y Sext. V. in Bull. contr. Hen. Navar. ^z Bonif. VIII. extrav. com. l. 1. tit. 8. c. 1. ^a Bellar. ap. p. 202.

World with the Power they had or claimed. We may further observe here, that the Emperor requires the Bishop of *Rome*, in judging according to the Power granted him, to act with the Advice of Five or Seven other Bishops : a plain Proof, that he was as little acquainted with the Pope's Infallibility, as with his Power.

A new Accusation brought against Damafus.

The Council of the *Italian* Bishops, assembled at *Rome*, no sooner broke up, than the Emissaries and Partisans of *Ursinus* began to raise new Disturbances in that City, by stirring up the Pagans against *Damafus*, and, at the same time, charging him *with things*, to use the Expression of the Council of *Aquileia*, *not fit to be uttered by a Bishop, nor heard by such an Emperor as Gratian*^b. *Anastasius* writes, that he was accused of Adultery by the Two Deacons *Concordus* and *Callistus*^c. And truly, that some Crime of that Nature was laid to his Charge, is pretty plain, from the Terms in which it was expressed by the Council. *Valerian*, then Governor of *Rome*, immediately acquainted the Emperor with the Accusation^d; but what Part *Gratian* acted on this Occasion, we are not told by any antient Writer. We read in the Pontificals, and most of the modern Writers, that the Cause was referred by the Emperor to the Council then sitting at *Aquileia*; and that *Damafus* was declared innocent by all the Bishops who composed it. But, as neither is related by any credible Author, I am inclined to believe, that *Gratian* took no Notice of the Charge, in Compliance with the Request of the Bishops assembled at *Aquileia*; for, by a Letter, they earnestly intreated him not to hearken to *Ursinus*, because his giving ear to him would occasion endless Disturbances in *Rome*; and, besides, they could by no means communicate with a Man who thus wickedly aspired to a Dignity, to which he had no Claim or Title; who, by his scandalous Behaviour, had incurred the Hatred of all good Christians; who had impiously joined the *Arians*, and, together with them, attempted to disturb the Quiet of the Catholic Church of *Milan*^e.

The Council of Aquileia writes to the Emperor in his Behalf.

A great Council assembled at Constantinople, by the Emperor Theodosius.

Towards the Latter-end of the Pontificate of *Damafus*, Two great Councils were held, the one at *Constantinople* in 381. and the other at *Rome* in 382. The former was assembled by the Emperor *Theodosius*, who, after having put the Orthodox in Possession of the Churches, which till his Time had been held by the *Arians* in the East, where he reigned, summoned all the Bishops within his Domi-

^b Amb. ep. 4.

^c Anast. c. 38.

^d Cod. Theod. ch. p. 104.

^e Amb. ib.

nions to meet at *Constantinople*, in order to deliberate about the most proper Means of restoring an intire Tranquillity to the Church, rent and disturbed not only by several Sects of Heretics, but by the Divisions that reigned among the Orthodox themselves, by that especially of *Antioch*, the most antient of all, which, from that Church, had spread all over the Empire, and occasioned rather an intire Separation, than a Misunderstanding between the East and the West, the former communicating with *Meletius*, and the latter with *Paulinus*, as I have related above. In this Council many weighty Matters were transacted, and several Canons established, some of which, namely, the Second and Third, deserve to be taken Notice of here. For, by the Second, *the Council renewed and confirmed the antient Law of the Church, authorized by the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Canons of the Council of Nice*, commanding the Bishops of each Province to be ordained by those of the same Province, and such of the neighbouring Provinces, as they should think fit to call in; directing all Ecclesiastical Matters to be settled, all Disputes to be finally decided by a Council composed of the Bishops of the Province, or at least of the Dioceſe, that is, of all the Provinces under the same Vicar; and strictly forbidding the Bishops of one Dioceſe to concern themselves, under any Colour or Pretence whatsoever, with what happens in another ^f. By this Canon the Privilege, formerly granted to the See of *Rome* by the Council of *Sardica*, was revoked, and all Appeals from the Council of the Dioceſe forbidden. By the Third Canon the See of *Constantinople* is declared first in Rank and Dignity after that of *Rome* ^g. Some Greek Writers have pretended, that, by this Canon, the Two Sees were declared in every respect equal; but that *Zonaras* himself owns to be false and groundless ^h. It is to be observed, that the Council of *Constantinople* gave Rank and Honour to that See, but no Jurisdiction. It was to the Council of *Chalcedon* that the Bishops of *Constantinople* owed their Authority and Jurisdiction; for by that Council they were impowered to ordain the Metropolitans of the Dioceſes of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace* ⁱ. The Reasons alleged by *Baronius* to prove the Third Canon of the Council of *Constantinople* supposititious ^k, are quite frivolous; and it is certain beyond all Dispute, that the Bishops of that City maintained ever after the Rank,

^f Theod. l. 5. c. 9. Soer. l. 5. c. 8. Soz. l. 7. c. 9. Concil. t. 2. p. 947.
^g Concil. t. 4. p. 795—798.
^h Zon. in can. p. 70. 72.
ⁱ Concil. t. 4. p. 795—798.
^k Bar. ad ann. 381. n. 37, 38.

which the above-mentioned Canon had given them. In a short time the Bishop of *Constantinople*, taking Advantage of that Canon, and of the Deference that is naturally paid to the Bishop of the Imperial City, extended his Jurisdiction over all the neighbouring Provinces, nay, and over the whole Eastern Empire, as we shall observe in the Sequel of this History.

The Council writes to the Western Bishops.

The Canons of this Council were, without all doubt, sent, according to Custom, to the Western Bishops for their Approbation, probably with the Letter which the Council writ to them concerning the Heresy of *Apollinaris*¹. And yet Pope *Leo* the Great writes that the Third Canon was never notified to the Church of *Rome*^m; and *Gregory* the Great, that the Canon condemning the *Eudoxians*, which was the first, had never been received at *Rome*ⁿ: but *Gregory* perhaps meant nothing else, than that the Canon he mentions was of no Authority at *Rome*. As for *Leo*, it is hard to conceive what he meant by saying, that the Third Canon was not known to the Church of *Rome*; for he could not but know, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* held the Second Rank in the Church, and the First in the East, since his own Legates, whose Conduct he intirely approved of, owned him to have an indisputable Right to that Rank; nay, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaum* in *Phrygia* maintained, that it was with the Consent and Approbation of *Leo* himself that the See of *Constantinople* enjoyed that Honour.

The Authority of this Council among the Greeks,

and the Latins.

The Authority of this Council has ever been great among the *Greeks*, who style it an Oecumenical Council, and had often recourse to it as such in the Council of *Chalcedon*^o. The Bishops of the *Hellepont* speak of it with the greatest Respect and Reverence, in a Letter they writ to the Emperor *Leo* p. As for the *Latins*, I find a great Disagreement among the Popes themselves concerning the Authority of this Council; nay, the greatest of them all disagrees even with himself about it. The Legates of Pope *Leo* rejected its Canons, alleging that they had never been inserted in the Book of the Canons^q. In like manner the Popes *Simplicius* and *Felix* II. speaking of the Councils which they received, name those only of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*^r. *Gregory* the Great writes, that the Church of *Rome* had neither the Acts nor the Canons of the Council of *Constantinople*;

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 826. ^m Leo, ep. 53. c. 5. ⁿ Greg. 5. ep. 31. ^o Theo¹. l. 5. c. 9. ^p Conc. t. 4. p. 945. ^q Conc. t. 4. p. 8c9. Marca de concord. sacerd. & imp. l. 3. c. 3. ^r Lup. ep. 53. c. 5.

that

that the Condemnation of the *Macedonians* was the only thing done by that Council which they admitted; and that as to other Heresies condemned there, they rejected them, as having been condemned before by other Councils^s. But he declares elsewhere, and often repeats it, that he received the Four Oecumenical Councils, as he did the Four Gospels^t, naming the Council of *Constantinople* in the Second Place. In the same Manner, and with the same Words, were the Four Oecumenical Councils received by *Gelasius*, and several Popes before him, as well as by *Martin I.* and several others after him: *The Popes at Variance among and with themselves about it.* so that the Council of *Constantinople* is, according to some Popes, of equal Authority with the Gospel; according to others, of no Authority at all: nay, it is thus by the same Pope at one time extolled, at another undervalued. Let *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* reconcile these Contradictions, if they can.

That this Council was assembled by the Emperor *Theodosius*, is affirmed by all the Writers who speak of it^u, nay, and by the Bishops who composed it^w. And yet *Baronius* has the Assurance to assert, *as a Thing not to be questioned*, that it was convened by *Damafus*^x, *This Council was assembled by the Emperor, and not by Damafus.* whom none of the Antients have so much as once named: and this Assertion he founds upon the Authority of the universally exploded Acts of *Damafus*; of certain Manuscripts, which he knows very little of, and nobody else any thing; and of a Passage in the Acts of the Sixth Oecumenical Council, where it is said, that *Theodosius* and *Damafus* opposed with great Firmness the *Macedonian* Heresy; whence the Annalist concludes, by what Rules of Logic I leave the Reader to find out, that the Council, which condemned the Heresy of *Macedonius*, was convened by the Authority of *Damafus*, backed by that of the Emperor^y. *Christianus Lupus*, more honest than *Baronius*, tho' no less attached to the See of *Rome*, ingenuously owns, that the Council was assembled by the Emperor alone; but adds, that *Damafus* confirmed it^z; which is true, if he means no more than that *Damafus* accepted the Decrees made by the Council; for it was not his, but the Emperor's Approbation, that gave them a Sanction; and accordingly they writ, not to him, but to the Emperor, acquainting him, *by whose Command they had been called together*, with the Decrees they had made, and requesting him to confirm them *with his Seal*

^s Greg. l. 6. ep. 31.

^t Id. l. 1. ep. 24.

^u Theod. l. 5. c. 6. Naz. or. 14.

Soz. l. 5. c. 8. Soz. l. 7. c. 7.

^w Ep. syn. conc. t. 1. p. 872.

^x Bar. ad ann.

381. n. 20.

^y Id. ib. n. 19.

^z Lup. notæ in can. 1, 2. p. 74.

and Sentence^a. This Council consisted of an Hundred and Fifty Bishops, among whom were Thirty-six *Macedonians*, whom *Theodosius* had particularly summoned, hoping to reunite them with the Catholics^b. No Mention is made of Letters or Deputies sent either by *Damascus*, or by any of the Western Bishops; and *Theodore* assures us in Two different Places^c, that *Theodosius* only assembled the Eastern Bishops. *Meletius* of *Antioch* presided; for *Gregory* of *Nyssa* styled him in full Council, *our Father and Head*^d. Upon his Death (for he died while the Council was sitting) that Honour was conferred on *Gregory Nazianzen*, appointed by the Emperor and the Council Bishop of *Constantinople*^e; but he resigning, soon after, his new Dignity, his Successor *Nectarius* was named to preside in his room^f.

The Disturbances in the Church of Antioch increased.

One of the chief Motives that induced *Theodosius* to assemble so numerous a Council at *Constantinople*, was, to hear what Remedy they could suggest against the Schism of the Church of *Antioch*, which caused such Jealousies between the East and the West as seemed to forebode an imminent Rupture^g. But before the Fathers of the Council entered upon that important Subject, *Meletius* died; and his Death, which ought to have put an End to the present Disturbances, served only to increase them, and engage the contending Parties more warmly in the Dispute. It had been agreed by *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, that the Survivor should be sole Bishop of all the Orthodox at *Antioch*^h. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* addⁱ, that Six Presbyters, who it was most likely might be one Day raised to that See, bound themselves by a solemn Oath not to vote for any other, nor to accept themselves the Episcopal Dignity, so long as either of the Two lived. However, *Meletius* was no sooner dead, than some of the Prelates present at the Council moved for chusing him a Successor, which occasioned many long and warm Debates. *Gregory Nazianzen*, elected Bishop of *Constantinople* a few Days before, exerted all his Eloquence to divert the Council from a Resolution, which, he said, would prove fatal to the Church, and kindle a Flame, which perhaps it might never be in their Power to extinguish^k. Several other Prelates, Enemies to Strife and Contention, falling in with *Gregory*, spoke to the same Purpose, exhorting their Collegues, with great Zeal and Eloquence, to put an

^a Vide Bar. ad ann. 281. n. 37. ^b Socr. l. 5. c. 8. Soz. l. 7. c. 7. ^c Theod. l. 5. c. 2. 6. & 7. ^d Nyss. de Mel. p. 587. ^e I. l. ib. p. 589. & Naz. car. 1. p. 27. ^f Vide Lup. t. 1. p. 275. ^g Theod. l. 5. c. 6. ^h Cod. Theod. ap. p. 76, 77. ⁱ Socr. l. 5. c. 5. Soz. l. 7. c. 3. ^k Naz. car. 1. p. 24—26.

End at laſt to the unhappy Diviſions that had ſo long rent the Church, by allowing *Paulinus*, already ſtricken in Years, to govern peaceably the remaining Part of his Life ^l. But the far greater Part were for a new Election, offering no other Reason to recommend ſuch a Step, but that the Eaſt, where our Saviour had appeared, ought not to yield to the Weſt ^m. So that the Reſolution of giving a Succeſſor to *Meletius* was taken merely out of Pique to the Weſtern Biſhops, who, having the Biſhop of *Rome* at their Head, had begun to treat their Brethren in the Eaſt with great Haughtineſs, and aſſume an Air of Authority that did not become them; but that had been better reſented on any other Occaſion than on this.

The Reſolution being taken, *Flavianus*, a Preſbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, was named by the Council, and, with the Approbation of the Emperor, and of all the *Meletians* at *Antioch*, ordained in that City. He is commended by the Writers who lived in or near thoſe Times, as a Man of an exemplary Life, and extraordinary Piety, as a zealous Defender of the Orthodox Faith, and Oppoſer of the *Arian* Hereſy, as a Mirror of every Sacerdotal Virtue; and, barring the Right of *Paulinus*, the moſt worthy and deſerving Perſon the Council could name to ſucceed the great *Meletius* ⁿ. Theſe, and other like Encomiums, beſtowed upon *Flavianus* by the Writers of thoſe Times, leave no room to doubt but *Socrates* and *Sozomen* were miſinformed in naming him among the Six Preſbyters who took the Oath I have mentioned above; the rather as no notice is taken of ſuch an Oath by his moſt inveterate Enemies, in the many Diſputes that aroſe about his Ordination. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who had been lately preferred to the See of *Conſtantinople*, and had accepted that Dignity with no other View, but to remove all Jealouſies, and reſtore a good Underſtanding between the Eaſt and the Weſt, being ſenſible that the electing of a new Biſhop in the room of *Meletius* would widen the Breach, and obſtruct all poſſible Means of an Accommodation, reſigned his Dignity, and, to the inexpressible Grief of his Flock, retired both from the Council and City ^o. In one of his Orations ^p, he aſcribes this Reſolution to the Diviſions that reigned among the Biſhops, declaring that he was quite tired with their conſtant quarreling and bickering among themſelves, and comparing them to Children at Play; whom to join in their childiſh Diverſions, would be degrading a ſerious

Flavianus ordained Biſhop of Antioch.

Greg. Nazianzen reſigns the Biſhoprick of Conſtantinople.

^l Id. ib. p 164.

^m Id. ib. p. 27.
^o Naz. ep. 15.

ⁿ Vide Theod. l. 5. c. 9. & Cod. Theod. ap.
^p Id. or. 32.

*Nectarius is
chosen in his
room.*

Character. Upon the Resignation of *Gregory*, *Nectarius* was chosen to succeed him; but as to the Particulars of his Election they are variously related by Authors, and foreign to my Purpose. He was a Native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, descended of an illustrious and senatorial Family, but at the Time of his Election still a Layman, and Prætor of *Constantinople*; nay, he had not been baptized ¹.

*The Council
of Aquileia
writes to
Theodosius
in favour of
Paulinus.*

The same Year that the Eastern Bishops met at *Constantinople*, by the Command of *Theodosius*, the Western Bishops met at *Aquileia*, by the Command of *Gratian*. While the latter were yet sitting, News was brought of the Death of *Meletius*, and at the same time they received certain Intelligence of the Resolution which the Council of *Constantinople* had taken of appointing him a Successor. Hereupon having dispatched the Business for which they had met, and condemned *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, the only Two *Arian* Bishops now in the West, they dispatched some Presbyters into the East, with a Letter to the Emperor *Theodosius*, wherein, after expressing the Joy it had given them to hear that the Orthodox in those Parts were at last happily delivered from the Oppression of the *Arians*, they complained of the Hardships *Paulinus* had met with, whom they had always acknowledged as lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, put the Emperor in mind of the Agreement between *Paulinus* and *Meletius*, and concluded with intreating him to assemble an Oecumenical Council at *Alexandria*, as the only Means of restoring Tranquillity to the Church, and settling a perfect Harmony amongst her Members ². Before this Letter reached the Emperor, the Council of *Constantinople* was concluded, and the Bishops returned to their respective Sees. However, *Theodosius* recalled some of them, in order to govern himself by their Advice in granting or denying the Western Bishops their Request ³. But the Election of *Flavianus* being in the mean time known in the West, the Bishops of the Vicariate of *Italy*, then assembled in Council with *Ambrase* Bishop of *Milan* at their Head, writ a long Letter to *Theodosius* complaining of that Election, openly espousing at the same time the Cause of *Maximus* against *Nectarius*, the new Bishop of *Constantinople*, and threatening to separate themselves intirely from the Communion of the Eastern Bishops, unless *Maximus* was acknowledged lawful Bishop of that City, or at least an Oecumenical Council

*And the Bi-
shops of Italy
in favour of
Maximus.*

¹ Theod. l. 5. c. 8. Socr. l. 5. c. 8. Ruff. l. 2. c. 21. Soz. l. 7. c. 8, & 10.
Theod. ap. p. 75—78. Theodor. l. 5. c. 9.

² Ccd.

³ Theodor. l. 5. c. 9.

was assembled to examine the Claims of the Two Competitors, and to confirm with their joint Suffrages the disputed Dignity to him, who had the best ^t. They also desired, in the same Letter, to have the Contest between *Paulinus* and *Flavianus* decided.

Maximus, surnamed the *Cynic*, because he had from his Youth ^{Who Maxi-} professed the Philosophy, and wore the Habit of that Sect, was a Man ^{mus was, and} of a most infamous Character, and had been publicly whipt in *Egypt*, ^{how chosen} his native Country, and confined to the City of *Oasis*, for Crimes not ^{Bishop of} fit to be mentioned ^{Constanti-} ^{nople.} ^u. Being released from his Banishment, he wandered all over the East, and was every-where equally abhorred and detested on account of his matchless Impudence and scandalous Manners ^w. At last he repaired to *Constantinople*, where he had not been long, when, by one of the boldest Attempts mentioned in History, he caused himself to be installed and ordained Bishop of that City: for the Doors of the Church being broken open in the Dead of the Night, by a Band of *Egyptian* Mariners, he was placed on the Episcopal Chair in the profane Dress of a *Cynic*, by some Bishops whom his Friends had sent out of *Egypt* for that Purpose. But the People, and some of the Clergy, in the adjoining Houses, being alarmed at the Noise, and crouding to see what occasioned it, *Maximus* and his unhallowed Crew thought fit to withdraw, and complete the Ceremony in a Place better adapted to such a Scene of Profaneness, the House of a Player on the Flute ^x. *Maximus*, thus ordained, in equal Defiance of the Imperial Laws and Canons of the Church, had the Assurance to claim the See of *Constantinople* as his Right, and to protest against the Election of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and likewise of *Nectarius*, who was chosen upon the Resignation of *Gregory*, tho' they had both been named to that Dignity by the Council of *Constantinople*, that is, by all the Eastern Bishops. But no Regard being had to his Protest, nay, his Ordination being declared null by the Council, and he driven out of the City by the Populace, and rejected with Indignation by the Emperor, he had recourse to the Bishops of the Vicariate of *Italy*, then assembled in Council with *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* at their Head, as I have observed above. These giving an intire Credit to the Accounts of the lying and deceitful *Cynic*, as they were quite unacquainted with what had passed in the East, not only

^t Cod. Theod. ap. p. 103—107.

^u Naz. or. 23. & car. 148.

^w Id. ib.

^x Id. car. 1. p. 14, 15. & cr. 28.

He is acknowledged by Ambrose, and the Italian Bishops.

admitted him to their Communion, but, without farther Inquiry or Examination, acknowledged him for lawful Bishop of *Constantinople*, and writ the above-mentioned Letter to *Theodosius* in his Behalf ^y. We must not confound this Council with that of *Aquileia*, as I find most Writers have done: for the latter was composed of almost all the Western Bishops under *Valerian* Bishop of the Place; whereas the Council I am now speaking of, consisted only of the Bishops of the Vicariate of *Italy*, under the Bishop of *Milan* their Metropolitan. It is surprising, that *Ambrose*, and the other Bishops of that Council, should not have been better informed with respect to the Ordination of *Maximus*, since *Acholius* Bishop of *Theffalonica*, with Five other Bishops of *Macedon*, had, at least a Year before, transmitted to *Damafus* a minute Account of it, agreeing in every Particular with that which I have given above from *Gregory Nazianzen* ^z. The Letter from the Council caused no small Surprize in *Theodosius*: he was sensible they had suffered themselves to be grossly imposed upon; but, not judging it necessary to undeceive them, he only told them, in his Answer to their Letter, that the Reasons they alleged did not seem sufficient to him for assembling an Oecumenical Council, and giving so much Trouble to the Prelates of the Church; that they were not to concern themselves with what happened in the East, nor remove the Bounds, that had been wisely placed by their Forefathers between the East and the West; and that, as to the Affair of *Maximus*, by espousing his Cause they had betrayed either an unwarrantable Animosity against the Orientals, or an inexcusable Credulity in giving Credit to false and groundless Reports ^a.

The Emperor's Answer to their Letter.

A Council of all the Western Bishops assembled at Rome.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the *Italian* Bishops, finding *Theodosius* no-ways disposed to assemble an Oecumenical Council, applied to *Gratian*, who not only granted them Leave to meet at *Rome*, the Place they chose, but dispatched Letters to all the Bishops both in the East and West, giving them Notice of the Time and Place, in which the Council was to be held, and inviting them to it ^b. But of all the Eastern Bishops, Two only complied with this Invitation; viz. *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamis* in the Island of *Cyprus*, and *Paulinus*, whom all the West acknowledged for lawful Bishop of *Antioch*. The Western Bishops were all present, either in Person, or by their

^y Cod. Theod. ap. p. 104—107.
nument. p. 37—40.
l. 5. c. 9.

^z Vide Hultsen. coll. vet. Rom. ecclef. monument. p. 99—101.

^b Hier. ep. 27. Theod.

Deputies;

Deputies; and *Damafus* prefided ^c. But, as to the Tranſactions of this great Aſſembly, we are almoſt intirely in the Dark; for all we know of them is, that they unanimouſly agreed not to communicate with *Flavianus*, the new Biſhop of *Antioch*, nor with *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*, or *Acacius* of *Beræa*, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in his Promotion; that they condemned the Hereſy of *Apollinaris*; and that, at the Requeſt of *Damafus*, a Confeſſion of Faith was drawn up by *Jerom*, and approved by the Council, which the *Apollinarists* were to ſign, upon their being re-admitted to the Communion of the Church ^d. As for *Maximus*, they ſeem to have abandoned his Cauſe, being, in all Likelihood, undeceived, with reſpect to his Ordination, by *Acholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, and St. *Jerom*, who aſſiſted at the Council, and could not be Strangers to the Character of *Maximus*, nor unacquainted with the ſcandalous Methods by which he had attained the Epiſcopal Dignity.

The Reſolution they took not to communicate with *Flavianus*, ^{The Miſunderſtanding between the Eaſt and the Weſt increaſed.} whoſe Election, though imprudently made, was undoubtedly Canonical, and had been approved and confirmed by the Oecumenical Council of *Conſtantinople*, not only increaſed the Jealouſies and Miſunderſtanding between the Eaſt and the Weſt, but occaſioned a great Diſagreement, and endleſs Quarrels, amongſt the Eaſtern Biſhops themſelves. For thoſe who acknowledged *Paulinus*, viz. the Biſhops of *Egypt*, of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, of *Arabia*, inſiſted upon the Depoſition of *Flavianus* ^e. *Nectorius* mentions ſome Letters, written by the Biſhops of *Egypt* againſt *Flavianus*, with great Virulency, and a tyrannical Spirit, to uſe his Expreſſion ^f. On the other hand, the Biſhops of *Syria*, of *Paleſtine*, of *Phœnicia*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*, not only maintained, with equal Warmth, the Election of *Flavianus*, but began to treat their Brethren in the Eaſt, who had joined the Weſtern Biſhops againſt them, as Schiſmatics, as Betrayers of their Truſt, as Tranſgreſſors of the Canons of *Nice*, commanding the Elections and Ordinations of each Province to be made and performed by the Biſhops of the ſame Province, and all Diſputes concerning them to be finally decided in the Place where they had begun ^g. This Schiſm occaſioned great

^c Hier. ep. 16. Theodor. l. 5. c. 9. Ambr. ep. 22. t. 2. p. 37. Ruf. de orig. lib. adulter. p. 197. c. 10. c. 23.

^f Mercat. opera, t. 2. p. 86. n. 5.

^d Soz. l. 7. c. 11. Holſt. coll.

^e Theodor. l. 5. c. 23. Socr. l. 5.

^g Soz. l. 7. c. 11. Theodor. l. 5.

Confusion in the Church, which continued till the Year 398. when *Chrysoſtom*, after having, with indefatigable Pains, long laboured in vain to bring about an Accommodation between the Eaſt and the Weſt, had at laſt, ſoon after his Promotion to the See of *Conſtanti- nople*, the Satisfaction of ſeeing his pious Endeavours crowned with Succeſs, as I ſhall relate in a more proper Place.

*No Regard
paid by the
Eastern Bi-
shops to the
Judgment of
the Pope.*

From this whole Account it is manifeſt, as the Reader muſt have obſerved, that the Orientals paid no manner of Regard either to the Judgment of the Biſhop of *Rome*, or to that of the whole Body of the Weſtern Biſhops, aſſembled in Council under him. For though they well knew the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Colleagues in the Weſt, to be warmly engaged in favour of *Paulinus*, yet they reſuſed to acknowledge him, even after the Death of *Meletius*; and therefore raiſed *Flavianus* to the See of *Antioch*, in the room of *Meletius*, and confirmed that Election in an Occumenical Council. The Weſtern Biſhops exclaimed againſt it, deſiring it might be referred to the De- ciſion of a General Council. But not even to that Demand would the Orientals agree, thinking, as they declared in their Answer, that there was no Occaſion for a Council, ſince *Flavianus* had been choſen and ordained by the Biſhops of the Dioceſe, which was all the Canons of *Nice* required. They therefore exhorted them to divest themſelves of all Prejudices, to ſacrifice all private Affections to the Peace and Unity of the Church, and to put an End to the preſent, and prevent all future, Diſputes, by approving, with their joint Suffrages, an Election which had been approved and confirmed by an Occumenical Council ^b.

*The Cuſtom
of appointing
Vicars intro-
duced by Da-
maſus, and
on what Oc-
caſion.*

To return to *Damaſus*: He was the firſt who introduced the Cu- ſtom, which his Succeſſors took care to improve, of conferring on certain Biſhops the Title of their Vicars, pretending thereby to im- part to them an extraordinary Power, enabling them to perform ſeveral things, which they could not perform in virtue of their own. *Acholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* was the firſt who enjoyed this Title, being, by *Damaſus*, appointed his Vicar in *Eaſt Illyricum*, on the following Occaſion: *Illyricum*, comprizing all ancient *Greece*, and many Provinces on the *Danube*, whereof *Sirmium* was the Capital, had, ever ſince the Time of *Conſtantine*, belonged to the Weſtern Empire. But, in the Year 379. *Dacia* and *Greece* were, by *Gratian*,

^b Theodor. l. 5. c. 8.

disjoined from the more Westerly Provinces, and added, in favour of *Theodosius*, to the Eastern Empire, being known by the Name of *East Illyricum*, whereof *Theſſalonica*, the Metropolis of *Macedon*, was the chief City. The Biſhops of *Rome*, as preſiding in the Metropolis of the Empire, had begun to claim a kind of Jurisdiction, or rather Inſpection in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, over all the Provinces of the Western Empire; which was the firſt great Step by which they aſcended to the Supremacy they afterwards claimed and eſtabliſhed. This *Damaſus* was unwilling to reſign with reſpect to *Illyricum*, even after that Country was diſmembered from the Western, and added to the Eastern Empire. In order therefore to maintain his Claim, he appointed *Acholiuſ* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* to act in his ſtead, veſting in him the Power which he pretended to have over thoſe Provinces. Upon the Death of *Acholiuſ* he conferred the ſame Dignity on his Succeſſor *Anyſiuſ*, as did the following Popes on the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Theſſalonica*, who, by thus ſupporting the Pretenſions of *Rome*, became the firſt Biſhops, and, in a manner, the Patriarchs, of *East Illyricum*; for they are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed with that Title. This, however, was not done without Oppoſition, the other Metropolitanſ not readily acknowledging for their Superior one who, till that time, had been their Equal ⁱ. *Syriciuſ*, who ſucceeded *Damaſus*, inlarging the Power claimed by his Predeceſſor, decreed, that no Biſhop ſhould be ordained in *East Illyricum* without the Conſent and Approbation of the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* ^k. But it was ſome time before this Decree took place. Pope *Innocent I.* writes, that his Predeceſſors committed to the Care of *Acholiuſ*, *Achaia*, *Theſſaly*, the Two *Epiruſ*'s, *Candia*, the Two *Dacia*'s, *Mæſia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalitana*, now Part of *Albania*, impowering him to judge and decide the Controverſies that might ariſe there, and appointing him to be *the firſt among the Primates, without prejudicing the Primacy of thoſe Churches* ^l. Thus were the Biſhops of *Theſſalonica* firſt appointed Vicars or Vicegerents of the Biſhops of *Rome*, probably in the Year 382. for in that Year *Acholiuſ* aſſiſted at the Council of *Rome*, and it was, in all Likelihood, on that Occaſion that *Damaſus* veſted him with this new Dignity. The Contrivance of *Damaſus* was notably improved by his Succeſſors, who, in order to extend and inlarge their Authority, conferred the Title of their Vicars, and the

The Inſtitution of Vicars improved by the ſucceeding Popes.

ⁱ Vide Chriſt. Lup. de Rom. Apell. p. 627, 628.

^k Coll. Rom. Hoſt:n. p. 43.

^l Ibid. p. 48, 49.

pretended Power annexed to it, on the most eminent Prelates of other Provinces and Kingdoms, engaging them thereby to depend upon them, and to promote the Authority of their See, to the utter Suppression of the antient Rights and Liberties both of Bishops and Synods. This Dignity was for the most part annexed to certain Sees; but sometimes conferred on particular Persons. Thus was *Austin* appointed the Pope's Vicar in *England*, *Boniface* in *Germany*; and both, in virtue of the Power which they pretended to have been imparted to them with that Title, usurped and exercised an Authority above that of Metropolitans. The Institution of Vicars was, by the succeeding Popes, improved into that of Legates, or, to use *De Marca's* Expression, the latter Institution was grafted on the former ^m. The Legates were vested with a far greater Power than the Vicars; or, as Pope *Leo* expresses it, *were admitted to a far greater Share of his Care, though not to the Plenitude of his Power* ⁿ. They were sent on proper Occasions into all Countries, and never failed exerting, to the utmost Stretch, their boasted Power, oppressing, in virtue of their paramount Authority, the Clergy as well as the People, and extorting from both, large Sums, to support the Pomp and Luxury in which they lived.

*Legates
vested with
greater
Power than
Vicars.*

The Custom of appointing Vicars and Legates may well be alleged as a remarkable Instance of the Craft and Policy of the Popes, since, of all the Methods they ever devised (and many they have devised) to extend and establish their Power, none has better answered their ambitious Views. But how *Bellarmino* could lay so much Stress upon it as he does ^o, to prove, that the Pope has, by *Divine Right*, a sovereign Authority and Jurisdiction over all the Churches of the Earth, is unconceivable. For it is certain, beyond all Dispute, that such a Custom had never been heard of till the Time of *Damafus*, that is, till the Latter-end of the Fourth Century, when it was first introduced, upon the dismembering of *East Illyricum*, by *Gratian*, from the Western Empire. *Damafus* did not even then claim that sovereign and unlimited Power, with which *Bellarmino* is pleased to vest him, but only a kind of Inspection over the Provinces of the Western Empire, as Bishop of the first See. And here I cannot help observing the Disingenuity of *Bellarmino*, who, in speaking of this Institu-

*The sending
Legates no
Proof of the
Pope's uni-
versal Ju-
risdiction.*

*The Disinge-
nuity of Bel-
larmine.*

^m De Marc. concord. sacerdot. & imp. l. 6. c. 5.
Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 20.

ⁿ Leo, ep. 48.

^o Bell. de

tion,

tion, expreffes himfelf thus: Leo appointed *Anaftafius* *Bifhop of Theffalonica* his *Vicar in the Eaft*, in the fame manner as the *Predeceffors of Anaftafius* had been *Vicars to the Predeceffors of Leo* ^r. From thefe Words every Reader would naturally conclude, and *Bellarmino* designs they fhould, that the Bifhops of *Theffalonica* had been the Pope's Vicars from the Beginning, or Time out of Mind; whereas it is certain, that this Inftitution had taken place but a few Years before. Pope *Leo I.* in conferring on *Anaftafius* the *Vicariate Dignity of his See*, as he ftyles it, declared, that he followed therein the Example of his Predeceffor *Syricius* ^s, who firft appointed *Anyfius* to act in his ftead. But he was doubly miftaken; for thefe Vicars were firft inftituted, as is notorious, by *Damafus*, and not by *Syricius*; and it was not by *Syricius*, but by *Damafus*, that *Anyfius* was vefted with that Dignity ^t. The Bifhop of *Theffalonica* is ftyled, by the antient Writers, the Pope's Vicar in *East Illyricum*, which is manifeftly confining his Vicariate Jurifdiction to that Diftrict; but *Bellarmino* extends it at once all over the Eaft, by diftinguifhing him with the Title of *the Pope's Vicar for the Eaft* ^u. But how little Regard was paid to the Pope's Authority in the Eaft, I have fufficiently fhewn above.

I find nothing elfe in the antient Writers concerning *Damafus* worthy of Notice, befides his generously undertaking the Defence of *Symmachus*, who, being Prefect of *Rome* in 384. the laft Year of *Damafus's* Life, and a fworn Enemy to the Chriftians, was falfly accufed to the Emperor, as if he had with great Cruelty perfecuted and oppreffed them. But *Damafus* had the Generofity to take his Part, and clear him, by a Letter he writ to the Emperor, from that Charge ^w. This was one of the laft Actions of *Damafus's* Life; for he died this Year on the 10th or 11th of *December*, being then in the Eightieth ^{Damafus dies.} Year of his Age, after he had governed the Church of *Rome* for the Space of Eighteen Years, and about Two Months ^x. He was buried, according to *Anaftafius* ^y, near his Mother and Sister, in a Church which he had built at the Catacombs, on the Way to *Ardea*; whence that Place, though Part of the Cœmety of *Calixtus*, is by fome called the Cœmety of *Damafus* ^z. He propofed at firft being buried near the Remains of St. *Sixtus*, and his Companions; but afterwards changed his Mind, left he fhould difturb the Afhes of the Saints ^a.

^r Id. ib.^s Coll. Rom. Holften. p. 145.^t Ibid. p. 46—49.^u Bell.

ib.

^w Sym. l. 10. ep. 34.^x Hier. vir. ill. c. 103.^y Anaft. c. 38.^z Aring. l. 3. c. 12. n. 16.^a Vide Bar. in app. ann. 384. n. 25.

*The Decrees
ascribed to
him supposi-
tious.*

He caused the Church of St. *Laurence*, near the Theatre of *Pompey*, probably that which his Father and he himself had formerly served, to be rebuilt, enlarged, and imbellished; whence it is still known by the joint Titles of St. *Laurence* and *Damasus* ^b. In that Church his Body is worshiped to this Day. But, how or when it was removed thither, nobody knows ^c. Several Decrees are ascribed to *Damasus* by *Gratian*, *Ivo* of *Chartres*, *Anastasius*, and others, but all evidently forged by some Impostor blindly addicted to the See of *Rome*, and quite unacquainted with the Discipline of the Church in the Fourth Century. In one of them a Canon is quoted from the Council of *Nice*, forbidding the Laity to eat or drink of any thing that was *offered to the holy Priests*, because none but the *Jewish* Priests were allowed to eat of the Bread that was offered on the Altar. We know of no such Canon; and besides, it is not at all probable, that the Council of *Nice* would have restrained the Clergy from sharing at least with the Poor what was offered them. In another of these Decrees the Paying of Tythes is commanded, on pain of Excommunication; whereas it might be easily made appear, that, in the Fourth Century, the Offerings destined for the Maintenance of the Clergy were still voluntary. Another Decree supposes, that, by an antient Custom, all Metrópolitans swore Fealty to the Apostolic See, and could ordain no Bishops till they had received the Pall from *Rome*. For the Sake of this, *Baronius* admits all the rest: but of such a Custom not the least Mention, or distant Hint, is to be met with in any antient Writer.

*His Writings
in Prose and
Verse.*

Damasus is ranked by *Jerom* ^d among the Ecclesiastical Writers, on account of the many small Pieces he writ, chiefly in Verse; for he had a particular Genius for Poetry, and was no despicable Poet, if some Compositions ascribed to him were truly his. He writ several Books, both in Prose and Verse, in Commendation of Virginity; but neither that, nor any of his other Works, has reached our Times, besides some Letters, and a few Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Epigrams, which have been carefully collected by *Baronius* ^e, though it may be justly questioned whether the several Pieces ascribed to him by that Writer were written by him. A short History of the first Popes, styled, *The Pontifical of Damasus*, and published together with the Councils, has long passed for the Work of *Damasus*; but now even

^b Front. cal. p. 50. Bar. ad ann. 384. n. 16.
^c Bar. ad ann. 584. n. 21.

^e Aring. l. 3. c. 12.

^d Hier.

Baronius owns it not to be his; and most Critics are of Opinion, that it was written after the Time of *Gregory the Great*; nay, some ascribe it to *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, who flourished in the Ninth Century ^f. As for his Letters, those to *Aurelius* of *Carthage*, to *Stephen*, styled *Archbishop of the Council of Mauritania*, to *Prosper* Primate of *Numidia*, to the Bishops of *Italy*, are all spurious, as well as the Letters to which some of them are Answers, and supposed to have been forged by that notorious Impostor *Isidorus Mercator* g. His genuine Letters are the Two, that are to be found among the Works of *Jerom*, to whom they were written; Two to *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, published by *Holstenius* in his *Collection of the antient Monuments of the Church of Rome* ^h; a Letter of great Length to *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, whereof the chief Heads are set down by *Theodore* in his History, as are likewise those of his Letter to the Orientals concerning *Timotheus*, the favourite Disciple of *Apollinaris*. Several Letters from the Councils, that were held in *Rome* in his Time, and at which he presided, are still extant, and may well be ascribed to him. The Two Letters to *Jerom* are well worth perusing, being written in a pure, easy, and elegant Style, and with a great deal of Spirit, Vivacity, and even Gaiety, though *Damafus* was then much advanced in Years, and overburdened with Cares and Business ⁱ. In one of them he declares, that his only Delight was to read the Scriptures, and that all other Books, however well written, gave him rather Disgust than Pleasure. *Jerom* returned to *Rome* from the East in 382. with *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamis*, and *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, to assist at the Council held there. The other Two returned to their Sees; but *Jerom* continued at *Rome*, being kept there by *Damafus*, ^{Jerom kept at Rome and employed by him.} who employed him in answering the Letters he received from the Councils of several Churches applying to him for his Advice ^k. *Damafus*, taken with his Learning and Erudition, and chiefly with the Knowledge he had of the Scripture, had long before lived in great Intimacy with him, and upon his leaving *Rome* writ frequent Letters to him, not thinking it beneath the Rank he held in the Church to consult him as his Master about the true Meaning of some difficult Passages in holy Writ ^l. Thus in one of his Letters he desires him to explain the Parable of the Prodigal Son ^m, and in another to interpret

^f Bolland. propyl. p. 59.

^g Id. ib. & Du Pin. Biblioth. p. 459.

^h Hol-

sten. coll. Rom. t. 1. p. 37, & 180.

ⁱ Hier. ep. 124, & 144.

^k Id. ep. 11.

Ruff. de Orig. p. 197.

^l Hier. ep. 144.

^m Id. ep. 146.

the Word *Hofanna*, which he fays was differently interpreted by different Writers, who feemed to contradict each other ⁿ. In Compliance with this Request, *Jerom* writ the Piece on that Subject, which is ftill extant. It was likewife at the Defire of *Damafus* that he corrected the *Latin* Version of the New Testament, and revised at *Rome* the *Latin* Version of the Pfalms, comparing it with the *Greek* Text of the *Septuagint*. But as to the Letter, with which *Damafus* is fupposed to have encouraged him to undertake that Work, it is evidently fupposititious, and altogether unworthy of him.

*Pfalmody
falshy afcribed
to him.*

Anaftafius afcribes to *Damafus* the Custom of Singing, inftead of Reading, the Pfalms at Divine Service ^o. But it is manifelt from *Auftin*, that this Practice was brought from the Eaft, and firft complied with by the Church of *Milan* ^p, in the Year 386. that is, Two Years after the Death of *Damafus*. So long as *Damafus* lived, *Jerom* continued at *Rome*; but as, by his Learning and exemplary Life, he was an Eye-fore to the lewd, ignorant, and haughty Clergy of *Rome*, or as he ftyles them, *the Senate of Pharifees* ^q, he thought it advifeable to abandon the City upon the Death of his great Friend and Protector, and retire to *Jerufalem*, hoping to find there that Quiet and Tranquillity which he defpaired of being able to enjoy while he dwelt with *the Scarlet Whore* ^r, that is, while he lived at *Rome*. As for the Character of *Damafus*; *Jerom* ftyles him, *a Virgin Doctor of the Virgin Church*; and, in his Letter to *Euftochium*, *a Man of great Excellence*. *Theodore* commend him as a Man of a holy Life, as one who declined no Fatigue or Labour to fupport and maintain the Doctrine of the Apoftles, and who ftruck the *Arians* with Terror, though he attacked them at a Distance ^s. Elfe where he calls him the *famous Damafus* ^t, and places him at the Head of the moft celebrated Teachers of Truth, who, till his Time, had appeared in the Weft ^u. That *Greek* Writer could not be biassed in his Favour, though *Jerom* perhaps was. The Orientals declared, in 431. that they followed the Example of *Damafus*, and other Perfons eminent for Learning ^w; and the Council of *Chalcedon*, fpeaking of his Letter to *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, ftyles him the Honour and Glory of *Rome* for Piety and Juftice ^x. The Church of *Rome* honours him as a Saint, and his Feftival is

His Character.

ⁿ Id. ep. 144. ^o Anaft. c. 38. ^p Aug. confeff. l. 9. c. 7. ^q Hier. in præf. verſion. Did. de Spir. Sanct. ^r Id. ib. ^s Theod. l. 5. c. 2. & l. 4. c. 27. ^t Id. ep. 144. ^u Ep. 145. ^w Concil. t. 3. p. 740. ^x Concil. t. 4. p. 82.

kept in some Places on the 10th, in others on the 11th of *December*. But, after all, that he got the Pontificate by the most horrible Violence and Bloodshed; that he lived in great State; that he had frequent and grand Entertainments; that he kept a Table, which, in Sumptuousness, vied with the Tables of the Emperors themselves; and all this at the Expence of the *Roman Ladies*, whose generous Contributions might have been applied to better Uses, is affirmed by contemporary and unexceptionable Writers. It is likewise manifest from the Letters of *Jerom*, that in his Time the Discipline of the Church was greatly relaxed; that the Observance of the primitive Canons was almost utterly neglected; and that Luxury, Ignorance, and Debauchery, universally prevailed among the Ecclesiastics at *Rome*. And this Charge against his Clergy in some degree recoils upon him, since he appears to have carried the Papal Authority farther than any of his Predecessors, and therefore might have restrained and corrected them. Whether his Sanctity may not from all this be justly questioned, notwithstanding the favourable Testimony of some antient Writers, I leave the Reader to judge.

VALENTINIAN,
THEODOSIUS,

SYRICIUS,

ARCADIUS,
HONORIUS.

Thirty-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

SYRICIUS, the Successor of *Damasus*, according to the Pontificals, and some antient Monuments quoted and received by *Baronius*°, was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Tiburtius*, had been first Reader, and afterwards Deacon, under *Liberius*, and, upon his Death, had zealously espoused the Cause of *Damasus* against *Ursinus* and his Party. *Damasus* being dead, he was chosen in his room by the unanimous Acclamations of the whole *Roman People*, being at that time Presbyter of the Church known by the Title of *the Pastor*, perhaps the most antient Church in *Rome*†. *Ursinus*, who was still alive, did not fail, upon the Vacancy of the See, to revive his former Claim, but he was rejected with Scorn and Indignation. *Valentinian* the younger, who then reigned in *Italy* under

Year of
Christ 384.

° Bar. ad ann. 385. n. 5. Anast. c. 29. Boll. Apr. t. 1. p. 32.
ann. 385. n. 5.

† Vide Bar. ad

the Direction of his Mother *Justina*, received the News of this Election with great Joy; and, concluding from the Unanimity of the Electors, the Worth and Merit of the Person elected, confirmed *Syricius* in his new Dignity, by a Rescript dated the 23d of *February*, and directed to *Pinianus*, at that Time either Prefect or Vicar of *Rome* [¶] (A).

*His Answer
to Himerius
Bishop of
Tarragon.*

The first Thing I read of *Syricius* is his answering a Letter or Relation which *Himerius*, Bishop of *Tarragon* in *Spain*, had sent to *Damasus* by *Bassianus*, a Presbyter of that Church, requiring the Advice of the Church of *Rome* concerning some Points of Discipline, and certain Abuses that prevailed in *Spain*. *Damasus* being dead before the Arrival of *Bassianus*, *Syricius*, who had succeeded him, caused this Relation or Letter to be read, and carefully examined, in an Assembly of his Brethren, that is, perhaps, of the Bishops who had assisted at his Ordination; and, having maturely weighed and considered every Article, he first acquainted *Himerius* with his Promotion, and then returned to each the following Answers ^r. The First was concerning the Sacrament of Baptism, which was by some Bishops of *Spain* rejected as null and invalid, when conferred by an *Arian* Minister. In Opposition to them, *Syricius* alleges the Authority of *Liberius*, and of the Council of *Nice*, the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, and that of all other Churches both in the East and West ^s. *Isidorus* of *Seville* takes particular notice of this Point of Discipline, which he says was established by the Letter of *Syricius* ^t. By the Second Article he forbids the Sacrament of Baptism to be administered at *Christmas*, or the *Epiphany*, on the Feasts of the Apostles or Martyrs, or at any other Time but *Easter*, and during the *Pentecost* of that Festival, meaning, in all Likelihood, all *Easter* time, or the Fifty Days between *Easter* and *Pentecost*, or *Whitsuntide*; for such, adds he, is the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, and of all other Churches. From this Rule, however, he excepts Children, and all Persons, who

[¶] Id. ib. n. 6.
ser. c. 3.

^r Concil. t. 1. p. 69. 689—691.

^s Ib. p. 689.

^t Ibid.

(A) *Damasus* died on the 10th or 11th of *December* 384. as I have related above, and *Syricius* was chosen the same Year, as we read in the Chronicle of *Prosper*. *Anastasius* therefore, and the Author of the Pontifical published by *Bollandus*, as well

as *Baronius*, were certainly mistaken in affirming, upon what Grounds I know not, that, upon the Death of *Damasus*, the See remained vacant for the Space of 31 or 36 Days (1).

(1) *Anast.* p. 21. *Boll.* Apr. t. 1. p. 32. *Bar.* ib. n. 5.

are any ways in Danger ^u. By the Third Article, he forbids granting the Grace of Reconciliation to Apostates, that is, forgiving and re-admitting them to the Communion of the Church, except at the Point of Death ^w. By the Fourth, a Woman, who, being betrothed to one Man, has received the Priest's Blessing to marry him, is debarred from marrying another. The Fifth Article commands all Persons, who, being guilty of a Crime, have performed Penance for it, to be treated as the Apostates, if they relapse into the same Crime; and the Sixth, all religious Persons, whether Men or Women, guilty of Fornication, to be dealt with in the same Manner, and, moreover, to be excluded from partaking of the sacred Mysteries, that is, of the Eucharist, except at the Point of Death ^x. How different is the present Practice of the Church of *Rome* from that of the same Church in the Fourth Century! which was perhaps even too severe.

Syricius, by the Seventh Article of his Letter, obliges all Priests ^{Priests and Deacons obliged to observe} and Deacons to observe Celibacy; and as some had not paid due Obedience to that Command of the Church, he allows those who should ^{Celibacy.} acknowledge their Fault, and plead Ignorance, to continue in their Rank, though without Hopes of rising: but as for those who should presume to defend this Abuse as lawful, he declares them deposed and degraded from the Rank they held in the Church ^y: Pope *Innocent I.* writing to *Exuperius* Bishop of *Toulouse*, quotes and transcribes great Part of this Article ^z. The Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Articles describe at length the Life which those ought to have led, who are raised by the Clergy and People to the Episcopal Dignity, and the Steps or Degrees by which they should ascend to it. They ought first to have been Readers; at the Age of Thirty, Acolytes, Subdeacons, and Deacons; Five Years after, Presbyters; and in that Degree they were to continue Ten Years before they could be chosen Bishops. Those who had been married to Two Wives, or to a Widow, are absolutely excluded from ever sitting in the Episcopal See. Even the Lectors are forbidden, on pain of Deposition, to marry twice, or to marry a Widow ^a. These, and several other less important Regulations, *Syricius* delivers as general Rules to be inviolably observed by all Churches, often declaring, that those who do not readily comply with them shall be separated from his Communion by the Sentence of a Synod, and strictly injoining the chief Prelates of each Province to

^u Con. ib. ^w Ib. p. 690.
ep. 3. c. 1. t. 1. p. 755, 756.

^x Ibid. ^y Ib. & p. 691.

H h 2

^z Ib. p. 689, 690.

^a Inn.

take

take care they be punctually observed within the Bounds of their respective Jurisdictions, on Pain of being deposed, and treated as they deserve. He therefore desires *Himerius* to notify his Letter, not only to all the Bishops of his Diocese or Province, but likewise to those of *Carthagera*, *Batica*, *Lusitania*, *Galicia*, and to all the neighbouring Bishops, meaning perhaps those of *Gaul*; for *Innocent I.* supposes the Decrees of his Predecessor *Syricius* to be known to *Exuperius* of *Toulouse* ^a; and in all Likelihood they were so to others in that Country.

This Letter is the First of all the Decretals acknowledged, by the Learned, to be genuine, and likewise the First in all the antient Collections of the Canons of the *Latin Church*. It is quoted by *Innocent I.* and *Isidore of Seville*, and is the only Letter of the many ascribed to *Syricius*, that *Dionysius Exiguus* has inserted in his Collection. It is to be found in Father *Quesnel's Roman Code* ^b; and *Cresconius* quotes no other Decrees of *Syricius* but what are taken from this Letter. It is dated the Third of the Ides of *February*, that is the Eleventh of that Month 385. *Arcadius* and *Bauto* being Consuls (A).

*The Celibacy
of the Clergy
first proposed
in the Coun-
cil of Elvira.*

As Priests and Deacons are commanded, by the Seventh Article of this Letter, to abstain from Marriage, and this is the first Opportunity that has offered of mentioning the Celibacy of the Clergy, a short Digression on such a material Point of Discipline in the Church may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the Reader. The laying of this

^a Inn. ep. 3. c. 1. t. 1. p. 755, 756.

^b Cod. Rom. a Ques. cum Leone edit. c. 29.

(A) The Jesuit *Papebrok* highly extols this Letter (1), but, at the same time, does not think it quite pure and genuine, because the Date, says he, has been added to it; for the other Letters of *Syricius*, and likewise those of his Predecessors, bear no Date. But can we conclude from thence, that they never had any? Some of the Letters of *Innocent I.* are dated, and some without a Date, and he admits both. The Transcribers contented themselves, for the most part, with copying the Body of the Letter, and neglected the rest. *Papebrok* adds, that the Date ought to have been expressed thus: *Arcadio Aug. et Bautone viro*

clar. Conf. and not *Arcadio et Bautone viris clarissimis*, as it is in that Letter. But might not this Mistake be owing to the Ignorance of the Transcribers, who, finding, in the Original, only the Two Letters, *V. C.* which are to be met with in many antient Writings, set down *viris clarissimis*, instead of *viro clarissimo*? *Papebrok* must have observed the same Mistake in the Letter, which Pope *Innocent I.* writ to the Council of *Milevum* (2), and which he allows to be altogether genuine. For Slips or Oversight of this Nature, hardly avoidable, no Piece ought to be condemned, or even suspected.

(1) Bolland. prop. p. 58.

(2) Concil. t. 2. p. 1289.

heavy Burden on the Shoulders of the Clergy, a Burden too heavy for most of them to bear, as Experience has shewn, was first moved in the Council of *Elvira*, held about the Year 300. according to the most probable Opinion; and, being warmly promoted by the celebrated *Osius* of *Cordoua*, and *Felix* of *Acci*, now *Guadix* in *Andalusia*, who presided at that Assembly, it passed into a Law; and all Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, were commanded, on Pain of Deposition, *to abstain from Wives, and the begetting of Children*. These are the very Words of the 33d Canon of that Council c. That, till this time, the Clergy were allowed to marry, even in *Spain*, is manifest from the 65th Canon of the same Council, excluding from the Communion of the Church, even at the Point of Death, such Ecclesiastics, as, knowing their Wives to be guilty of Adultery, should not, upon the first Notice of their Crime, immediately turn them out of Doors d. How long the 33d Canon continued in Vigour, is uncertain; nay, it may be questioned whether it ever took place: if it ever did, it was out of Date, or at least not generally observed by the *Spanish* Clergy, in the Time of *Syricius*, as evidently appears from the Words of his Letter, or Answer to *Himerius* of *Tarragon*: I said, by the *Spanish* Clergy; for no such Injunction had yet been laid on the Ecclesiastics of any other Country or Nation. About Fifteen Years after, was held the Council of *Ancyra*, in which it was decreed, That *if any Deacon did not declare at his Ordination, that he designed to marry, he ought not to be allowed to marry after; but might, if he made such a Declaration, because, in that Case, the Bishop tacitly consented to it*. The Council of *Neocæsarea*, which assembled soon after that of *Ancyra*, and consisted in great Part, of the same Bishops, commanded *such Presbyters as married after their Ordination to be degraded*. In the Year 325. was held the Council of *Nice*; and, in that great Assembly, it was moved, perhaps by *Osius*, who acted a chief Part there, that Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, should be debarred from all Commerce with the Wives they had married before their Ordination. But this Motion was warmly opposed by *Paphnutius*, who had himself ever led a chaste and single Life, and was one of the most eminent and illustrious Prelates, at that time, in the Church. He represented, that the Burden they proposed laying on the Clergy,

c Conc. t. i. p. 1210.

d Ib. p. 1329.

was too heavy; that few had sufficient Strength to bear it; that the Women, thus abandoned by their Husbands, would be exposed to great Dangers; that Marriage was no Pollution, but, according to St. Paul, commendable; that those therefore, who were not married, when first admitted to the Sacerdotal Functions, should continue in that State; and such as were, should continue to live with their Wives. Thus *Sozomen*^e, *Socrates*^f, and *Suidas*^g (A).

The Advice of Paphnutius was applauded by the whole Assembly, add the above-mentioned Historians, and the Point in Dispute was left undecided. In the Year 340. it was decreed, in the Council of Arles, that no Man, incumbered with a Wife, should be admitted to Holy Orders, unless he promised, with his Wife's Approbation and Consent, to abstain for ever from the conjugal Duty.

This is all I can find in the antient Records concerning the Continence or Celibacy of the Clergy, before the Time of Syricius. And hence it is manifest, that both *Crichtonæus* and *Melanchthon* were greatly mistaken; the former in affirming, which many have done after him, that Celibacy was first imposed upon the Clergy by Syricius^h; and the latter by confidently asserting, that Celibacy was not required of the Ministers of the Gospel by any Council, but by the Popes, in Opposition to all Councils and Synodsⁱ. It must be owned, however, that this Law was not so generally observed before the Time of Syricius, as it was after. For it was not long after his Time before it became an established Point of Discipline in most of the Western Churches, not in virtue of his Letter, or of those which his Successors writ to the same Purpose, but because it was enjoined by the Synods of each particular Nation. Thus it was established in

^e Soz. l. i. c. 23.
de contin. sacerdot. c. 4.

^f Socr. l. i. c. 11.

^g Suid. in vit. Paph.

^h Chricht.

ⁱ Melanch. in Apol. p. 13.

(B) I am not unapprised, that this Account is rejected by *Baronius* (1), and *Bellarmino* (2), as fabulous; but, notwithstanding the Pains they have both taken to make it appear incredible, *F. Lupus* allows it to be true (3), though a no less zealous Stickler for the Discipline of the Church of Rome than either of them. *Ruffinus*, I own, takes no Notice of this Transaction, as *Valesius* well observes. But has no true Trans-

action been, either wilfully or ignorantly, omitted by that Writer? *Valesius* well knows, that many have; and had he perused that Author with a little more Attention, he would not have so positively affirmed, that no one ever named *Paphnutius* among the Bishops of Egypt, who assisted at the Council of Nice, since he is named among them by *Ruffinus*, and with great Commendations (4).

(1) Bar. ad ann. 58. n. 21.
can. p. 114.

(4) Ruf. l. i. c. 4.

(2) Bell. de cler. l. i. c. 20.

(3) Lup. in

Africa by the Council of *Carthage* in 390. in *Gaul* by one held at *Orleans*, by Two at *Tours*, and one at *Agde*; in *Spain*, by Three held at *Toledo*; in *Germany*, by the Councils of *Aquisgranum*, or *Aix la Chapelle*, of *Worms*, and of *Mentz*. We know of none in *Britain*: and that it did not even begin to take place here till the Arrival of *Austin*, in the Sixth Century; may be sufficiently proved from the Letters of that Monk to *Gregory*, and *Gregory's* Answer to him; but of that more hereafter (A).

As to the present Practice and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*,^{The present Practice of the Church of Rome, with respect to this Point.} with respect to this, in their Opinion, most essential Point of Ecclesiastical Discipline, no Man is allowed, after his Ordination, to marry, or to cohabit with the Wife he had married before; nay, in order to prevent all possible means even of any clandestine Commerce between them, the Woman must, by a solemn Vow of Chastity, renounce all Claims on her Husband, and, retiring into a Monastery, bind herself by a second Vow to continue there, without ever once going out, on any Pretence whatsoever, so long as her Husband lives, who cannot be admitted so much as to the Rank of a Subdeacon, till she is secured by these Two Vows. Such is the present Practice of the Church of *Rome*, though Subdeacons were allowed to marry long after the Time of *Syricius*, who, in his Letter, mentions only Deacons and Presbyters, and does not even oblige them to part with their Wives, but only excludes them from rising to a higher Degree in the Church. Pope *Leo the Great*, chosen in 440. was the first who extended the Law of Celibacy to the Subdeacons, commanding them,

(A) I cannot forbear taking notice here of an inexcusable Mistake in the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, by *Nicolas Harpsfeld*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, a Work in great Request abroad. That Writer tells us, that *Restitutus* Bishop of *London* assisted at the Council of *Arles*, and signed the above-mentioned Canon, forbidding a Man incumbered with a Wife to be admitted to Orders, unless he promised, with her Consent, to refrain from all Commerce with her after his Ordination. He leaves us to infer from thence, that this Canon was received in *Britain* (1). But surely *Harpsfeld* must never have seen either the Subscriptions, or the Acts of that Council. Had he seen the Subscriptions, he had hardly

omitted Two *British* Bishops out of Three. For, besides the Name of *Restitutus*, I find among the Subscriptions, the Names of *Adelphus de colonia Londinensium*, that is, as is commonly believed, of *Colchester*, and of *Hibernus* of *Eboracum*, or *York*. Had he seen the Acts, he had never been guilty of such a gross Mistake as to ascribe the above-mentioned Canon to the Council of *Arles*, at which *Restitutus* assisted; since that Council was held against the *Donatists* of *Africa*, in the Year 314. and not the least Mention was made there of the Celibacy of the Clergy (2). The Second Council of *Arles* was held about Twenty-six Years after, and of that Council the said Canon is the Second.

(1) Harp. Hist. Eccles. Anglican. p. 26.

(2) Concil. t. I. p. 1426—1429.

in a Letter, which he writ about the Year 442. to *Rusticus* Bishop of *Narbonne*, to abstain, as well as the Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, from all Commerce with their Wives. But this Law was observed by very few Churches. In the Time of Pope *Gregory the Great*, that is, in the Latter-end of the Sixth Century, it had not yet taken place, even in *Sicily*, though reckoned among the *Suburbicarian* Provinces: it was first introduced into that Island by him; but he allowed those to cohabit with their Wives, who had been ordained without a previous Promise to live continent, though he would not suffer them to be raised to a higher Degree without such a Promise. *Bellarmino* ^h, and the other Divines of the Church of *Rome*, to soften the Odium, which the hard, and commonly impracticable Command she lays on her Clergy, must reflect on her, represent Continency as a Virtue to be easily acquired. Their Ascetics seem better acquainted with the Difficulties and Struggles attending the Practice of that Virtue, than their Divines; for they prescribe, as the sole Means of attaining it, constant Prayer, frequent Fasting, maccrating the rebelling Flesh with all kinds of Austerities, and principally the avoiding of all Female Company. And, if these be the sole Means of attaining it, I leave the Reader to judge how few of their Clergy do attain it.

In the primitive Church, married and unmarried Men raised indiscriminately to Ecclesiastical Dignities.

No one is so little versed in the History of the Church, as not to know, that in the Three first Centuries of the Christian Religion, married and unmarried Men were indiscriminately raised to the Episcopal, and every other Ecclesiastical Dignity; nay, *Jerom* writes, that in his Time, that is, in the Fourth Century, the former were, for the most part, preferred to the latter, not in regard of their greater Merit, but because, in such Elections, the unmarried Men were outnumbered by the married, who chose to be governed by one in their own Station of Life ⁱ. It is hence manifest, that Marriage was not thought, in *Jerom's* Time, inconsistent with, or any Bar to, the Episcopal Dignity. And why should it? since, excepting *St. John*, the Apostles themselves were all married, as we are told, in express Terms, by *Ignatius* the Martyr ^k, who was their Contemporary and Disciple, and whose Authority ought, on that Consideration, to be of greater Weight than that of all the other Fathers together. *But such of the primitive Clergy, says Bellarmine* ^l, *as were married be-*

^h Bellar. de cler. l. 1. c. 21.

ⁱ Hier. in Jovin. l. 1.

^k Ign. ep. ad Philadelp.

^l Bell. de cler. l. 1. c. 20.

Syricius.

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fore their Ordination, abstained ever after from the Use of Matrimony: let our Adversaries produce, if they can, but a single Evidence of a Presbyter or Bishop's having any Commerce with their Wives. It lies upon him to shew they had not. We know nothing to the contrary, and therefore may well suppose, that, pursuant to the Advice given by the Apostle to all Husbands and Wives, they came together after Ordination as they did before, lest Satan should tempt them for their Incontinency.

The Fathers, it is true, out of a mistaken Notion of an extraordinary Merit attending Celibacy in this Life, and an extraordinary Reward reserved for it in the other, began very early to recommend it to Persons of all Ranks and Stations, but more especially to the Clergy, as the principal Excellence and Perfection of a Christian. By their Exhortations, and the Praises they were constantly bestowing on Virginity, Celibacy, and Continence, many among the Clergy, and even some of the Laity, were wrought up to such a Pitch of Enthusiasm, as to mutilate themselves, thinking they could by no other means be sufficiently qualified for the unnatural, but meritorious, State of Celibacy. And, what is very surprising, this Practice became so common in the End of the Third, and the Beginning of the Fourth, Century, that the Fathers of *Nice* were obliged to restrain it by a particular Canon. They enacted one accordingly, excluding for ever from the Priesthood, such as should make themselves Eunuchs, the Preservation of their Life or Health not requiring such a Mutilation. By the same Canon they deposed and degraded all, who should thus maim themselves after their Ordination¹. But tho' the Fathers warmly recommended Celibacy to the unmarried Clergy, and Continence to the Married, neither was looked upon as an Obligation, till late in the Fourth Century, and not even then in all Places; for *Epiphanius*, who lived till the Beginning of the Fifth, writes, that though Men still begetting Children were excluded by the Ecclesiastical Canons from every Dignity and Degree in the Church, yet they were in some Places admitted as Subdeacons, Deacons, and Presbyters, because those Canons were not yet universally observed^m; so that, according to *Epiphanius*, it was not by the Apostles (as the Divines of the Church of *Rome* pretend), but by the Ecclesiastical Canons, that this Obligation was laid on the Clergy; and, in his

Celibacy recommended by the Fathers:

never enjoined by the Apostles:

¹ Theod. l. 1. c. 7. Concil. l. 2. p. 28, 29. Ambr. ep. 25.

^m Epiph. hæref. 59.

Time, those Canons were not yet universally complied with, nor indeed many Ages after: nay, in the *Greek Church*, the Clergy are to this Day, allowed to cohabit with the Wives they married before their Ordination; and, in this Kingdom, Celibacy was not universally established till after the Conquest, as I shall have Occasion to shew in the Sequel of the present History.

*deemed by
the Pagans
the highest
Degree of
Sanctity.*

The abstaining from lawful, as well as unlawful, Pleasures, was deemed, by the antient Pagans, especially in the East, the highest Degree of Sanctity and Perfection. Hence some of their Priests, in Compliance with this Notion, and to recommend themselves to the Esteem of the People, did not only profess, promise, and vow an eternal Abstinence from all Pleasures of that Nature, as those of the Church of *Rome* do, but put it out of their Power ever to enjoy them. Thus the Priests of *Cybele* by becoming Priests ceased to be Men, to borrow the Expression of *Jerom*; and the *Hierophantes*, who were the first Ministers of Religion among the *Athenians*, rendered themselves equally incapable of transgressing the Vows they had made, by constantly drinking the cold Juice of Hemlock ⁿ. A *Stoic*, called *Che-remon*, introduced by *Jerom* to describe the Lives of the *Egyptian* Priests, tells us, among other things, that, from the time they addicted themselves to the Service of the Gods, they renounced all Intercourse and Commerce with Women; and, the better to conquer their natural Inclinations, abstained altogether from Meat and Wine. Several other Instances might be alleged to shew, that Celibacy was embraced and practised by the Pagan Priests, long before the Birth of the Christian Religion; and, consequently, that it was not Religion, but Superstition, that first laid the Priesthood under such an Obligation. The Church of *Rome* has borrowed, as is notorious, several Ceremonies, Customs, and Practices of the Pagans, and perhaps the Celibacy of the Priesthood among the rest: I say, *perhaps*, because it might have been suggested to her by the same Spirit of Superstition, that suggested it to them: for where-ever the same Spirit prevails, it will ever operate in the same manner, and be attended with the same, or the like Effects. Thus we find the same Austerities practised by the Pagans in the *East-Indies*, and other idolatrous Nations, that are practised and recommended by the Church of *Rome*; and yet no Man can imagine those Austerities to have been by

ⁿ Hier. l. 2. in Jov.

either borrowed of the other. There is almost an intire Conformity between the Laws, Discipline, and Hierarchy of the antient *Druids*, and the present *Roman-Catholic* Clergy; nay, the latter claim the very same Privileges, Prerogatives, and Exemptions, as were claimed and enjoyed by the former^o: and yet we cannot well suppose them to have been guided therein by their Example. Celibacy was discountenanced by the *Romans*, who nevertheless had their *Vestals*, instituted by their Second King at a time when, the new City being yet thinly inhabited, Marriage ought in both Sexes to have been most encouraged: and the same Spirit, which suggested to that superstitious Prince the Institution of the *Vestals*, suggested the like Institutions to other Pagan Nations, and to the Church of *Rome* that of so many different Orders of Nuns.

How much better had the Church of *Rome* consulted her own Reputation, had she either, in Opposition to the Pagan Priesthood, allowed her Clergy the Use of Matrimony, or, by a more perfect Imitation of their Discipline, with the Law of Celibacy, prescribed the like Methods of observing it! How many Enormities had been prevented by either of these Means, the World knows. But none of her Clergy have the Observance of their Vows so much at Heart as to imitate either the *Athenian* or the *Egyptian* Priests: and as for those of *Cybele*, they are so far from conforming to their Practice, that a Law subjecting them to it has kept them out of Protestant Kingdoms, when the Fear of Death could not.

If every Law or Institution is to be judged good or evil, according to the Good and Evil attending them, it is by daily Experience but too manifest, that the forced Celibacy of the Clergy ought to be deemed of all Institutions the very worst. Indeed all sensible Men of that Church know and lament the innumerable Evils which the Celibacy of her Clergy occasions, and must always occasion, in spite of all Remedies that can be applied to it. But she finds one Advantage in it, which, in her Eyes, makes more than sufficient Amends for all those Evils, *viz.* her ingrossing by that means to herself all the Thoughts and Attention of her Clergy, which, were they allowed to marry, would be divided between her and their Families, and each of them would have a separate Interest from that of the Church. Several Customs and Practices, once warmly espoused by that Church, have, in Process of Time, been abrogated and quite laid aside, on ac-

*The Celibacy
of the Clergy
a bad Institution.*

^o Vide Cæs. comm. de bell. Gall. l. 6. Cic. div. l. 1.

count of the Inconveniences attending them; and this, which long Experience has shewn to be attended with more pernicious Consequences than any other, had, but for that political View, been likewise abolished.

*Another Letter of Syri-
cius.*

Another Letter, universally ascribed to *Syricius*, has reached our Times. It is written in a very perplexed and obscure Style; bears no Date; is not to be found either in *Dionysius Exiguus*, or any antient Code; and is addressed to *all the Orthodox dwelling in different Provinces*: Which is manifestly a Mistake, since *Syricius* desires those, to whom it is addressed, to confirm it with their Subscriptions, which cannot be understood but of Bishops. However, as it is received by all as genuine, I shall not take upon me to reject it as spurious. The Subject of this Letter is the Ordination of the Ministers of the Church; and the First Article is against those who pretend to pass from the Vanities of the World to the Episcopal Dignity. *Syricius* writes, that they came often to him, attended with numerous Retinues, begging him to ordain them; but that they had never been able to prevail upon him to grant them their Request. In the Second Article he complains of the Monks, who were constantly wandering about the Country, and on whom the Bishops chose rather to confer holy Orders, and the Episcopal Dignity itself, than to relieve them with Alms. The Third and last Article forbids a Layman or Neophyte to be ordained either Deacon or Presbyter. If this Letter be genuine, *Syricius* was the first Bishop of Rome who styled himself *Pope*, as *Papebrok* well observes^b; for the Title of his Letter, as transmitted to us, runs thus; *Pope Syricius to the Orthodox, &c.* The Word imports no more than Father, and it was antiently given, out of Respect, to all Bishops, as I have observed elsewhere; but I have found none before *Syricius* who distinguished themselves with that Title.

*Jerom re-
tires from
Rome.*

Jerom continued at Rome some Months after the Death of his great Patron *Damasus*. But, finding himself obnoxious to the Roman Clergy, for the Liberty he had taken in some of his Writings to censure their effeminate and licentious Lives, and, on the other hand, not being countenanced and supported by *Syricius*, as he had been by his Predecessor, he thought it advisable to abandon that City, and return to *Palestine*. Some pretend, but without sufficient Authority, that *Syricius* joined the rest in reviling and persecuting him.

^a Concil. t. 2. p. 1028.

^b Bolland. prop. p. 213.

Baronius has inserted, in his Annals ^c, a Letter from the Usurper ^{The Usur, er} *Maximus*, who reigned in *Gaul*; from which we learn, that *Syricius* ^{Maximus} ^{writes to Sy-} had writ first to him, exhorting him to continue steady in the Catholic Faith; being, perhaps, apprehensive lest he should suffer himself to be imposed upon by the *Priscillianists*, who were very numerous in *Gaul*, and complaining to him of the undue Ordination of a Presbyter named *Agricius*. *Maximus*, in his Answer, pretends great Zeal for the true Faith, and promises to assemble the Bishops of *Gaul*, and of the Five Provinces, meaning *Gallia Narbonensis*, to examine the Affair of *Agricius*. He assures *Syricius*, that he has nothing so much at Heart as to maintain the Catholic Faith pure and uncorrupted, to see a perfect Harmony established among the Prelates of the Church, and to suppress the many Disorders which had prevailed at the Time of his Accession to the Empire, and would have soon proved incurable, had they been neglected. He adds, that many shocking Abominations of the *Manichees*, meaning no doubt the *Priscillianists*, had been discovered, not by groundless Conjectures and Surmises, but by their own Confession before the Magistrates, as *Syricius* might learn from the Acts. For *Maximus* caused the Ringleaders of that Sect to be put to Death this very Year, convicted before the Magistrates of the grossest Immoralities (A). These were *Priscillian* himself, *Felicissimus*,

^c Bar. ad ann. 387. n. 65, 66. ex t. i. ep. Rom. Pont. p. 48.

(A) The first Author of this Sect was one *Mark*, a Native of *Memphis* in *Egypt*, a famous Magician, and once a Follower of the Doctrine of the *Manichees* (1). From *Egypt* he travelled into *Spain*, where he had for his Disciples a Woman of Quality named *Agapa*, *Elpidius* the Rhetorician, and *Agagius* (2). *Priscillian*, of whom I shall speak hereafter, was the Disciple and Successor of the Two latter. *Jerom* tells us, upon the Authority of *Irenaeus*, whom he quotes, that *Mark* passed from the Banks of the *Rhone* into *Aquitaine*, and from thence into *Spain* (3); which made *Baronius* write, that he first infected *Gaul* (4). But no such thing was ever affirmed by *Irenaeus*; and besides, *Jerom* confounds the Sect of the *Marcosians* with that of the *Priscillianists*,

and the Author of the former, who was contemporary with *Irenaeus*, with the Author of the latter, who lived in the Fourth Century.

The *Priscillianists* broached no new Doctrine, but formed a new Sect, by adopting every impious Opinion that had been broached by others; whence their Sect is styled by *Austin*, the common Sink of all other Heresies (5). By their external Behaviour, which was extremely modest and composed, they gained many Followers, whom, by degrees, they let into the Abominations of their Sect; for there was no Lewdness which they did not encourage and practise, rejecting Matrimony for no other Reason, but because it confined a Man to one Woman, and a Wo-

(1) Sulp. l. 2. p. 170. Isid. Hisp. de Scrip. Eccles. c. 2. (2) Id. ib. (3) Hier. ep. 29. (4) Bar. ad ann. 381. n. 113, 114. (5) Aug. hær. 20. p. 13.

cissimus, and *Armenus*, Two Ecclesiastics, who had but very lately embraced his Doctrine; *Asarinus* and *Aurelius*, Two Deacons; *Latronianus*, or, as *Jerom* calls him, *Matronianus*, a Layman, and *Euchrocia*, the Widow of the Orator *Delphidius*, who had professed Eloquence in the City of *Bourdeaux* a few Years before. These were, by the Order of *Maximus*, all beheaded this Year at *Treves*. The rest of *Priscillian's* Followers, whom they could discover and apprehend, were either banished or confined.

*They are
honoured by
their Follow-
ers as Saints
and Martyrs.*

*Many em-
brace their
Doctrine.*

But these Severities served only to increase the Evil which they were employed to cure. The Bodies of *Priscillian*, and of those who had suffered with him, were conveyed by their Friends and Adherents into *Spain*, and there interred with great Pomp and Solemnity; their Names were added to those of other Saints and Martyrs, their Firmness and Constancy extolled, and their Doctrine embraced by such Numbers of Profelytes, that it spread in a short time over all the Provinces between the *Pyrenees* and the Ocean ^d. *Symphosius*, Metropolitan of *Galicie*, whom, after the Death of *Priscillian*, they looked upon as the chief Man and Head of their Sect, took care to fill all the vacant Sees in that Province with Bishops of his own Communion. *Diocletianus*, whom he raised among the rest to that Dignity,

^d Hier. ep. 29.

man to one Man (6). They held it no Crime to speak contrary to what they thought and believed, and to confirm with an Oath what they said when they were talking to People of a different Persuasion. This was one of their favourite Maxims, which above all others they took care to inculcate to their Profelytes, often repeating to them, and among themselves, the famous Verse;

Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli.

Swear, forswear, but never betray a Secret (7).

Hence it was no easy Matter to discover them, for they mixed with the Orthodox at Divine Service; received the Sacraments of the Church, and disowned, with the most solemn Oaths, the Doctrine which

they had been heard by many to utter and teach (8). To this Sect *Priscillian*, who gave Name to it, was gained by the above-mentioned *Elpidius* and *Agagius*. He was a Man of Birth and Fortune, being descended of an antient and illustrious Family in *Spain*, and is said to have been endowed with extraordinary Parts, and well versed in every Branch of Learning; so that many were induced by his Example to embrace the new Sect, and more by his Eloquence; for he had a particular Gift of speaking well, and gaining the Affections of all who heard him (9). Among his Followers were several Persons of the first Rank, both Men and Women, and even some Bishops, namely, *Vegetinus*, *Symphosius*, *Instantius*, and *Salvianus*, of whom the Two latter entered into an indissoluble League and Alliance with him (1).

(6) Id. ib. & Leo, ep. 93. (7) Aug. ib. ep. 253. & ad Con. c. 2. (8) Id. ib. (9) Sulp. l. 2. p. 170. Hier. in Illi. 64. p. 240. (1) Sulp. ib. p. 171. Concil. t. 1. p. 741.

is supposed by St. *Austin* ^e to have been the Author of a Book, famous in those Times, styled *Libra*, or, the *Pound* (A). However, both he and *Symphosius* were afterwards convinced of their Errors; and, desiring thereupon to be reconciled with the Church, they undertook a Journey to *Milan*, in order to engage St. *Ambrose*, Bishop of that City, in their Favour. He received them with the greatest Marks of Kindness and Affection; and being satisfied with the Terms of Reconciliation, which they themselves proposed, and promised to observe, he writ in their Behalf to the Bishops of *Spain*, who, at his Request, admitted them to their Communion ^f (B). *Two of their leading Men renounce their Errors;*

In the Year 438. of the *Spanish*, and 400. of the common *Æra*, a Council was held at *Toledo*; and, in the Presence of that Assembly, *Symphosius*, *Diſtinus*, and *Comasus*, one of *Symphosius*'s Presbyters, solemnly abjured the Errors of *Priscillian*, anathematized the Doctrine, Sect, and Books of that Heretic, and readily signed the Confession of Faith which the Council had drawn up. Their Example was followed by Three other Bishops, *viz.* *Paternus*, *Isonius*, and *Vegetinus*, who were all admitted to the Communion of the Church, and even allowed to keep their Sees, though unduly preferred on Condition the Bishops of Rome and Milan should consent thereto, and *and are admitted to the Communion of the Church by the Council of Toledo.*

^e Aug. ad Con. c. 3.

^f Concil. t. 1. p. 742. ed. Binian.

(A) It was so called because it contained Twelve Questions, as the *Roman Pound* did Twelve Ounces. In that Piece the Author endeavoured to prove, from the Practice of the Patriarchs, of the Prophets, Apostles, Angels, and of *Christ* himself, that a Lye could be no Crime, when uttered to conceal our Religion (2).

(B) That these two Bishops should have applied to St. *Ambrose*, and not to *Syricius*, is what *Baronius* cannot brook; and therefore to bring in, right or wrong, the Bishop of *Rome*, he quotes a Passage of the Council of *Toledo*, where the Fathers of that Assembly, speaking of the Letter which St. *Ambrose* had written in favour of *Symphosius* and *Diſtinus*, adds the following Words in a Parenthesis; *Which Things were likewise suggested by Pope Syricius, of holy Memory* (3). But as these Words have no

manner of Connection with the rest, it is manifest they have been foisted in on Purpose to bring *Syricius* upon the Stage; and were we to admit them as genuine, we could only conclude from thence, that *Syricius* too had written to the Bishops of *Spain* in behalf of *Symphosius* and *Diſtinus*. *Baronius* indeed goes a great way farther; for he infers from the above-mentioned Words, that St. *Ambrose* acted by the Advice and Direction of *Syricius*; and from thence by a second Inference, which could occur to none but himself, that both *Ambrose*, and *Simplicius*, who succeeded him in the See of *Milan*, were the Pope's Legates (4). It is by such far-fetched Inferences and Deductions that he endeavours, throughout his voluminous Performance, to mislead his unwary Readers into a Belief of the Pope's Supremacy.

(2) Id. ib. c. 2, & 18.
n. 54.

(3) Concil. t. 2. p. 1230.

(4) Bar. ad ann. 405.

restore them to the Peace of the Church g. From these Words, which are the very Words of the Council, it is manifest, first, that the Fathers, who composed that Assembly, were Strangers to the Bishop of Rome's universal Jurisdiction; and, secondly, that the Bishop of *Milan* did not act, as *Baronius* pretends, on that Occasion as the Pope's Legate. Their requiring the Approbation of the Bishop of *Milan*, besides that of the Bishop of *Rome*, sufficiently proves the one; and their requiring the Approbation of the Bishop of *Rome*, besides that of the Bishop of *Milan*, the other.

Four other Bishops, viz. *Herenius*, *Donatus*, *Acurius*, and *Æmilius*, could by no means be induced to follow the Example of *Symphosius* and *Dictinius*; and were thereupon deposed by the Council and cut off from the Communion of the Catholic Church. The Bishops of *Rome* and *Milan* not only confirmed the Acts of the Council with respect to *Symphosius* and *Dictinius*, but separated themselves from the Communion of the Bishops of *Betica* and the *Carthageneſe*, who, thinking the Council had dealt too favourably with them, refused to admit them to their Communion h. *Dictinius* died in 420.

Dictinius and is now honoured in *Spain* as a Saint, though it may be justly questioned whether he deserves that Honour. *Idatius* the Chronologist, who was a Native of *Spain*, and raised there to the Episcopal Dignity about the Year 428. mentions him without saying any thing in his Praise, or taking the least Notice of his being honoured then as a Saint. St. *Austin* speaks doubtfully even of his Conversion i, and at the same time tells us, that his Book was highly esteemed by the *Priscillianists*, and his Memory no less revered; which, notwithstanding the eminent Sanctity ascribed to him by *Baronius* k, gives us room to suspect, that the Honour now paid him is owing to a Tradition handed down by the *Priscillianists*. For thus was *Priscillian* himself once revered both as a Saint and a Martyr. Nay, the Author of the Notes on *Sulpitius Severus* assures us, that he has seen his Name in some, not very antient, Martyrologies; and *Petrus de Natalibus* has allowed, both to him, and to *Latronianus*, who suffered with him, a Place among the Martyrs of the Church, pretending to be countenanced therein by the Authority of *Jerom* l. And truly it must be owned, that *Jerom*, in the Year 392. writ very favourably of *Priscillian*. He was executed, says he, by the Faction of *Ithacius*,

The Acts of that Council confirmed by St. Ambrose and Syricius.

Dictinius honoured as a Saint.

Priscillian honoured as a Saint and a Martyr.

g Concil. t. 1. p. 742.
k Bar. ad ann. 405. n. 56.

h Concil. t. 2. p. 1279.
l Pet. de Natal. l. II. c. 89.

i Aug. ad Con. t. 3.

being

being accused by some as if he had embraced the Heresy of the Gnostics; but others maintained, that he held not the Doctrine and Tenets with which he was charged ^m. But being afterwards better informed, he styles him an execrable Man ⁿ, and condemns his Doctrine as an infamous Heresy, as a Plague and Contagion, that cruelly ravaged most of the Spanish Provinces ^o. It is not therefore without Reason that the Church of Rome now anathematizes, as an Heretic, the Man she once revered as a Saint. Such has been the Fate of many others, judged by Baronius himself unworthy of the Worship that was paid them, and therefore set aside, when, by the Command of Gregory XIII. he revised and corrected the Roman Martyrology. As for Dictinius, he has not yet been driven out of Heaven, though nobody can well tell how he came in. 'Tis true, both he and Symphosius are styled Bishops of holy Memory, in the Abstract of the Council of Toledo, which is supposed to have been done about the Year 447. This is all Baronius can plead in favour of his eminent Sanctity. A poor Charter indeed to hold a Place in Heaven by, and claim the Worship and Honours attending it! For the Author of that Abstract is utterly unknown; and, besides, he canonizes alike Symphosius and Dictinius, styling them both Bishops of holy Memory. Why then should his Authority have so much Weight with respect to the one, and none at all in regard of the other? If we bar Prescription, which surely can have no room here, Dictinius can have no more Right to keep the Place he has, than Symphosius to claim the Place he has not. Nay, the latter would have a far better Right, were it true, that Dictinius relapsed into the Errors he had abjured, and was on that Account deposed with several other Bishops of his Sect. This I read in an Author of great Note ^p; but as he advances it upon the Authority of another, viz. of Idatius the Chronologist, and the Passage he quotes is not to be found in that Writer, at least in the Editions I have perused, it would be both unjust and ungenerous to deprive Dictinius of, or disturb him in, the Possession of his Saintship upon such an Evidence.

Syricius and Ambrose, in Conjunction with the Catholic Bishops of Spain, alarmed at the wonderful Progress the Doctrine of Priscillian had made in so short a Time, lest nothing unattempted they could think of to put a Stop to the growing Evil. But all to no Purpose; in spite of their utmost Efforts, in defiance of the most severe

The Doctrine of the Priscillianists takes deep Root in Spain.

^m Hier. vir. ill. c. 121. c. 60.

^p Leo, t. p. 831.

ⁿ Ad Cte. t. 2. p. 152.

^o Id. ep. 82. 29. in Isai.

Laws, that were enacted against them, especially by the Emperors *Honorius*, and *Theodosius* the younger, their Numbers increased daily, and their Doctrine grew daily more popular; the Severities that were practised against them, serving only to recommend those to the Esteem and Veneration of the Multitude, who suffered them, as many did, with Patience and Constancy. As they held it lawful to conceal their real Sentiments from the Catholics, by disowning them with the most solemn Oaths; the Catholics suffered themselves to be led by a mistaken Zeal into the same Error, disowning, in like manner, their Sentiments, the better to discover those of their Adversaries. But this pernicious Practice of *defending Truth by destroying it, and opposing Lies by Lying*, was fully and unanswerably confuted by *Austin*, in his Answer to *Consentius*, who had writ to him at Length upon that Subject ^a (A).

The indefatigable Pains *Syricius* took, together with the other Catholic Bishops, in suppressing the Heresy of the *Priscillianists*, proved quite unsuccessful, though seconded by the Secular Power, and the severest Laws that had yet been enacted against Heretics. Their Doctrine rather gained, than lost Ground; and we shall find them in the Sixth Century, that is, Two hundred Years hence, still a numerous Sect, and Councils assembling, to very little Purpose, against them. *Syricius* was not so intent, as we are told, upon maintaining the Doctrine of the Church, as to neglect the Discipline. In order to correct several Abuses, that had begun to prevail, and revive

^a Aug. ad Con. contra mendac. per totum.

(A) The Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning Equivocations, mental Reservations, and the Lawfulness, or rather Obligation, of concealing, with the most solemn Oaths, what has been revealed under the Seal of Confession, has perhaps some Affinity with the Doctrine of the *Priscillianists*. What is only known under the Seal of Confession, say their Divines, is not known to Man, but to God alone, since it was not discovered to a Man, but to God represented by a Man, that is, to the Priest or Confessor; and therefore the Priest may, with a safe Conscience, affirm, even upon Oath, that he knows not what he thus knew. 'Tis by recurring to this

Doctrine, that *F. Daniel Bartoli*, in his *History of England*, or rather of the *Jesuits in England*, endeavours to justify the Conduct of the *Jesuit Garnet*, in not discovering the *Gun-powder Plot*, to which he supposes him to have been privy: but as it was disclosed to him in Confession, or at least under the Seal of Confession, he had sinned grievously by discovering it, though by such a Discovery he might have saved a whole Nation from Destruction (1). So that the violating such a Seal is a far greater Evil than the Loss of so many Lives, than the utter Ruin of an intire Nation. A Doctrine evidently repugnant to the Dictates both of Reason and Humanity.

(1) Bar. hist d'Inghilterra.

some

some antient Constitutions, that were grown out of Use, he convened a Council at *Rome*, which is said to have consisted of Eighty Bishops; and, with their Consent and Approbation, established the following Canons: 1. That no one should presume to ordain a Bishop, without the Knowledge of the *Apostolic See*. 2. That no Man should be admitted to the Ecclesiastical Order, who, after the Remission of his Sins, that is, perhaps, after his Baptism, had worn the Sword of worldly Warfare. 3. That no Clerk should marry a Widow. 4. That the *Novatians* and *Montanists*, that is, *Donatists*, should be received into the Church by the Imposition of Hands; but that such as, abandoning the Catholic Faith, had been rebaptized by them, should not be re-admitted without performing a long Penance. 5. That the Priests and Deacons should live continent, being, by their Office, daily employed in the Divine Ministry ^b. These Canons or Decrees, say the Roman Catholic Divines, are contained in a Letter, which *Syricius* writ to the Bishops of *Africa*, and which was read, and received as a Law, by a Council held some Years after at *Tela*, in the Province of *Byzacene*, as appears from the Acts of that Council ^c. *Ferrandus*, Deacon of *Carthage*, in his Abridgment of the Canons, done in the Sixth Century, often quotes the Letter of *Syricius*, and takes particular Notice of the Canons that were copied from it by the Council of *Tela*. The same Letter, together with the Acts of that Council, are to be found, Word for Word, in the antient Code of the Church of *Rome*. So that, upon the Whole, we cannot question, says *Baronius*, the Authenticity of that Piece, without rendering the Authority of every other Monument of Antiquity quite precarious, and leaving Men to their own wild and groundless Conjectures. But Men of Learning have, of late Years, been too much upon their Guard to admit, without the strictest Examination, any Piece, however authentic in Appearance, that seemed to countenance the extraordinary Power and Authority claimed by the Bishop of *Rome*. And not without Reason, since they well knew what Pains had been taken to banish Truth, by suppressing or adulterating the most authentic Records, and to establish Falshood, by substituting in their room fabulous Legends, spurious Letters, and Acts of Councils that never were held. As for the Letter ascribed to *Syricius*, it has been suspected ever since Criticism took place ^d, and lately re-

*Council assembled by
Syricius at
Rome.*

^b Concil. t. 2. p. 1028—1030.
in decretal. epist. p. 550.

^c Concil. t. 2. p. 1578.

^d Vide Blond. censur.

jected, as unquestionably supposititious, by F. *Quesnel*, who, in a learned Dissertation on that Subject, proves, in my Opinion, unanswerably, not only the Letter, but the Acts of the pretended Council of *Tela*, to have been forged, and inserted, in latter Times, into the Collection of *Ferrandus*, and the *Roman Code* * (A).

I find

* *Quesn. dissert. 5. sur S. Leon.*

(A) To convince the Reader of this double Forgery, I need not refer him to that judicious Writer. The many groundless, perplexed, and contradictory Arguments, or rather Conjectures, alleged by those who have taken most Pains to prove both the above-mentioned Pieces genuine, viz. by *Chifflerus*, *Papebrok*, and Cardinal *Noris*, are, perhaps, a more convincing Proof of their being forged, than any that can be alleged against them. There is so palpable a Difference, in point of Style, between this Letter, and that which *Syricius* writ to *Himerius*, and which is on all Hands allowed to be genuine, that no one can possibly suppose both to have been penned by one and the same Person. Besides, in the former Letter *Syricius* absolutely commands, and in this only advises, exhorts, and intreats the Priests and Deacons to live continent. Of these Two Difficulties none of the Writers I have just quoted have thought fit to take the least Notice, though they could hardly escape their Observation. The very first Canon or Article of this Letter, for the sake of which both the Letter itself, and the Acts of the Council, were most probably forged, sufficiently betrays the Forgery. For it is absolutely unintelligible, and therefore pointed, construed, altered, &c. in Twenty different Manners, by those who maintain it to be genuine. Some read it thus: *Ut sine conscientia sedis Apostolicæ Primatis nemo audeat ordinare*; That no one should presume to ordain without the Knowledge of the Primate of the Apostolic See. I do not find the Bishops of *Rome* to have ever styled themselves, in their Letters, *Primates of the Apostolic See*; nay, the humble Title of *Primate of the Apostolic See* (humble with respect to the Bishop of *Rome*, Primate, Prince, and Monarch of the whole Church),

so soured *Labbé*, that he fairly owned the Truth, chusing rather to give up the Letter, than to admit a Title that seemed to detract from the *Supremacy*. Besides, it is very certain, that, in the Time of *Syricius* the Bishops of *Rome* were not yet so lost to all Modesty as to pretend, in open Defiance of the Canons, that no Bishop should be ordained without their Knowledge. Others read that Article thus: *Ut extra conscientiam sedis Apostolicæ, hoc est, Primatis, &c.* That none should presume to ordain without the Knowledge of the Apostolic See, that is, of their Primate. Now, is it probable, that the Bishop of *Rome* would have given the Title of *Apostolic See* to all the Metropolitan Churches; a Title which Pope *Leo the Great* would not allow even to the Bishop of *Constantinople* (1)? I might add, that the Author of this Letter writes, and I think very ridiculously, that the *African* Bishops would have come to *Rome* to assist at the Council, had they not been prevented by their Infirmities, or old Age; which is supposing them all to have been old or infirm; that the Subscription of this Letter is very singular, *Data Romæ in Concilio Episcoporum octoginta*, which in all other Synodal Letters is placed at the Beginning; that neither this Letter, nor the Council of *Tela*, by which it is supposed to have been quoted, are ever mentioned or taken notice of by any of the Councils, that were afterwards held in *Africa*, to establish the Celibacy of the Clergy. Some will have this Letter to have been written only for the Bishops of the Vicariate of *Rome*, of which *Syricius* was Primate, and to have been sent by him to the Bishops of *Africa*, and perhaps to those of the other Provinces, with a Design to try whether they might not be prompted to receive the Canons it contained, as general Rules, though made

(1) *Leo*, ep. 78.

I find no farther Mention made of *Syricius*, in the antient Writers, till the Year 390. when he condemned the Doctrine of *Jovinian*, and cast him and his Followers out of the Church. *Jovinian* was by Profession a Monk, by Birth a *Latin*, as *Jerom* observes, and the first who infected that Language with Heresy; all, or rather almost all, the Heresies that, for the first Four hundred Years, had disturbed the Peace of the Church, having been broached by *Greeks*, *Chaldeans*, or *Syrians*^f. He had formerly practised great Austerities, going barefooted, living upon Bread and Water, covered with a tattered black Garment, and earning his Livelihood with the Sweat of his Brow, his Hands being callous with long and hard Labour g. The Doctrine he taught is, by *Jerom*, reduced to the Four following Heads. 1. That those, who, with a lively Faith, have been regenerated by Baptism, cannot afterwards be overcome by the Devil. 2. That for all those, who shall preserve their Baptism, an equal Reward is reserved in Hea-

^f Hier. in Jovin. l. 2. t. 2. p. 94. g Id. ib. l. 1. c. 25. Aug. hæres. 82. Amb. ep. 7.

for the Vicariate only. This had been attempting to establish at once, and in a manner by Surprise, an universal Jurisdiction. But I can hardly believe, that, in the Days of *Syricius*, when the Ambition of the Bishops of *Rome* was yet in its Infancy, they should have aspired to, or entertained any Notion of, such a Jurisdiction. As to the Council, I shall only observe here, that it is said in all the printed Copies of the Councils, all the antient Manuscripts, but one, to have been held at *Tela*, in the Province of *Byzacene*, whereas *Tela* is allowed, even by those who defend this Council as genuine, to have belonged to the *Proconsularis*. They have therefore nothing else to recur to but the Ignorance of the Transcribers, the usual Refuge in such Cases, whom they all agree to have been mistaken, though all equally at a Loss, and at Variance among themselves, how to correct the supposed Mistake. For, instead of *Tela*, some read *Zela* or *Zella*, others *Tena*, *Teneptis*, *Teleptus*, &c. In short there is not a single Town in the whole Province of *Byzacene*, bearing the least Resemblance in Name with *Tela*, that has not been substituted in its room; nay, some have bestowed that Honour on the smallest Villages, as if it were probable, that, in a

Province, filled, as *Byzacene* was, with considerable Cities, and Episcopal Sees, Bishops should chuse to assemble in a Village. To read *Proconsularis* instead of *Byzacene*, as some have done, is contradicting, and consequently giving up, the Acts of that Council; for the Thirty-three Bishops named there, as composing it, were all of the latter Province, and *Vincentius* and *Fortunatianus* are said to have assisted as Deputies from the former (2). It would be needless to dwell any longer on this Subject, and point out the many Absurdities and Contradictions that occur in the supposed Acts of that Council, since the very Title must convince every impartial Reader, that no such Council was ever held. I cannot, however, help taking Notice of a very extraordinary Canon, quoted by *Ferrandus*, from the Letter of *Syricius*, and approved, as is said there, by the Council of *Tela*; viz. That no Bishop should be ordained by a single Bishop, the Church of *Rome* excepted. This Exception is not to be found in the Letter ascribed to *Syricius*, from which they make *Ferrandus* quote it; and, besides, the Bishops of *Rome* were never ordained by a single Bishop, nor did they ever take upon them to ordain Bishops alone.

(2) Concil. t. 1. p. 1577.

ven. 3. That there is no Difference of Merit between abstaining from some Meats, and using them with Thanksgiving. 4. and lastly, That Virgins, Widows, and married Women, are in a State of equal Merit; and, consequently, that all Difference in Merit can only arise from their different Actions. That the Two last were then counted Heresies, shews that the Church began, in this Century, to be tainted with Doctrines that border on Popery, and no-ways consist with the Liberty of the Gospel ^h. Besides these Tenets, *Jovinian* taught, as *Ambrose* and *Austin* inform us, that the Virgin *Mary* preserved her Virginity in conceiving our *Saviour*, but lost it in bringing him forth, pretending to prove by Arguments, *false, but ingenious enough*, say they, that we should otherwise be obliged to own, with the *Manichees*, the Body of *Christ* not to have been real, but acreal ⁱ. He, besides, charged the Catholics with *Manicheism*, on account of their preferring the State of Virginity to that of Matrimony ^k. Both *Jerom* and *Ambrose* tell us, that, together with his Doctrine, he changed his Manners, renouncing his former Austerities, and giving himself up to all manner of Debauchery, to redeem, as it were, the Time he had lost ^l. But perhaps this Charge was not well founded, but rather supposed as a Consequence of his undervaluing Celibacy, and the Merit ascribed to it, there being too many Instances in Ecclesiastical History of such Inferences, drawn from Opinions which were not approved by the Fathers of the Church, as could no-way be justified. They often painted those, whom they styled Heretics, in the blackest Colours, to prejudice the People more effectually against their Doctrine. In this Art *Jerom* excelled all the rest, and none ever disagreed with him, who did not at once forfeit those very Virtues, which he himself had admired and extolled in them before. He abstained, however, from Matrimony; but merely, say *Austin* and *Jerom*, to avoid the Trouble and Anxiety attending it, and not because he apprehended there could be in this Life any Merit in Continency, or any Reward allotted for it in the next ^m. This Doctrine he broached in *Rome*, and soon found there a great Number of Followers, among the rest several of both Sexes, who had embraced, and professed for many Years, the State of Virginity, being seduced and misled, says *Austin*, by the Cavils of that impious Wretch, asking them, whe-

^h Hier. ib. c. 1. ⁱ Aug. op. imp. l. 4. c. 121. & hær. 82. Amb. ep. 7. ^k Aug. in Jul. l. 1. c. 2. & ad Bon. l. 2. c. 2. ^l Hier. ib. c. 25. Amb. ep. 7. ^m Amb. ibid.

ther they pretended to be more holy than *Abraham* and *Sarah*, than many other Men and Women, who, though married, are commended in the *Old Testament*, for their eminent Sanctity ⁿ. The first, who took Offence at this Doctrine, were Two Laymen, *viz. Pammachius* and *Victorinus*. All we know of the latter is, that he was illustrious for his Birth, and, if we believe *Ambrose*, venerable for his Piety ^o. As for *Pammachius*, he is well known in the History of the Church, and often mentioned by *Jerom* with the greatest Commendations. He was descended, says that Writer, from the antient Family of the *Camilli*, and yet less distinguished by the Nobility of his Descent than his Piety ^p. Having heard, by Chance, some of the Propositions advanced by *Jovinian*, he made it his Business to inquire more narrowly into his Doctrine, being assisted therein by *Victorinus*, who had taken the Alarm upon hearing, in *Rome*, this shocking Doctrine, says *Jerom* ^q, that *a Virgin was no better than a married Woman*. These Two having, by a diligent Inquiry, discovered at length the whole Doctrine of *Jovinian*, as well as the Author and Promoters of it, they presented a Request to *Syricius*, acquainting him therewith, and desiring, that the Doctrine of *Jovinian* might be condemned by the Episcopal Authority, and the Sentence of the *Holy Ghost*, as contrary to the Law of God ^r. These are *Ambrose's* Words, as the Text now is; but it is generally thought to have been altered and corrupted. Be that as it will, *Syricius* did not take upon him to act on this Occasion by his private Authority; but, assembling the Priests, Deacons, and other Ecclesiastics of *Rome*, he read to them the Request of *Pammachius* and *Victorinus*, and having, together with them, maturely examined the Doctrine of *Jovinian*, he declared it, with the unanimous Consent of the whole Assembly, contrary to Scripture; and at the same time cut off, for ever, from the Communion of the Church, not only *Jovinian*, who had first broached such a Doctrine, but those among his Followers, who were found to have been the most sanguine in promoting it; *viz. Auxentius, Genialis, Geminator, Felix, Frontinus, Martianus, Januarius, and Ingenius* ^s. *Jovinian*, instead of submitting to the Judgment of *Syricius*, and his Clergy, immediately left *Rome*, and repaired with all Speed to *Milan*, not despairing of being able to engage *Ambrose* in his Favour, and likewise the Emperor *Theodosius*, who was then in that City, before

*The Doctrine
of Jovinian
condemned by
a Council at
Rome.*

ⁿ Aug. hæres. 82. Hier. in Jovin. l. 2. c. 23.
26. ^q Id. ep. 50.

^r Amb. ep. 6.

^o Amb. ep. 6.

^s Id. ib.

^p Hier. ep.

Syricius could prejudice them against him. Of this *Syricius* was aware, and therefore, without Loss of Time, dispatched Three of his Presbyters to *Milan*, *Crescentius*, *Leopardus* and *Alexander*, with a Letter to that Church, which has been transmitted to us among *Ambrose's* Works ^t, acquainting them with what had passed at *Rome*. In virtue of this Letter they were rejected by *Ambrose*; and, at the Request of Three *Roman* Presbyters, driven out of the Town by the Emperor (A):

The Letter of *Syricius* was answered by *Ambrose*, and signed by him, and several other Bishops, who were still at *Milan*, where they had met to condemn *Ithacius*, and his Adherents, for having been accessary to the Death of *Priscillian*. In their Answer they commend the Pastoral Vigilance of *Syricius*, and, having briefly declared their Opinion against the other Tenets of *Jovinian*, dwell on what he had advanced against the Virginity of the Virgin *Mary*. But they seem to have mistaken his Meaning, in charging him with *Manicheism*, and supposing him to have held, that our Saviour did not assume a real Body: for he held no such Doctrine, but only charged the Catholics with it, as *Austin* tells us in express Terms ^u. It is surprising, that such a Question should have thus employed the Thoughts and Attention of so many venerable Prelates, and created such Feuds and Animosities in the Church. Both Parties agreed, that the Virgin *Mary* had brought forth her Son without the Co-operation or Intercourse of Man; and in that Sense alone she is styled a Virgin.

From *Milan* *Jovinian* returned to the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, where his Followers continued to assemble, under his Direction, till the Year 398. when the Emperor *Honorius*, giving Ear to the Complaints of the neighbouring Bishops, enacted a Law, commanding him and his Accomplices to be beaten with Whips armed with Lead, and transported into different Islands ^w. *Jovinian* himself was confined to the Isle of *Boas*, on the Coast of *Dalmatia* ^x, where he gave up the Ghost, about the Year 406. in the midst of the Mirth and Jollity

^t Id. ep. 7.

^u Aug. in Jul. l. 1. c. 2.

^w Cod. Theod. 16. t. 5. l. 53.

^x Hier. in Vigil. c. 1.

(A) *Baronius* pretends it was on this Occasion that *Theodosius* enacted the Law, dated from *Verona* the 3d of *September* of the present Year 390. commanding all, who professed a monastic Life, to quit the Cities, and retire, pursuant to their Profession, into the Deserts (1). But that it was made on a very different Occasion, it will fall in my way to shew hereafter.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 390. n. 47, 48.

of a Banquet, says *Jerom*, adding that he was revived in *Vigilantius*, as *Euphorbus* was formerly in *Pythagoras* ^v. Some of *Jerom*'s Friends in *Rome* sent him the Book, which *Jovinian* had composed to explain and defend his Doctrine, begging him to confute it. He readily complied with their Request, and ended his Work in the Year 392. It consisted of Two Books, but met with a very indifferent Reception at *Rome*. For though he declared from the Beginning, that it was not his Intention to condemn Marriage, and that he had an utter Abhorrence to the Errors of *Marcion*, of *Tatian*, and the *Manichees*, holding Marriage to be sinful; yet the disparaging Terms he made use of in speaking of Marriage, gave great Offence, even to those who professed Continency (A).

Notwithstanding the Severity of the Law I have mentioned above, some still continued to hold, and privately to propagate, the Doctrine of *Jovinian*, which induced *Austin* to compose his Treatise on the Advantages of Marriage and Virginity; a Performance far more judicious than that of *Jerom*, who has taken great Pains to disparage and cry down Marriage, the better to extol Virginity, as if he could not commend the one without condemning the other. *Austin*, on the contrary begins his Work with great Encomiums on Matrimony, to which, however commendable, in the End he prefers Virginity. But after all, the Reasons alleged by the one as well as the other, are, if duly weighed, but empty and unconvulsive Speculations.

The following Year, 391. a great Council was convened at *Capua*, ^{New Dis-} chiefly with a View to restore Peace to the Church of *Antioch*, and ^{turbances in} put an End to the Schism, which had long prevailed there, and had ^{the Church} occasioned almost an intire Separation between the East and the West, ^{of Antioch.} as I have related elsewhere ^a. *Paulinus*, who was acknowledged for lawful Bishop of that City by Part of the Catholics there, by the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Cyprus*, by the Bishop of *Rome*, and all

^v Hier. in Vigil. c. 1.

^a Vide p. 220.

(A) This induced *Pammachius* to purchase all the Copies of it he could get, and send them back to the Author, acquainting him in a friendly manner with what had chiefly given Offence (1). This *Jerom* took as a Token of the most sincere Friendship; and therefore, not satisfied with ac-

knowleging the Obligation he had laid on him, and commending his Conduct as worthy of his great Prudence, and answerable to the Affection which it was owing to, he immediately set about the Apology which *Pammachius* had advised him to write, and inscribed it to him (2).

(1) Ex Ruff. p. 231. & ep. 52.

(2) Hier. ep. 51, 52.

the Western Bishops, died about the Year 388 ^b. But the unhappy Division, which had reigned during his Life, continued to reign even after his Death. For *Paulinus*, by a most unaccountable Conduct, and a most notorious and open Violation of the Canons, took upon him not only to appoint himself a Successor before he died, but to ordain him alone. The Person whom he thus both named and ordained, was one *Evagrius*, a Presbyter, with whom he had always lived in close Friendship ^c; and who on that Account was, notwithstanding his illegal Election and Ordination, acknowledged by *Paulinus*'s Party for Bishop of *Antioch*. *Theodoret* writes, that the Bishop of *Rome*, with the other Western Bishops, and those of *Egypt*, embraced his Communion ^d. But *Ambrose* assures us, that the Bishops of *Egypt* stood neuter, suspending all Communication both with *Evagrius*, and his Competitor *Flavianus*; and speaks in such manner of both, as gives us room to suppose that he himself communicated with neither. *Both rely more on the Invalidity of their Competitor's Ordination*, says he, *than on the Validity of their own*. *It is therefore with Reason that Flavianus declines a fair Tryal, and not without Reason that Evagrius does not demand one* ^e. The Example of *Ambrose* was, in all Likelihood, followed by the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Western Bishops; or *Ambrose*, perhaps, conformed to theirs (A).

All the Bishops of *Illyricum*, upon the Death of *Paulinus*, admitted *Flavianus*, and not *Evagrius*, to their Communion, if we may depend upon *Theodoret* ^f. As this new Election occasioned unheard-of Disturbances in the Church of *Antioch*, as the Division still continued between the East and the West, the Western Bishops had frequent Recourse to the Emperor *Theodosius*, during the Three Years he passed in the West, pressing him to oblige, by his Imperial Authority, both *Flavianus* and *Evagrius* to submit their Cause to the Judgment of a

^b Soz. l. 5. c. 15. & l. 7. c. 15. Hier. vir. ill. c. 125.
^d Theod. ib. ^e Amb. ep. 9. ^f Theod. ib.

^g Theodor. l. 5. c. 25.

(A) A modern Writer will have it by all means, that *Syricius* communicated with *Evagrius* (1), because he had always opposed *Flavianus*, as his Predecessors had done. But surely from his espousing the Cause of *Paulinus*, who was legally chosen,

against *Flavianus*, whose Election was contested, we cannot well conclude, that in Opposition to him, he likewise took the Part of one whose Election was indisputably illegal. It is far more probable, that he communicated with neither.

(1) M. Launoy, ep. 7. p. 10.

Council, that should be held in *Italy*. *Theodosius* consented at last to their Request, named *Capua* for the Place where the Council should meet, and took upon him to oblige *Flavianus* to repair thither at the Time appointed. Soon after, that is about the 14th of *July* 391. he left *Italy*, where he had continued ever since the Year 388. settling young *Valentinian* on the Throne, and set out for *Constantinople*, into which City he made his Entry on the 10th of *November*. Before his Departure from *Italy* he had writ to *Flavianus*, commanding him to repair to *Constantinople*, and wait his Arrival there. *Flavianus* readily complied with the Emperor's Orders, and appeared at Court the Day after his Arrival. But when the Prince acquainted him with the Promise he had made to the Western Bishops, and desired him to prepare for the Journey, which he did in a very obliging Manner, *Flavianus* represented to him the Inconveniencies attending so long a Journey at that Season of the Year, and begged he would give him Leave to put it off to the Spring, when he would not fail to obey his Orders. The Emperor, seeing him stricken in Years, thought the Excuse just and reasonable; and therefore, out of Compassion and Good-nature, allowed him for the present to return to his See. Thus did *Flavianus*, by the Indulgence of the Emperor, avoid the Judgment of the Western Bishops, who wisely forbore meddling with so nice a Subject in his Absence, though his Competitor was present.

The Council of *Capua* met in the Latter-end of the Year 391. and *The Council of Capua* was it seems, a very numerous Assembly, since it is styled, in the Canons of the Church of *Africa*, a full Council ^b. But whether it was composed of all the Western Bishops, or only of the Bishops of *Italy*, is uncertain, and cannot be determined from the Words of *Ambrose*, *We all met* ⁱ, which may be equally understood of both. As the Acts of this Council have not reached our Times, we do not even know who presided at it, some conferring that Honour on *Ambrose* ^k, some on *Syricius* ^l, and some on both ^m. That *Syricius* presided, or even assisted, in Person, is not at all probable; for in the Times I am now writing of, the Bishops of *Rome* had begun to affect Grandeur; and, under Pretence that their Presence was necessary in the great Metropolis of the Empire, to assist or preside in Councils held elsewhere by their Deputies or Legates, as they are now styled.

ⁱ Id. ib. & Amb. 9.
ep. 7. p. 10.

^l Bar. ad ann. 391.

^k Concil. t. 2. p. 1072.

^j Amb. ep. 9.

^m Laun.

ⁿ Blond. primaut. p. 237.

That *Syricius* assisted, by his Deputies, at the Council of *Capua*, I do not doubt, since the Council was composed, at least, of all the Bishops of *Italy*, and *Syricius* owned himself bound by their Decrees². But that *Ambrose* presided, seems undeniable, since by him, and him alone, the Whole was conducted and managed (A).

The Difference between the Two Competitors to the See of Antioch referred, by the Council, to the Bishops of Egypt.

Flavianus refuses to comply with the Decree of the Council.

The Council avoided deciding, and even taking into Consideration, the Affair of *Flavianus* and *Evagrius*, in the Absence of the former, though they had chiefly met for that Purpose. However, to re-establish the Tranquillity of the Church, they agreed to renew their Correspondence with, and grant their Communion to, all the Catholic Bishops of the East. As for the Difference between the Two Competitors for the See of *Antioch*, they committed the discussing and deciding it to *Theophylus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and the other Bishops of *Egypt*, as the most proper Judges, since they communicated with neither, and therefore could not be suspected to favour the one more than the other². The Bishop of *Alexandria* immediately acquainted *Flavianus* with the Resolution of the Council, summoning him, at the same time, to appear, in Compliance therewith, before the Bishops of *Egypt*, who were soon to assemble, in order to put the Decree of that venerable Assembly in Execution. But *Flavianus*, instead of obeying the Summons, and paying the Regard that was thought due to the Decree of so numerous a Council, refused to stir from *Antioch*, pleading a Rescript, which he had extorted from *Theodosius*, commanding the Western Bishops to repair into the East, and there examine the Affair in a new Council. This *Theophylus* did not expect, and therefore being at a Loss how to conduct himself on such an Emergency, he gave *Ambrose* immediate Notice of the Summons he had sent, and the Answer he had received. *Ambrose* had nothing so much at Heart as to restore Peace and Tranquillity to the Church of *Antioch*; and from the Regard which the Council had shewn to *Flavianus*; as well as the Impartiality with which they had acted with respect to both, he had promised himself Success in so pious an Undertaking. It was therefore with the ut-

² Amb. ep. 9.

² Id. ib.

(A) *Baronius*, without the least Foundation in History, supposes *Ambrose* to have acted as the Popes Legate. But it is the Custom of that Writer to vest every eminent and distinguished Prelate with the Le-

gatine Dignity on such Occasions, and then pass upon his Readers the Deference and Regard shewn to their Merit for a Tribute paid to the Bishops of *Rome*.

most Concern that he saw his Endeavours thus unexpectedly defeated, and all Hopes of accomplishing what he had undertaken, vanish at once. He had but too much Reason to resent such an affronting Conduct, which did not so much affect the Council in general, as him in particular, since it was at his Motion, that the Council took the above-mentioned Resolution. That, however, did not tempt him to depart from the Neutrality he had embraced, and declare for *Evagrius*: he still maintained the same Impartiality, and refused to communicate with either. In his Answer to *Theophylus*, he desires him, without betraying the least Emotion of Anger or Resentment, to summon *Flavianus* once more, directing him, at the same time, to communicate with all the Catholic Bishops of the East, pursuant to the Decree of the Council, whether he complied with this Second Summons or no; and to acquaint the Bishop of *Rome* with what he had done, that, the Whole being approved by that Church, as he did not question but it would, the whole Church might be happily of one Mind, and reap the Fruit of his Labour ^b.

Syricius, and in all Likelihood *Ambrose* too, wrote to *Theodosius*, pressing him to send *Flavianus* to *Rome* (B), if he did not approve of his being judged by the Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Syricius*, in his Letter, tells the Emperor, that he well knew how to deal with Tyrants, who revolted from him, and how to chastise them; but suffered those to go unpunished, who despised the Laws of *Christ* ^c (C).

Theodosius, in Compliance with the Request of *Syricius*, made in the Name of all the Western Bishops, sent anew for *Flavianus*, and told him, that he must, by all means, either repair to *Rome*, or submit his Cause to the Judgment of the Bishops of *Egypt*. But he was determined, says *Theodoret*, to relinquish his Dignity rather than to suffer the Western Bishops, or those of *Egypt*, to examine and decide whether he had a Right to it or no; and, by that means, to hold it of them. He therefore answered the Emperor, with great Calmness and Respect, in the following Terms: *Sir, if my Faith is not thought Orthodox, or my Conduct not worthy of a Catholic Bi-*

Ambrose's Moderation and Impartiality.

Syricius writes to the Emperor.

Flavianus ready to resign his Dignity, rather than to submit to the Judgment of the Egyptian or Western Bishops.

^b Id. ib.

^c Theod. l. 5. c. 23.

(B) That is, into the West; for thus *Theodoret* constantly expresses the West.

(C) *Theodoret* tells us, that *Damasus*, *Syricius*, and *Anastasius* the Successor of *Syricius*, wrote to the Emperor *Theodosius*

about the Dispute between *Flavianus* and *Evagrius*. A gross Mistake! since *Damasus* was dead long before the Election of *Evagrius*, and *Theodosius* before that of *Anastasius*.

shop, I am willing to be judged by those who accuse me, and ready to submit to the Sentence they shall pronounce. But, if all this Noise is made merely for the sake of my Dignity, from this Moment I resign every Preferment I enjoy in the Church, to those whom nothing but Preferment can silence. You may therefore dispose of the See of Antioch, now vacant, to whom you please. Theodosius, pleased with this Answer, and thinking Flavianus, the more ready he was to give up his Dignity, the more worthy to hold it, ordered him to return to Antioch, and resume the Government of his Church; nor did he ever afterwards give the least Attention to the pressing and repeated Instances of Syricius, and his Collegues in the West ^d.

Flavianus
did not ac-
knowledge in
Syricius the
Power
claimed by
his Successors.

From the whole Conduct of *Flavianus* it is manifest, that he did not acknowledge any extraordinary Power in *Syricius*, much less that Power, which has been claimed by his Successors, of disposing, by Divine Right, of all Bishopricks, of placing and displacing Bishops, at Pleasure, throughout the Christian World. This Power, though evidently usurped, and utterly unknown even in the End of the Fourth Century, Bishops are now obliged to own in their very Titles, styling themselves Bishops of such a Place, *by the Grace of God, and of the Apostolic See*. *Flavianus* was content with *the Grace of God*; and, as for the *Grace of the Apostolic See*, he gave himself no Trouble about it. And yet *Flavianus* is honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint; and his Festival kept on the 26th of *September*. And truly, if we may depend upon the Testimony of the most authentic and unexceptionable Writers of those Times, we shall hardly find one in the *Roman Calendar* more worthy of that Honour. The famous *John Chrysostom*, who was one of his Presbyters before his Promotion to the See of *Constantinople*, has filled his Homilies with the Praises of *the great Flavianus*, as he styles him. His distinguished Merit, eminent Virtues, and extraordinary Piety, seem to have been *Chrysostom's* favourite Topic; and these Encomiums he bestowed upon him, while he was still alive. After his Death he was distinguished by the Council of *Chalcedon*, with the Title of *the blessed Flavianus* ^e; and by that of the East, held under *John of Antioch*, ranked among the brightest Luminaries, the most illustrious Prelates, and the greatest Saints of the Church ^f. *Theodoret* never names him without adding to his Name some Epithet, denoting his extraordinary Merit, such as

^d Id. ib.

^e Concil. t. 4. p. 830.

^f Facund. Hermian. l. 8. c. 1.

the great, the holy, the admirable Flavianus. As therefore no room is left to doubt of his extraordinary Piety and Merit, we may well conclude, from his absolutely refusing to submit his Cause to the Judgment of *Syricius*, and the other Bishops of the West, that he did not acknowledge either in him or them a Power to judge him. This Refusal did not, in the Eyes of *Chrysostom*, and other great Men, detract in the least from his Merit, nor lessen the high Opinion they entertained of his Sanctity. A plain Indication that they did not think his Conduct reprehensible, and consequently did not acknowledge, more than he, that Power which is now one main Article of the *Roman Catholic Creed*.

As *Flavianus* declined the Judgment of the *Western* as well as the *The Communion between the East and the West renewed.* *Egyptian* Bishops, and the Emperor gave no farther Ear to their Remonstrances and Complaints, the Resolution taken by the Council of *Capua* was put in Execution; which was, to renew the Communion and good Understanding between the East and the West, and abandon the Church of *Antioch* to its Schism, which, after so many promising Remedies applied in vain, began now to be deemed an incurable Evil &c.

The Council of *Capua*, after the above-mentioned Resolution concerning the Difference between *Flavianus* and *Evagrius*, *Bonosus accused before the Council.* heard a Charge brought by some Bishops against *Bonosus*, Bishop of *Naissus* in *Dacia*, according to some, or, as others will have it, of *Sardica*, the Metropolis of that Province. He was accused of a Crime against the Canons of the Church and the Law of God ^b, and likewise of Heresy. The Crime is not specified; but as *His Errors* for the Heresy, I gather from *Austin*, that he held the Son to be inferior to the Father ⁱ; and from *Ambrose*, that he taught, the Virgin *Mary* had had other Children after the Birth of *Christ* ^k. He had, it seems, been condemned by *Damasus*, who died in 384^l. but still *The judging of his Cause committed by the Council to the neighbouring Bishops, who condemn him,* held his See, and was not driven from it even by the Council of *Capua*. For the Fathers of that Assembly committed the hearing and judging of his Cause to the Bishops in his Neighbourhood, chiefly to those of *Macedon*, under their Metropolitan *Anysius*, Bishop of *Thessalonica* ^m. The neighbouring Bishops assembled, pursuant to the Order of the Council; and *Bonosus*, as well as his Accusers, appearing before them, they found the Charge so well supported, that they immediately forbid him to enter his Church; which was suspending him

^g Ruff. l. 11. c. 22.

ep. 5. & Instit. Virg. p. 5.

^h Mercat. t. 2. p. 128.

ⁱ Merc. ib.

^j Aug. ep. 150.

^k Amb. ib.

^l Amb.

from all Episcopal Functions. *Bonofus* complained loudly of this Sentence, and even advised with the Bishop of *Milan*, whether he might not, in Defiance of a Judgment so rash and immature, still exercise the Functions of his Office, and, in case of Opposition, repel Force with Force: *Ambrose* exhorted him, in the strongest Terms, to acquiesce to the Sentence, to conduct himself with the Prudence, Temper, and Moderation, that became a Bishop; and, above all, not to undertake any thing that might be interpreted as a Contempt of the Authority of his Judges, since he could not condemn their Authority, without condemning at the same time that of the Council, which had appointed themⁿ. In the mean time the Bishops of *Macedon*, having more leisurely examined the Cause of *Bonofus*, wrote to *Syricius*, referring the Decision to him, and declaring their *Abhorrence of the detestable Error, that the Virgin Mary had other Children besides Christ*. If this was an Error, which may well be doubted, it was one that did no-way affect the Christian Faith, and therefore did not deserve such a severe Condemnation: but as it thwarted the favourable Opinions then entertained in the Church concerning Virginitv, it is no Wonder that it should meet with so rough a Treatment (A).

Syricius,

Id. ib.

(A) That the *Virgin Mary* had other Children besides *Christ*, was not a new Opinion. It was taught by *Helvidius* in 383. and long before him by *Tertullian*, as *Jerom* himself is forced to own in the Treatise which he wrote against *Helvidius*: nay, in the Time of *Epiphanius*, who flourished from the Year 366. to 403. that Opinion universally prevailed in *Arabia*, as appears from the Letter which he wrote in Confutation of it, and addressed to all the Christians dwelling in *Arabia*, from the Presbyters down to the Catechumens. In that Letter he styles those who denied the perpetual Virginitv of the *Virgin Mary*, *Antidicomarianites*; and ranks them, though their Opinion had not yet been condemned by the Church, sometimes among the Heretics, and sometimes among the Schismatics. But in the same Letter he censures, with no less Severity, those who adored her, styling the Worship that was paid her an *idolatrour Heresy*; which was taxing those who paid it both with Heresy and Idolatry;

and from neither will the unmeaning Terms of *Latria*, *Dulia*, *Hyperdulia*, &c. invented and used by the Schoolmen to express different Degrees of Worship, excuse the present Practice of the Church of *Rome*. *Epiphanius* was unacquainted with such Terms, as well as with the different Degrees of Worship answering them; and therefore called the Meeting of certain Women, on a stated Day, to offer a Cake to the *Virgin Mary*, and eat it together in her Honour (whence they had the Name of *Collyridians*), a *Folly repugnant to Religion, an Illusion of the Devil, a robbing God of the Honour that was due to him, an idolatrour Heresy* (1). These Women came from the Northern Provinces of *Scythia* into *Thrace*, probably about the Year 372. when *Athanasius* King of the *Goths* drove all the Christians out of his Dominions. From *Thrace* they wandered into *Arabia*; and there, in Opposition to the *Antidicomarianites*, introduced the above-mentioned idolatrour Practice. This is the first Instance

(1) Epiph. hæc. 78, 79.

Syricius, in his Answer to the Bishops of *Macedon*, approves their Sentiments; and employs almost his whole Letter to shew, that the Virgin *Mary* was always a Virgin: but as for the Cause of *Bonofus*, he tells them, that *it was not lawful for him to judge it, since that Province had been committed to them by the Council of Capua* °. And was not this disclaiming, in the most plain and explicit Terms he possibly could, that Power which his Successors challenge, and have almost overturned the Christian Religion to maintain (A)?

° Amb. *ibid.*

of any Worship paid to the Virgin *Mary*; and to those Women the extravagant Worship that is still paid her by the Church of *Rome*, owes its Rise. Some of these Women took upon them to act, at their Meetings, as Priestesses. This *Epiphanius* styles an abominable Abuse, Women being so utterly incapable, says he, of performing any Ecclesiastical Functions, that our Saviour did not grant even to his Mother the Power of baptizing (9).

(A) Such a Letter, we may be sure, has not been tamely received by the Partisans of *Rome*. Some of them have rejected it as forged and surreptitious, for no other Reason, but because *Syricius* is there made to disclaim a Power which he undoubtedly had. But this is evidently begging the Question (1). Others, finding it conveyed to us amongst *Ambrose's* Letters, have ascribed it to him, by prefixing his Name to it. But *Ambrose* is unluckily named, and spoken of, in the Body of the Letter: whence *Baronius* himself allows it not to be his (2). The Style afforded great Matter of Dispute, some thinking it like, and others unlike, to the Style of *Syricius*: but more than the Style, the Title; *To Theophilus and Anysius*. The former was Bishop of *Alexandria*: And how came he to be any-ways concerned in the Cause of *Bonofus*? If that Name was common to him with some Bishops of *Macedon*, how came that Bishop to be named before *Anysius* his Metropolitan (3)? In the Height of these Disputes, *Holstenius* published the above-mentioned Letter at *Rome*, under the Name of *Syricius*, from a very antient

and authentic Manuscript, with the following Title, *To Anysius and the other Bishops of Illyricum* (4). This turned the Controversy into another Chancel; for the Dispute was no more concerning the Authenticity, but the Sense, of the Letter, which the Sticklers for the See of *Rome* began to think very different from the Sense that the Words of *Syricius* had conveyed to them before; nay, those who had rejected the Letter as spurious, for no other Reason but because *Syricius* was there made to disown a Power which he undoubtedly had, were not ashamed now to maintain, that he disowned no such Power. Some of them have a particular Faculty or Talent at making Authors say what they never thought or dreamt of; nay, at making them affirm what they flatly deny, and deny what they positively affirm. But they have not been so successful on this as on several other Occasions. The Words of *Syricius* are too plain and precise to admit of any plausible, or even probable, Misinterpretation. To avoid therefore the tiresome and unnecessary Task of confuting the forced Interpretations they have put on the Words of *Syricius*, I refer the Reader to his Letter, which is the Fifth amongst *Ambrose's* Letters; and leave him to judge, whether it was possible for him to disclaim, in Terms less liable to Misinterpretations, the Power of judging a Cause committed by a Council to the Judgment of others, which was disclaiming, in other Words, that universal Jurisdiction, which his Successors have usurped, and pretend to exercise by Divine Right.

(9) Idem *ibid.* (1) David. p. 562, 563. (2) Bar. ad ann. 389. n. 76.
(3) Vid. Blond. primau. p. 236. (4) Holst. coll. Rom. t. 1. p. 189.

Bonofus ex-
ercises the
Episcopal
Functions af-
ter his Con-
demnation.

As *Syricius* declined the judging of *Bonofus*, his Cause was in the End decided, and he condemned by *Anysius* and the other Bishops, to whom that Judgment had been committed by the Council of *Capua*. It was at the same time decreed, that those who had been ordained by him after the first Sentence, that is, after his Suspension, should retain the Degrees to which he had raised them. This Indulgence was shewn, as is declared in the Decree, contrary to the common Rule, on account of the present Necessity; that is, lest they should adhere to *Bonofus*; and form a Schism p. *Bonofus*, though thus condemned, continued to exercise the Episcopal Functions, and, holding separate Assemblies, to ordain, without Examination or Distinction, all who presented themselves to him: nay, he is even charged with dragging some by open Force to his Conventicle, and ordaining them there against their Will q: a kind of Rape never heard of before. What Advantage he could propose to himself or others in so doing, we are not told, and it is not easy to guess. The Bishops of *Macedon* allowed even those, who were thus ordained, to keep their respective Degrees in the Catholic Church, upon their only receiving the Benediction of a lawful Bishop. Hence those, who found themselves excluded by the Church from holy Orders, on account of their scandalous Lives, applied to *Bonofus*, pretending to espouse his Party, but left him as soon as they had obtained the Degree they wanted r. *Bonofus* died about the Year 410. but his Doctrine did not die with him, being maintained by some Two hundred Years after his Death (B).

He ordains
some by Force.

An End put
to the Schism
of Antioch.

Syricius had, in the last Year of his Life, the Satisfaction of seeing an End put at length to the Schism of *Antioch*, which I have had so frequent Occasion to speak of; and the East and West, after so long a Misunderstanding, or rather Separation, happily reunited. This great

p Concil. t. 2. p. 1274.

q Ib. p. 1275.

r Ib.

(B) His Followers were known by the Name of *Bonofiacs* or *Bonofians*; and Mention is made of them by Pope *Gregory*, towards the Latter-end of the Sixth Century (1). That Pope writes, as does likewise *Gennadius* (2), that the Church rejected their Baptism, because they did not baptize in the Name of the Three Divine Persons. But the Council of *Arles*, held in 452. by the Seventeenth Canon, commands

the *Bonofians* to be received into the Church by the holy Unction, the Imposition of Hands, and a Confession of Faith, it being certain, that they baptize in the Name of the Trinity (3). It is to be observed, that several Writers have confounded the *Bonofians* with the *Photinians*, who did not baptize in the Name of the Three Persons; and by them both *Gregory* and *Gennadius* were misled (4).

(1) *Greg.* l. 9. ep. 61.
p. 188.

(2) *Id.* ib. *Genn.* dog. c. 52.

(3) *Avit.* frag.

(4) *Vide* Concil. t. 2. p. 1270. & t. 3. p. 663. & t. 4. p. 1013.

Work was accomplished in the following Manner: *Evagrius*, the Successor of *Paulinus*, dying not long after his Promotion, *Flavianus* employed all the Credit and Interest he had at Court, and with the Clergy of *Antioch*, to prevent the Election of a new Bishop in the room of the deceased: and so far his Endeavours proved successful. But he could by no means gain the *Eustathians*, who continued to assemble apart, or prevail either upon the Bishops of *Egypt*, or *Syricius*, and the other Western Bishops, to admit him to their Communion, though he had no Competitor, whose Cause they could espouse against him. Thus, through the inflexible Obstinacy of the *Egyptian* and Western Bishops, was Discord kept alive, and a kind of Schism fomented among the Prelates and Members of the Catholic Church, says *Sozomen* ^s. In this Situation Affairs continued from the Year 392. in which *Evagrius* died, to the Year 398. when the famous *John Chrysostom*, Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, was, in regard of his extraordinary Merit, preferred to the See of *Constantinople*. No sooner was he placed in that high Station, than his generous Disposition, above all little Piques and Jealousies, his Zeal for the Welfare of the Church in general, and the tender Regard he had for that of *Antioch* in particular, prompted him to employ all the Credit and Authority, which his new Dignity gave him, in bringing about an intire Reconciliation between the East and the West, and restoring the Church of *Antioch* to the Communion of those Churches, from which it had been so long separated ^t. *Chrysostom* had been consecrated by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, whom the Council of *Capua* had appointed to decide, with the other Bishops of *Egypt*, the Difference between *Flavianus* and *Evagrius*, as I have related above. To him therefore, before he left *Constantinople* to return to *Egypt*, the new Bishop of that City, impatient to see so great a Work brought to a happy Issue, imparted his Intention of attempting a Reconciliation between *Flavianus* and *Syricius* Bishop of *Rome*, earnestly intreating him to second and promote with his Endeavours an Undertaking truly worthy of the Two first Bishops of the East.

There had subsisted a Misunderstanding between *Theophilus* and *Flavianus* ever since the Year 391. when the Council of *Capua* was held. *Flavianus* had refused to submit his Cause to the Judgment of *Theophilus*, pursuant to the Resolution of that Council; which he had highly resented; and, in the Height of his Resentment, as he was

^s Soz. l. 8. c. 3.

^t Theod. l. 5. c. 23. Soz. l. 8. c. 3.

a Man of a fiery and choleric Temper, he had written to *Flavianus* in a very haughty and imperious Style. To these Letters *Nestorius*, no doubt, alludes, where he tells us, that *Egypt* could not, by her menacing Letters, though written in the Style, and with all the Haughtiness of an imperious Tyrant, move or terrify the blessed *Flavianus* ^u. It was necessary, in the first place, to remove the Misunderstanding which had so long subsisted between these Two Prelates; and in this *Chrysostom* met with no Difficulty or Obstruction, *Theophilus* readily agreeing to the Terms he proposed in the Name of *Flavianus*, and *Flavianus* ratifying them, upon the first Notice, without the least Exception or Limitation. What these Terms were, we are no-where told; but it is certain, that, all Disputes being thereby composed, the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* were intirely reconciled, and the Communion between them renewed, to the great Satisfaction of both ^w. The next Thing to be attempted, and, as was apprehended, the most difficult to be accomplished, was the reconciling of *Syricius* with the Bishop of *Antioch*, who had now held that See Seventeen Years, but had not been able, notwithstanding the great Character he bore, to obtain the Communion of *Syricius*, or any of his Predecessors, on account of their strong Prejudice against him, as well as his Predecessor *Meletius*, and their obstinate Attachment to the contrary Party, in Opposition to the far greater Part of the Eastern Bishops. But the Zeal of *Chrysostom* was Proof against all Difficulties. Not despairing therefore of Success, he took the most effectual Means a consummate Prudence could dictate, to obtain it, advising the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* to acquaint the Bishop of *Rome*, by a solemn Embassy, with their Reconciliation, and at the same time to beg, in the Name of *Flavianus*, the Communion of that See. This he knew would flatter the Vanity of *Syricius*, and be of more Weight than any Remonstrances they could make. They readily fell in with the Proposal, and Deputies were immediately chosen to put it in Execution. These were *Acacius* Bishop of *Beræa*, *Demetrius* of *Pessinus*, and several other Bishops, with *Isidorus* Presbyter and Hospitaler of the Church of *Alexandria*, and a great Number of Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of *Antioch*. *Acacius*, who was at the Head of this Deputation, was charged by *Chrysostom* to present to *Syricius* the Decree of his Election to the See of *Constantinople* ^x. That so great

Chrysostom attempts a Reconciliation between Flavianus and Syricius.

His prudent Conduct.

^u Marc. t. 2. p. 86.
Pallad. dial. c. 4.

^w Socr. l. 5. c. 15.

^x Soz. l. 8. c. 3. Socr. l. 6. c. 9.

an Honour might not be conferred in vain on the See of *Rome*, it was thought advisable to acquaint *Syricius* with their Design, before they set out, and to be well assured of a kind Reception on their Arrival in the West. They gave him accordingly early Notice of their Intention, and he, taken with the Bait, readily promised to settle every thing to their Satisfaction; which he did accordingly, receiving them, on their Arrival at *Rome*, with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, and admitting *Flavianus* to his Communion. From *Rome* the Deputies repaired into *Egypt*, where all the Bishops, following the Example of *Theophilus* and *Syricius*, acknowledged *Flavianus* for lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, and, assembling in Council, with great Solemnity, embraced his Communion. From *Egypt* the Deputies set out for *Antioch*, and there, by delivering to *Flavianus* Letters of Communion from the Western and *Egyptian* Bishops, completed the great Work, and with it their Deputation 2. Thus was an End put, at last, to the Schism of *Antioch*; and, after so many Years of Strife and Contention, a perfect Harmony and good Understanding were settled anew between the East and the West (A).

*Syricius and
Flavianus
reconciled.*

*The Misunderstanding
between the
East and the
West intirely
removed.*

Flavianus,

1 Theod. l. 5. c. 23.

2 Soz. l. 5. c. 15. Theod. ib. Pallad. dial. p. 10.

(A) If *Syricius* is to blame (and who, but *Baronius*, can excuse him?) for not acknowledging *Flavianus*, at least after the Death of *Paulinus*, the Election of his Successor *Evagrius* being unquestionably uncanonical and illegal; how much more is he to blame for not acknowledging him even after the Death of *Evagrius*, when he had no Pretence whatsoever for denying him his Communion, and by granting it he might have put an End to the Schism? *Baronius*, to conceal the Truth, and mislead his Readers, takes a great deal of Pains, in his Account of this Schism, to place in a false Light all the Transactions relating to it. But, in spite of all the Art he has been able to use, to varnish over the Conduct of *Syricius*, and impose on the Public, it must appear undeniable to every impartial, I may say, to every rational, Man, that the Schism, and the many Evils attending it, which are pathetically described by *Chrysostom*, who was then at *Antioch* (1), were intirely owing to the Pride and Obstinacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, at least during

the last Six Years, that is, from the Year 382. when *Evagrius* died, to 388. when he yielded, at last, upon his being courted to it by a solemn Embassy. He had nothing then to object against the Election, and much less against the Conduct of *Flavianus*; and, if he had nothing then, he could have nothing before; so that it was merely from a haughty and obstinate Spirit that he refused to communicate with him, and, by such a Refusal, kept up and fomented a Division so pernicious to the Church. *Baronius* represents him as labouring with indefatigable Pains to restore the Tranquillity of the Church, and leaving nothing unattempted that could any-ways contribute to the promoting of so pious an Undertaking, an Undertaking which he had so much at Heart. But that he had nothing at Heart besides the Glory of his See, is but too manifest from his Conduct; for the Minute that was saved, as it was by the above-mentioned Deputation, all the Difficulties vanished at once, which till then had obstructed the Work. As for the Con-

(1) Chrys. in Eph. hom. 11.

Flavianus
endeavours
in vain to
gain over
the Eusta-
thians.

Flavianus, being thus at last in the Seventeenth Year of his Episcopacy, acknowledged by, and united in Communion with, all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, spared no Pains to gain over the *Eustathians*, that, by reuniting them to the rest of his Flock, he might have the Merit and Glory of establishing an intire and lasting Tranquillity in the Church committed to his Care. But his Zeal was not therein attended with the wished for Success. The Glory of completing so great and desirable a Work was, by Providence, reserved for *Alexander*, one of his Successors, who had the Satisfaction of seeing all Party-Names laid aside, and the whole People of *Antioch* united in one Flock, under one and the same Shepherd. This Union was made with great Solemnity, in the Year 415. Eleven Years after the Death of *Flavianus*, and Eighty-five after the Beginning of the Schism. Thus *Theodoret*, in his Ecclesiastical History*. But *Theodorus* the Lector assures us, that there still remained some

* Theodoret. l. 5. c. 35.

duct of *Flavianus*, in refusing to submit his Cause to the Judgment of the Council of *Capua*, or of the *Egyptian* Bishops, appointed to judge it by that Council, it must appear, if impartially considered, more worthy of Commendation than Blame, tho' condemned, in very unbecoming Terms, by the Sticklers for the See of *Rome*. He had been chosen in the Oecumenical Council of *Constantinople*, in the Year 381. by the unanimous Voice of all the Bishops of the Diocese of the East, or the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, and soon after ordained in their Presence, at *Antioch*, with the Approbation of *Nestorius*, then Bishop of *Constantinople*, and the loud Acclamations of the far greater Part of the People of *Antioch*, promising themselves, in him, a second *Meletius*, in whose room he was chosen (2). Being thus chosen and ordained, he was acknowledged by all the Bishops of the East, except those of *Egypt*, of the Island of *Cyprus*, and *Arabia*. Could he therefore, without shamefully betraying the undoubted Right, which the Bishops of each Diocese had of choosing their Metropolitan, suffer his Election to be questioned and canvassed by the Western Bishops, who had no Concern in it; and, besides, had openly espoused the Cause of

his Competitor *Paulinus*, and supported him, so long as he lived, with the most open and avowed Partiality? Could he, without foregoing, in a manner still more shameful, both his own Right, and that of his Electors, out of Compliance to the Bishops assembled at *Capua*, put himself upon the Level with *Evagrius*, whose Election and Ordination were undoubtedly illegal? Besides, *Flavianus* was sensible, that the Eastern Bishops would have paid no manner of Regard to the Sentence of the Council; that, had the Council adjudged the See of *Antioch* to *Evagrius*, such a Judgment, instead of closing, would have widened the Breach between the East and the West; and consequently, that his complying with their Summons, far from answering the End they proposed to themselves, would more probably have had a quite contrary Effect, since he had but too much room to suppose, that the strong Prejudice, which they had on all Occasions betrayed against him, would incline them to favour his Competitor, notwithstanding the known Illegality both of his Election and Ordination. It was therefore, upon the Whole, very prudent in him to decline putting the Affair upon that Issue.

(2) Socr. l. 5. c. 5. Soz. l. 7. c. 3. Theod. l. 5. c. 9. Cod. Theod. ap. p. 104.

Seeds of that unhappy Division till the Year 482. when the Body of *Eustathius* being brought back to *Antioch*, the few *Eustathians*, who still continued to assemble apart, joined the rest of the Catholics, and the Name of *Eustathian* was never more heard of ^b. *Flavianus* died in the Year 404. the Ninety-fifth of his Age, and Twenty-third of his Episcopacy, and is now honoured as a Saint; a Distinction which none of his Competitors have deserved, though as much ^{Flavianus honoured by the Church of Rome as a Saint, tho' ill used in his Life-time by the Popes.} carested and favoured by the Two Bishops of *Rome*, *Damasus* and *Syricius*, as he was opposed and ill used. How fallible have the Bishops of that See shewed themselves, from the earliest Times, in their Judgment of things! How rash in taking Parties, and fomenting Discords! How obstinate and inflexible in maintaining the Cause, which they had once undertaken, let it be ever so bad! The only thing that can be alleged against the Character of *Flavianus*, is his having accepted the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, contrary to the Oath he had taken, on Occasion of the Agreement between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, as I have related above ^c. That he took such an Oath, is vouched both by *Socrates* and *Sozomen* ^d. But as he was looked upon by all the East, and extolled by *Chrysostom*, even in his Life-time, as a Prelate of an unblemished Character, and never reproached, even by his greatest Enemies, with such an Oath, in the many Disputes that arose about his Election, I had rather charge those Two Writers with one Mistake more (for they are guilty of many others), than a Man of *Flavianus's* Probity with such a scandalous Prevarication.

Syricius did not long enjoy the Satisfaction he had, to see the *Syricius dies.* Schism of *Antioch* ended in his Days, and a good Understanding settled anew between the East and the West. He died the same Year 398. and, according to the most probable Opinion, on the 26th of *November* ^e. He is said, in his Epitaph, quoted by *Baronius* ^f, to have been a Man of a tender, compassionate, and generous Temper; to have studied the Happiness of the People committed to his Care; to have spared no Pains in procuring them the Blessings that flow from Peace and Tranquillity, and to have screened several Persons from the Wrath of the Emperor, to maintain the Rights of the Church ^g. He is commended by *Ambrose*, and the whole Council of

^b Theodor. Lect. l. 2. ^c Vid. p. 221. ^d Socr. l. 5. c. 5. Soz. l. 7. c. 3.
^e Vid. Bolland. 22 Feb. p. 282. ^f Bar. ad ann. 398. in app. ^g Id. ib.

Milan, as a vigilant Pastor ^z, by *Isidore of Seville* as an illustrious Pontiff ^h; and he has even a Place among the other Saints, in most of the antient Martyrologies ⁱ. However, *Baronius* has not thought him worthy of a Place in the *Roman Martyrology*. It is well known, that the Charge of revising and correcting the *Roman Martyrology* was committed, by Pope Gregory XIII. to *Baronius*, with full Power to reject such as he should judge unworthy, and admit others in their room, whom he should declare worthy of the public Worship, and a Place there (B). *The Keys of Heaven*, says a modern Writer, speaking of that Charge, were taken from Peter, and given to *Baronius*; for it was not by Peter, but by *Baronius*, that some were excluded from, and others admitted into, Heaven ^k. He then shews that by this *Second Minos*, as he styles him, several were driven from the Seats they had long held in Heaven, and to which they had a just Claim, to make room for others, who had no Claim. Among the former he names *Syricius*, whom he thinks *Baronius* ought to have treated in a more friendly manner, upon the Recommendation of *Ambrose*, of the Council of *Milan*, and of *Isidore*. What thus prejudiced *Baronius* against him, and outweighed, in his Scales, all the Recommendations that could be produced in his Favour, was his Indifference for *Ferom* and *Paulinus*, and the Kindness he shewed to

Why expunged by *Baronius* out of the Calendar of Saints.

^g Amb. ep. 7. p. 282.

^h Isid. vir. ill. c. 3. ^k Aguilera santi di Palermo.

ⁱ Florent. p. 999. Bolland. Feb. 22.

(B) The *Roman Martyrology* contains the Names of such Saints as may be publicly worshiped, and of the Places where they died, with a succinct Account of the most remarkable Feats which they are supposed to have performed. I said, *who are publicly worshiped*; for in private every one is allowed to honour, worship, and invoke whom they please, provided they have sufficient Grounds to believe them in a State of Happiness, or in the Way to it, that is, in Heaven, or in Purgatory; for the Souls in Purgatory may be privately worshiped and invoked; nay, most of the Popish Divines are now of Opinion, that even a canonized Saint may be still in Purgatory. When Learning began to revive, many gross Mistakes were discovered in the *Roman*, as well as in the other Martyrologies, some being placed among the Saints, and consequently worshiped as Saints, who had

been notorious Sinners; and others daily invoked, who had never existed. That the Church therefore might be no longer misled in her Worship, *Gregory XIII.* thought it necessary to interpose his infallible Authority; and, having, accordingly, ordered *Baronius* to revise and correct the *Roman Martyrology*, he confirmed, by a special Bull, dated the 14th of January 1584. all the Emendations, Additions, Corrections, &c. which *Baronius* had been pleased to make, threatening with the Indignation of the Almighty God, and of his Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, all who should presume to make any further Alterations. And yet many Alterations have been made since *Gregory's* Time; and that many more might and ought to be made, has been sufficiently shewn by many Protestant, and some Roman Catholic, Divines.

Ruffinus,

Ruffinus, *Jerom's* Antagonist. *Syricius*, instead of protecting *Jerom*, as his Predecessor *Damasus* had done, against the *Roman* Clergy, whom he had provoked with his Writings, gave him, in a manner, up to their Resentment; which obliged him to abandon *Rome*, and return into the East, as I have related above. The Name of *Paulinus*, afterwards Bishop of *Nola*, is famous in the History of the Church, and celebrated by *Jerom*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, and all the Writers of those Times. He had abandoned the World, and the immense Wealth he possessed, to lead a retired Life; and, in the Year 395. he passed through *Rome*, in his Way to *Nola*, which he had chosen for the Place of his Retirement. The Treatment he met with at *Rome*, from that Clergy, and *Syricius* himself, must have been very unworthy of a Man of his Character, since it obliged him, as he himself writes ^l, to quit the City in great Haste, and pursue his Journey to *Nola*. Two Years afterwards *Ruffinus* came to *Rome*, and there met with a very different Reception. For *Syricius* received him, tho' violently suspected of *Origenism*, with the greatest Marks of Esteem and Affection; and, after having entertained him a whole Year, gave him Letters of Communion at his Departure. Of this *Jerom* complains, as if Advantage had been taken of the Bishop of *Rome's* Simplicity, to impose upon him ^m. I will not pretend, as some have done, to justify *Ruffinus*; but cannot help observing, that such a Charge ought not to be admitted against him, upon the bare Authority of *Jerom*, or of those, who have only copied what he writ.

Jerom and *Ruffinus* had lived several Years in close Friendship, and great Intimacy; but, falling out in the Year 393. their former Friendship was turned at once into an open and avowed Enmity. What gave Occasion to this Breach I shall relate hereafter, and only observe here, that *Jerom* not only quarreled with *Ruffinus*, but with all the Friends of *Ruffinus*; nay, and with those too, who professing an equal Friendship for both, would not break with either, or any-ways interfere in the Quarrel. Among these was the celebrated *Roman* Matron *Melania*, so frequently spoken of, and so highly commended, by *Austin*, by *Paulinus*, and, above all, by *Jerom* himself, who has filled his Letters with her Praises, proposing her as a true Pattern of every Virtue becoming her Sex.

Melania had retired with *Ruffinus* to *Jerusalem*, Twenty-seven Years before, and continued there practising, under his Direction,

^l Paul. ep. 1.

^m Hier. ep. 16. & in Ruf. l. 3. c. 6, & 7.

*Jerom and
Ruffinus
quarrel.*

Jerom quarrels with all the Friends of Ruffinus, especially with Melania.

His Conduct towards her.

those Works of Charity, which *Jerom* so often admires and extols. It could not therefore be expected, that she should discard *the Partner of her holy Life, and all her good Works*, as *Paulinus* styles him ⁿ, the Minute the other was pleased to dislike him, or, indeed, that she should take any Part at all in the Quarrel. And yet, because she prudently declined taking Part, but continued to shew the same Affection and Esteem for *Ruffinus*, which she had done before; *Jerom*, forgetful of the Regard that was due to a Matron of her Birth and Piety, and of the high Encomiums which he had himself bestowed on her, began to inveigh with no less Bitterness against her, than against *Ruffinus* himself. In one of his Letters, still extant ^o, after finding Fault with one of *Ruffinus*'s Friends, thought to be *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he adds; "But, after all, he is not so much to blame as his Instructors *Ruffinus* and *Melania*, who with a great deal of Trouble and Pains, have taught him to know nothing." *Ruffinus* tells us, that *Jerom*, finding that *Melania*, who was a Matron of great Judgment and Penetration, did not approve of his Actions and Conduct, thereupon spitefully erased out of his Chronicle, what he had there written in her Praise ^p. But he did not, nor was it, perhaps, in his Power to make such an Alteration in all the Copies; for what he is said to have cancelled, is still remaining in all the printed, as well as manuscript Copies of that Work, which have reached our Times. *Melania* lived Eighteen Years after, steadily pursuing the same Course of Life, for which *Jerom* had once proposed her as a Pattern to her whole Sex ^q. She died at *Jerusalem* in the Year 411. and died poor, having spent an immense Estate in relieving the Needy and Indigent, not only of the Countries where she lived, and through which she passed, but those too of the most distant Provinces of the Empire. For Persons in Poverty and Distress, whether in *Persia* or *Britain*, says the Author of her Life ^r, were alike the Objects of her Charity, and felt alike the Effects of her Generosity and Good-nature. She died, but with her did not die the Rancour and Spleen which *Jerom* had for so many Years harboured in his Breast against her. For, carrying his Resentment even beyond the Grave, while the Poor were every-where bemoaning, with Tears, the Loss of so generous a Benefactress, while the Writers were paying the deserved Tribute of Praise to the Virtues of so pious

ⁿ Paul. ep. 9. ^o Hier. ep. 101. ^p Ex Ruf. l. 2. ^q Vid. Hier. ep. 99.
^r Pallad. hist. Lausiac. in Bibl. Patr. c. 118.

a Matron, *Jerom*, instead of joining the rest in the common Grief, strove to dry up their Tears, to drown their Praises, by throwing out several peevish and ill-natured Reflections on the Memory of the Deceased. As the famous *Pelagius* had inscribed a Book to her before he broached his Opinions, *Jerom*, in the Letter, which he writ to *Ctesiphon* against the *Pelagians*, could not forbear bringing her in, and observing on that Occasion, with a malignant Quibble, that the very Name of *Melania* bespoke (in the *Greek* Tongue), and sufficiently declared, the *Blackness* of her Treachery and Perfidiousness ^s.

Such was the Conduct of *Jerom* towards that illustrious Matron, in her Life-time, and after her Death. From this Conduct I leave the Reader to judge, whether the Authority of so prejudiced a Writer ought to have been of such Weight with *Baronius* as to make him exclude her, as well as *Syricius*, from the *Roman* Martyrology, or the Calendar of Saints. Should we grant *Ruffinus* to have really held the Errors, which *Jerom* charged him with, it must still be owned, that *Melania* acted, as became a Person of her Wisdom, Piety and Experience, in suspending her Judgment, and not breaking with *Ruffinus*, till she was otherwise convinced, than by the Investives of his Antagonist, equally levelled against herself, that he was no longer worthy of her Friendship and Regard. As for *Syricius*, *Jerom* rather commends than blames him, even where he complains of his Kindness to *Ruffinus*. For he only says, that *Ruffinus* abused the Simplicity of *Syricius*, who judged of the Spirit of others from his own ^t; which was saying, in other Words, that he was a good Man, but mistaken in his Judgment, or not infallible: so that his only Crime, according to *Jerom*, was want of Infallibility. However, upon the Authority of that Father, *Baronius* not only condemns the Conduct of *Syricius*, but, rashly prying into the inscrutable Secrets of Providence, pretends his Days to have been shortened for the Countenance he gave to *Ruffinus*, and the Remissness he shewed in suppressing the Errors, with which he was charged. It is certain, that *Ruffinus* was well received, and entertained, in a very hospitable manner, by *Syricius*, during his Stay at *Rome*; and that, upon his leaving that City, he received from him Letters of Communion. Now, if *Syricius* did not know, or did not believe, that *Ruffinus* held those Errors, how unjust is it to blame him for the Kindness he

^s Hier. ad Ctes. l. 2.

^t Hier. in Ruf. l. 3. c. 6, 7.

shewed to a Man of *Ruffinus's* Character! If he did know, and yet gave him Letters of Communion, how will *Baronius* be able to clear *Syricius* from the Imputation of holding the same Errors (A)?

The Misunderstanding between Syricius and Paulinus no Charge against Syricius.

As for the Treatment *Paulinus* of *Nola* met with from *Syricius*, there was, no doubt, a Misunderstanding between them; but, as I am quite in the Dark as to the Cause of it, I will not take upon me to condemn the one rather than the other. Perhaps they were both to blame; perhaps they both meant well, and neither was to blame. However that be, the Misunderstanding between them was soon removed; for, during the remaining Part of *Syricius's* Life, *Paulinus* went constantly to *Rome* once a Year, as he himself declares, in one of his Letters ^u. *Syricius*, it is true, did not take *Jerom* into his Protection, as his Predecessor had done, nor shew him the same Kindness; which is the Third Charge brought by *Baronius* against him, but of no more Weight than the other Two, that is, of none at all. *Jerom*, prompted by his Zeal, and censorious Temper, could not help inveighing, with great Bitterness, in all his Writings, against the Looseness and Debauchery, which universally prevailed, in his Time, among the *Roman* Clergy, and the pious Frauds they made use of to extort Legacies and Presents from old Men, from Widows, and from Orphans. *Syricius* might have been as much offended at the Vices of his Libertine Clergy, as *Jerom* was, and even studied to reform them; but, at the same time, be glad, without deserving the least Reproach on that score, to get rid of so troublesome a Censor, who thus exposed their Irregularities to the Eyes, and them to the Contempt, of the World (B).

Syricius

^u Paul. ep. 16.

(A) A modern Writer (1), taking the Part of *Syricius* against *Baronius*, has composed a whole Dissertation, and not a short one, to shew how undeservedly *Syricius* has been cashiered in this Review of the Church triumphant, while many others passed Muster for great Saints, whose Virtues, he might have said, whose very Existence, may be justly disputed. I shall not enter into the tedious Detail of his Arguments and Reasons, but only observe, that the Name of *Syricius* ought not to have been struck out of the Calendar, while the Names of the

Arian Pope *Liberius*, and the Antipope *Felix*, his Antagonist, were kept in; though, upon other Accounts, I think him myself very unworthy of the Name of a Saint.

(B) The Festival of *Syricius* was never kept, it seems by public Authority; but is marked in some antient Martyrologies, on the 22d of February, and in others on the 26th of November. The last was more probably the Day of his Death, since he is said, both by *Prosper* and *Isidore*, to have governed 14 Years, to complete which one Month on'y will be wanting, if we place

(1) Florentinus, in vetus Martyrol. Hieronymi, p. 1001—1010.

Syricius was interred in the Coemetry of *Priscilla*, but his Body was translated, about the Latter-end of the Eighth Century, to the Church of St. *Praxedes* ^r, where his Remains (for *Baronius* will not allow us to call them Relics) still lie unregarded.

ARCADIUS,

ANASTASIUS,

HONORIUS.

Thirty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

S*YRICIUS* was succeeded by *Anastasius* ^a, after a Vacancy of ^{Year of} Twenty Days, according to some; and, according to others, of ^{Christ 398.} near Two Months. He was no sooner chosen, than he writ a kind ^{Anastasius} and obliging Letter to *Paulinus*, than at *Nola* in *Campania*, and another in his Commendation to the Bishops of that Province ^{writes to} ^{Paulinus.} ^b. This he is supposed to have done, in order to efface the bad Impression, which the Treatment *Paulinus* had met with in the Time of *Syricius*, might have given him against that See, and the *Roman* Clergy.

It was in the Time of *Anastasius*, and soon after his Election, that ^{What occa-} the famous Dispute arose between *Jerom* and *Ruffinus*, which was ^{sioned the} afterwards carried on with a Warmth on both Sides quite unbecom- ^{Quarrel be-} ing Men of their Profession. Of this Quarrel, and the Part ^{tween Jerom} *Anasta- ^{and Ruffi-} ^{nus.} *sus* acted on that Occasion, the Writers of those Times give us the following Account. *Ruffinus*, a Presbyter of *Aquileia*, and a great Admirer of *Origen*, having accompanied *Melania*, whom he had attended Twenty-five Years at *Jerusalem*, on her Return to *Rome* in the Time of *Syricius*, was received there with extraordinary Marks of Esteem by the *Roman* Clergy, and *Syricius* himself, as I have observed elsewhere ^c. Encouraged by the Reception he met with, he continued a whole Year at *Rome*; and during that Time published, but*

^a Vid. Boll. prop. p. 59.
^b Paul. ep. 16.

^a Theod. l. 5. c. 24. Soz. l. 7. c. 34. Aug. de civ. Dei.
^c Page 273.

his Death on that Day; and several, if with *Baronius* we suppose him to have died on the 22d of *February* (2); for, as to the Year of his Death, there is no Disagreement among Authors. *Baronius* mentions

an antient Picture, Part whereof, says he, is still to be seen in the Title of Pope *Syricius* (3). But that Picture is no more to be seen, and he explains himself no farther.

(2) Vid. Boll. 22 Feb. p. 282.

(3) Bar. ad ann. 395. n. 6.

without

Ruffinus
translates
Origen's Peri-
archon.

Many at
Rome em-
brace the
Errors of
Origen.

Errors left
in the Work,
notwith-
standing the
Corrections
made by the
Translator.

without putting his Name to it, a *Latin* Translation of *Origen's Periarchon*, or *Treatise of Principles*, having first removed the Prejudice which some might entertain against that Writer, by the Translation of an Apology, which the Martyr *Pamphylus* had composed in his Vindication, while he was in Prison. To this Apology he added a Piece of his own, shewing that most of the Errors ascribed to *Origen* had been maliciously inserted into his Works by his Enemies after his Death ^d. In the Preface to the *Periarchon* itself he also declared, that, in Imitation of a learned Brother, meaning *Jerom*, who had translated above Seventy of *Origen's* Books, he had either corrected or suppressed such Errors as had appeared to him repugnant to the Articles of the Catholic Faith ^e. The Work, thus recommended, was received with uncommon Applause at *Rome*, and the Sentiments of *Origen* greedily embraced, and warmly maintained by great Numbers of the Clergy as well as the Laity, to whom *Origen* had till then been, it seems, utterly unknown. This happened in the Time of *Syricius*, who, either not suspecting *Ruffinus*, as he had not put his Name to the Translation, or perhaps not judging him worthy of Censure for barely relating the Sentiments of another, or supposing that, agreeably to his Preface, he had suppressed whatever was wrong in the original Work, gave him Letters of Communion at his Departure from *Rome*. For he had no sooner published his Translation than he left that City, and returned to *Aquileia*. *Syricius* died soon after, and *Anastasius* was no sooner chosen in his room, than the famous *Roman* Matron *Marcella*, offended at the new Doctrines that began to prevail in *Rome*, applied to him, pressing him to put a Stop to the growing Evil, and at the same time accusing *Ruffinus* as the Author of the Translation, to which alone it was owing ^f. To make good this Charge, she produced some Copies corrected with *Ruffinus's* own Hand; and several Persons appeared, who, having by her Means been reclaimed from the Errors of *Origen*, owned they had been led into them by the Disciples of *Ruffinus* ^g. This *Jerom* cannot relate without launching into the Praises of his Heroine *Marcella*, crying up her Zeal, extolling her Courage and Resolution, in thus making head against so numerous a Band, meaning the *Origenists* in *Rome*, while the Clergy declined that Trouble, or rather promoted the Doctrines they ought to have opposed. But elsewhere he will not allow Women,

^d Hier. Apol. l. 2. ep. 75. & dial. advers. Pelag.
^f Id. ib. ^g Id. ib.

^e Id. ap. 1. advers. Ruff.

under any Pretence whatsoever, to concern themselves in religious Controversies. *To meddle in Disputes concerning Faith or Religion, is not at all the Province* (says he, with the Words of St. Paul) *of silly Women, laden with Sins, led away with divers Lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the Knowledge of the Truth* ^{h.} But he speaks here of *Melania*, who was no less attached to *Ruffinus* than *Marcella* was to him.

In the *Periarchon* were contained, without all doubt, many un-^{Jerom's} found and unwarrantable Notions, and *Ruffinus* corrected those only ^{Charge a-} that related to the Trinity. *He corrected*, says *Jerom*, *what Origen* ^{gainst Ruffi-} ^{nus.} *had impiously written concerning the Trinity, being well apprised it would have given great Offence at Rome. But as to his other Errors, those especially concerning the Fall of the Angels, and the first Man, the Resurrection, the World or Worlds of Epicurus, the Restoration of all Things, &c. he either left them, as he found them in the Original, or confirmed them with Reasons borrowed from the Comment of Didymus, an avowed Defender of Origen. Thus he declared himself a Catholic with respect to the Trinity, that in other Points the Reader might not be aware of him as an Heretic* ^{i.}

In Answer to this Charge, *Ruffinus* declared, that it was never his ^{Ruffinus's} Intention to correct all the Errors that were ascribed to *Origen*; that ^{Answer.} the Declaration he had made, in his Preface to the *Periarchon*, ought to be restrained to those Errors only that related to the Trinity; and that it was very uncharitable to judge of his Faith, from the Faith of the Author he translated, and not from his own Words. He then declares his Sentiments touching some particular Points, in which *Origen* was thought to differ from the Church; adding, that where *Origen* differed from the Catholic Church, he differed from *Origen*.

Anastasius, notwithstanding the Solicitations of *Marcella*, declined ^{Jerom con-} either proceeding against *Ruffinus*, or censuring his Translation, till ^{demns Ori-} Two Years after, when *Jerom*, in a new Version which he publish- ^{gen, and in-} ed of the same Work, undertook to prove, that several Opinions of ^{veighs} *Origen* were truly heretical, and as such ought to be condemned by ^{against} the Church. As to *Ruffinus*, he inveighed bitterly against him, as ^{Ruffinus.} if he had translated that Work with no other View but to propagate the Errors it contained. Thus began the famous Quarrel between

^h Id. & Ctesiphont. advers. Pelag. Tim. 2. c. 3. p. 6, 7.
Ruff.

ⁱ Id. apol. 1. advers.

Origen con-
demned by
Anastasius
and several
other Bishops.

these Two Writers, which occasioned no small Disturbance in the Church, some siding with *Jerom* against *Ruffinus*, and others with *Ruffinus* against *Jerom*. Among the former, the most sanguine were *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantia* in the Island of *Cyprus*, and *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome*. *Theophilus* not only condemned in a Council, which he summoned for that Purpose, the Errors of *Origen*, but *Origen* himself, declaring him an Heretic, and forbidding all under his Jurisdiction to read, or even keep his Works by them; which is the first Instance we have of such Prohibitions. His Example was followed by *Epiphanius*, *Anastasius Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, *Chromatius* Bishop of *Aquileia*, and several others. But some, and among the rest *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Chrysostom* then Bishop of *Constantinople*, disapproving the rash Conduct of their Collegues, could by no means be induced to confirm the Sentence they had pronounced; which *Epiphanius* resented to such a Degree, that he immediately separated himself from their Communion. *Sozomen* adds, that he even refused to pray for young *Theodosius*, while he was dangerously ill, because his Mother *Eudoxia* would not banish from *Constantinople* some Monks who had warmly espoused the Cause of *Origen* ^k. *Ruffinus* ranks *Epiphanius* among those Plagiaries, who, borrowing from *Origen* all they said or writ, cried down his Works, in order to deter others from reading them, and consequently from discovering that what was admired in them was not their own ^l.

Ruffinus is
summoned to
Rome.

Origen being thus condemned as an Heretic, near 150 Years after his Death, *Anastasius*, at the Instigation of *Marcella*, *Pammachius*, *Oceanus*, and some other of *Jerom*'s Friends in *Rome*, writ to *Ruffinus*, complaining of his Translation, and summoning him to appear, and give an Account of his Faith. In Answer to this Letter, *Ruffinus* sent him a Confession of Faith intirely agreeable to that of the Catholic Church, adding, that he held no other; that his Faith had been sufficiently tried in the Persecution of *Valens*; and that, as to the Translation of *Origen*'s Work, he had there neither approved nor disapproved, but barely related, the Sentiments of that Writer. He modestly declined complying with the Summons calling him to *Rome*;

^k Soz. l. 8. c. 15.

^l Hier. in Ruff. l. 2. c. 6. l. 3. c. 7. & Ruff. ad Orig.

and concluded with declaring, that the Faith of the *Roman Church* and his were one and the same¹ (A). But

¹ Hier. in Ruff. c. 6, 7. ep. 16. 78.

(A) The chief Errors of *Origen* were concerning the Trinity, the Resurrection of the Body, the Eternity of Hell-Torments, and the Origin of Souls. If his Works were not interpolated by the Heretics, as *Ruffinus* pretended they were, it is no easy Matter to determine what was his real Opinion with respect to the Trinity; for in some Passages he seems to acknowledge an Equality, and in others to establish an Inequality, between the Father and the Son. As to the Resurrection, he was accused of not believing that the Body, at least the same Body, was to rise from the Dead. He denied the Eternity of Hell-Torments, and held, that even the Devils would repent in the End, and be saved. He maintained the Souls to have been created before the World; to have been confined to the Bodies, which they animated, as so many Prisons, to expiate there the Sins which they had committed; to be in perpetual Motion passing from one Body to another, and at last to become Angels. With the Three last Errors chiefly *Ruffinus* was charged by St. *Jerom*; and it was to clear himself from such an Imputation, that, in his Answer to *Anastafius* summoning him to *Rome*, he declared his Belief with respect to those Articles, styling his Answer on that Account an *Apology*. As to the Trinity, those whom they called *Origenists*, were allowed, even by their Enemies, to be quite orthodox in their Belief of that Mystery. Touching the Resurrection, *Ruffinus* declared and explained his Faith in such clear Terms as ought to have left no room, even for St. *Jerom*, to arraign him on that Head. He expressed himself in a manner no less orthodox with respect to the Eternity of the Pains of Hell. But, as to the Origin of Souls, he owns himself to be quite at a Loss what to think, and what to determine on that Subject, since no particular Opinion had been yet settled by the Church, and the Ecclesiastical Writers disagreed in that Point among themselves; some believing, with *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, the Souls to have been formed with the Bodies; and

others maintaining, with *Origen*, that they were all created before the World: as to himself, he declared, that he held nothing for certain but what he was taught by the Church, viz. that the Souls as well as the Bodies proceeded from God (1). This *Jerom* called a false, artful, and impoling Confession, as if *Ruffinus* did not believe what he professed in the most solemn Manner to believe; and *Anastafius*, judging of his Faith not from his own Words, but from those of *Jerom*, separated himself from his Communion.

I cannot help observing here, that *Jerom*, whom nothing now will satisfy but the Condemnation of *Origen*, used a few Years before to inveigh with the same Gall and Bitterness against the Enemies of that Writer as he does now against his Friends, condemning with as much Acrimony those who accused him as he now condemns those who excuse him. *Origen* had been condemned in his Life-time by *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and by several other Bishops; and *Jerom*, after telling us, in speaking of the Judgment that was given against him, that he had written more Books than others had time to read; and that in the Number of his Volumes he had surpassed *Varro*, and the other most eloquent Writers both *Greek* and *Latin*; adds, *But what Reward did he receive for so much Toil and Labour? He was condemned by the Bishop Demetrius; and, if we except the Bishops of Palæstine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia, he was condemned by all the rest. Even Rome assembled her Senate against him, not because he taught any new Doctrines, or held any heretical Opinions, which those who snarl at him, like so many mad Dogs, would fain make us believe; but because they could not bear the bright Rays of his Eloquence and Knowledge, and were forced to be dumb when he spoke.* This Passage is quoted by *Ruffinus*, and *Jerom* himself owns it to have been copied from his Letter to *Paula* (2).

By the Senate that *Rome* assembled against *Origen*, *Jerom* meant, no doubt, the Bishop and Clergy of that City; and that he made no Account of their Judgment,

(1) Ruff. ad Anast. p. 202.
VOL. I.

(2) Hier. vir. illustr. c. 54. Ruff. l. 2. p. 225.

Anastasius
separates
himself from
his Commu-
nion.

But this Confession, however orthodox, did not satisfy *Anastasius*, or rather *Jerom* and his Friends in *Rome*. They continued, says *Ruffinus*, the Persecution which they had so successfully begun, and with their malicious Suggestions prevailed in the End on *Anastasius* to comply with their unjust Demands^m; that is, I suppose, to separate himself from his Communion: for *Anastasius*, in his Answer to a Letter which *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* had writ in favour of *Ruffinus*, acquaints that Prelate, that he had cut him off from his Communion, and left him to be judged by God and his own Conscience. *As to Origen*, says he in the same Letter, *I knew not before who he was, nor what he had writ*. *Ruffinus has translated him into our Language; and, in so doing, what else could he have in view but to infect this Church with his pernicious Doctrines? He has expressed his own Sentiments in translating those of his Author, and is therefore no less guilty than Origen himself, whom we have all condemned*ⁿ (A).

^m Idem ibid.

ⁿ Concil. t. 2. p. 1194.

sufficiently appears from the contemptuous and ironical Manner he speaks of it. However, that Father is brought in by *Baronius* as an Evidence for *Infallibility*, on account of the Regard which he afterwards paid to the Judgment of *Anastasius*, styling it a *decisive Sentence*. But *Jerom* had then changed his Opinion; and *Anastasius* only condemned what he had condemned before; so that from the great Regard which *Jerom* shewed on that Occasion for the Judgment of *Anastasius*, *Baronius* can at most conclude, that he thought the Popes infallible when they agreed with him; for that he thought them fallible when they disagreed with him, is manifest from his not acquiescing in the Judgment of another Pope condemning *Origen*, when he himself had not yet condemned him.

(A) The same Charge lies against *Jerom*; nay, he was the more guilty of the Two. For he had not only translated many of *Origen's* Works, containing Errors no less repugnant to the Catholic Truths than any in the *Periarchon*, but had besides filled his Comments on the Scripture, especially on

the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, with the worst of *Origen's* Errors, viz. with those relating to the Resurrection of the Body, to the Pre-existence of the Souls, and to the Duration of Hell-Torments, as is manifest from the many Passages quoted by *Ruffinus* out of the Comments of that Father. *Jerom* found great Fault with *Ruffinus*, for not confuting the Errors which he translated; concluding from thence that he held the same Doctrines: and yet he was himself so far from confuting in his Comments any of *Origen's* erroneous Opinions, that on the contrary he often delivered them in such manner as made many, and *St. Austin* among the rest, believe them to be his own (1). Nay, in one Place he seems to own, that he held some of *Origen's* Errors (2): but ends what he there writes of him thus; *If you believe me, I never was an Origenist; but if you absolutely insist upon my having been one, I now tell you, that I am so no more; and it is to convince you of this, that I am become the Accuser of Origen.*

(1) Hier. ep. 89.

(2) Hier. ep. 65.

In the same Letter *Anastasius* mentions with great Joy a Decree of the Emperors, that is, of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, forbidding the Works of *Origen*, and imposing severe Penalties on such as should for the future read or peruse them (B).

Such is the Account the contemporary Writers, and *Jerom* himself, *The Condemnation of Origen*, give us of the Condemnation of *Origen*, and his Interpreter *Ruffinus*, *Origen owing chiefly to the Bishop of Alexandria*, very different from that which we read in *Baronius*, introducing his *High Pontiff Anastasius* as acting the First Part on that Occasion; though *Jerom* tells us, in express Terms, that *Anastasius* followed the Example of *Theophilus*; that he condemned in the West, what had before been condemned in the East^u; and that *Rome* and all *Italy* owed their Deliverance to the Letters of *Theophilus*^v; meaning the circular Letter, which *Theophilus* writ to all the Catholic Bishops, acquainting them that he had condemned *Origen*, and prohibited his Books, and exhorting them to follow his Example^p. It was by this Letter that *Anastasius* was induced to condemn *Origen*: For what else could *Jerom* mean by saying, that *Rome* and *Italy* were, by the Letters of *Theophilus*, delivered from the Errors of *Origen*? *Baronius* could not but know, that the Letter of *Theophilus* was addressed to all the Catholic Bishops, since it is styled by *Theophilus* himself, in a Letter he writ to *Epiphanius*^q, and by *Epiphanius*, in one of his Letters to *Jerom*^r, *A general Letter to all Catholics*; and yet the Annalist speaks of it as directed to *Anastasius* alone, in order to impose by that means on his Readers, and persuade them, that the Bishop of Alexandria submitted the Sentence he had pro-

^u Hier. ep. 78.

^v Id. ep. 71.

^p Id. ep. 6. 69, 70.

^q Id. ep. 6.

^r Id. ep. 73.

(B) *Ruffinus* pretended this Letter to be supposititious, and to have been forged by St. *Jerom*, alleging, that he could not believe the Bishop of *Rome* capable of such a crying Piece of Injustice as to condemn an innocent Man, and condemn him in his Absence. He added, that if *Anastasius* had ever written such a Letter to *John* of *Jerusalem*, *John*, with whom he lived in great Intimacy, would have acquainted him with it, which he had not done. In Answer to this Charge, *Jerom* refers him to the Archives of the *Roman Church* (1); and to *Jerom* I refer the Jesuit *Halloix*, supposing the Letter to have been feigned, tho'

not by St. *Jerom*, on account of the following Words, that seem to wound the pretended Supremacy. *I have intirely separated myself from him, meaning Ruffinus; I will not even know where he is, or what he is doing: let him try, if he pleases, to be absolved elsewhere.* So that *Anastasius* thought he might be absolved elsewhere, though condemned at *Rome*. This *Halloix*, more jealous of the Papal Supremacy than the Pope himself, will not allow, and therefore pretends the Letter to be supposititious. But, since the Time of *Ruffinus*, none besides him ever questioned its Authenticity.

(1) Hier. in Ruff. l. 3. c. 5, & 6.

nounced to the Judgment of Anastasius, being well apprised, that it could be of no Weight unless confirmed by the first See. Had he been well apprised of this, I cannot think he would have pronounced such a Sentence, as it is very certain he did, without the Authority, the Advice, or even the Knowledge, of the first See.

The Bishop of
Aquilaia
communicates
with Ruffi-
nus, though
excommuni-
cated by Ana-
stasius.

As to *Ruffinus*, *Anastasius*, it is true, separated himself from his Communion; but did not excommunicate him, that is, as the Word is now understood, did not cut him off from the Communion of the Catholic Church, as *Baronius* insinuates. The Power of excommunicating him in this Sense was by the Canons vested in his own Bishop; and it is manifest from *Jerom*, that *Chromatius*, then Bishop of *Aquilaia*, continued to communicate with him after *Anastasius* had renounced his Communion; nay, after *Chromatius* himself had condemned *Origen*, and the *Origenists*^s, that is, those who held the Errors of *Origen*. A plain Proof that the Bishop of *Aquilaia* did not acquiesce in the Judgment of *Anastasius* in ranking *Ruffinus* among them. And truly the only Charge brought against him by *Anastasius*, in his Letter to *John* of *Jerusalem*, was his having translated *Origen* into the *Latin* Tongue, without pointing out his Errors, or offering any Arguments to confute them. Thence he was by *Jerom* induced to conclude, that *Ruffinus* held the same Errors. What could *Ruffinus* propose, says he in his Letter, by translating *Origen* into the Roman Language? Had he exposed the execrable Errors his Work contains, and raised in his Readers that Indignation which the Author deserves, I should rather have praised than blamed him. But he has in his Mind consented to those Errors, and in translating the Sentiments of *Origen* expressed his own^t. This *Ruffinus* denied, declaring, with the Words of *Origen*, in his Preface to the *Periarchon*^u, that he embraced nothing as Truth, that any-ways differed from the received Doctrines of the Catholic Church: nay, he was so far from defending any of *Origen*'s Errors, which seemed to him repugnant to the Catholic Truths, that in the Apology he composed in Defence of that Writer, as well as in the Preface which he prefixed to his Translation, he undertook to prove, that those Errors were not his, but had been maliciously inserted into his Works, either by his Enemies to eclipse his Reputation, or by Heretics, who had fathered upon him their own Doctrines, with a View of recommending them to the

Ruffinus un-
justly con-
demned.

^s Apol. l. 3. c. 1.

^t Concil. t. 2. p. 1194.

^u Præf. ad Periarch. p. 665.

World by the Authority of so great and so venerable a Name ^w. He followed therein the Example of the most eminent Writers, and the greatest Lights of the Church, namely, of the Martyr *Pamphylus* ^x, of *Athanasius* ^y, *Basil* ^z, his Brother *Gregory* of *Nyssa* ^a, *Gregory Nazianzen* ^b, and many others, who, out of the great Regard they had for a Man of *Origen's* Piety and Learning, either ascribed to others the Errors they found in his Works, or excused them, by putting on his Words the most charitable Construction they could bear. *Jerom* himself had been formerly one of *Origen's* greatest Admirers, had translated above Seventy of his Books, and thought he could not employ his Time better than in enriching the *Latin* Tongue with the Works of *the best Writer and first Doctor of the Church after the Apostles* ^c, as he then styled him. As *Ruffinus*, in his Translation of the *Periarckon*, endeavoured to excuse the Errors of *Origen*, so had *Jerom* done before him in translating his other Works, chusing rather to *veil and excuse*, than expose the Faults of one whom in other respects he so much admired ^d. But this Admiration being afterwards changed into an open and avowed Enmity, *the first Doctor of the Church after the Apostles* became at once not only an *heterodox*, but an *impious Writer*; all who stood up in his Defence were arraigned of the same *pestilential Doctrines*; and what was found amiss in his Works was no longer *veiled or excused*, but set out in the worst Light (D).

Origen excused by some of the Fathers, and once by Jerom himself.

But

- ^w Apol. pro Orig. apud Hier. t. 4. p. 194, 195. & præf. ad Periarck.
^x Athan. de Nicæn. decret. p. 277. Concil. t. 5. p. 652. Phot. c. 232.
^y Phot. c. 232. & Nyss. in Cant. t. 1. p. 473.
^z Concil. t. 5. p. 653.
^a Phot. c. 232. & Nyss. in Cant. t. 1. p. 473.
^b Naz. or. 31.
^c Hier. de nom. Heb. p. 299.
^d Hier. ep. 65.

(D) Some of the Fathers would not allow even his Doctrine concerning the Trinity to be heterodox. For some Passages being quoted out of his Works by the *Arians* to confirm their Opinions, *Basil* and *Nazianzen* undertook to prove, from other Passages, that his Sentiments with respect to the Trinity were quite orthodox; and that the *Arians* had either out of Malice misinterpreted, or out of Ignorance misunderstood his Meaning, not being capable of fathoming the Depth of his Thoughts (1). It must be owned, that *Origen*, in several Places, speaks of the Trinity agreeably to the Sentiments of the Church, acknow-

leging the Son to have been from the Beginning in the Father; to be the Image of the Father; to have been begotten by him from all Eternity; to be the Wisdom of God; to be God, though not the Source and Origin of the Divinity, as the Father, whom on that Account he styles *Autotheos*; to be above all Creatures; to have the same Power as the Father, and to deserve the same Honour and Worship. But elsewhere he uses Expressions that can no-way bear an orthodox Sense, viz. that the Word is an *Hypostasis* different from the Father; meaning by the Word *Hypostasis*, Nature and Substance; that the Father and Son are One by Concord and Uni-

(1) Socr. l. 4. c. 26.

But what seems most of all surprising, and quite unaccountable, in the Conduct of that Father, is, that though he had with so much Noise procured *Origen* to be condemned as an Heretic, and his Books to be prohibited, particularly his *Periarchon*, or, as some will have it, the *Periarchon* alone, as containing most of his heretical Tenets; yet, in a private Letter to *Paulinus*, he refers him to that very Piece for the Decision of some Questions of the greatest Importance. But to return to *Anastasius*:

The Bishops of Africa apply to Anastasius and Venerius of Milan.

The same Year 401. in which *Origen* was condemned, the Churches of *Africa* being greatly distressed for want of Ecclesiastics, the Bishops of the Province of *Carthage*, assembling under *Aurelius* Bishop of that City, resolved to dispatch one of their Body into *Italy* to acquaint *Anastasius*, and *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, with the Condition of the *African* Churches, and implore their Assistance. Which of the Bishops was charged with this Legation, or what Success attended it, we are no-where told. But as *Paulinus*, who afterwards writ the Life of St. *Ambrose*, and belonged to the Church of *Milan*, was at this Time sent into *Africa*, and continued there, some have not improbably conjectured, that *Venerius* at least assisted his Collegues in *Africa* with a Supply of as many Ecclesiastics as he could spare. *Baronius* supposes *Anastasius* to have relieved those Churches with the like Supply; but this Supposition he builds upon the paternal Care which *Anastasius* had, as *universal Pastor*, of all the Catholic Churches, which is building on a false Foundation.

Anastasius advises the Bishops of Africa not to dissemble the Cruelties of the Donatists.

The same Year another Council was held at *Carthage*, consisting of all the Bishops of *Africa*; and *Aurelius*, who presided in this, as he had done in the former, opened it with reading a Letter from *Anastasius*, exhorting the Bishops of *Africa* no longer to dissemble the

* Hier. ep. 153.

† Concil. t. 2. p. 1642.

§ Bar. ad ann. 401. n. 7.

on; that the Son is not properly God, but called God, because he is the Image of the Divinity; that the Word and the Holy Ghost were made by the Father; that the Father is greater than the Son; that the Son is inferior to the Father, though far above all Creatures, as the Ray of the Sun is inferior to the Sun; and lastly, that the Son is the Minister of the Father. In these Passages is contained a very different Doctrine from that which is laid down in those I have quoted above: and hence some of the Friends of *Origen*, and among the rest *Ruffinus*, concluded the

latter Passages to have been foisted in by the *Arians*, denying the Divinity of the Word; while others, allowing them to be *Origen's*, undertook to explain them in a Catholic Sense, in Opposition to the *Arians* confirming their Doctrine with the Authority of so eminent a Writer. But his Enemies, attending only to the Passages where he seemed to establish an Inequality in the Trinity, not only condemned him as an Heretic, but all who stood up in his Defence, or attempted to interpret his Words in a Catholic Sense.

Cruelties

Cruelties of the *Donatists*, who continued to use with great Barbarity the Catholic Bishops and Clergy ^h. The Fathers of the Council returned *Anastasius* Thanks for his Advice; but, not thinking it quite agreeable to the true Spirit of Christianity, they declined complying with it. They knew that their Persecutors, had they complained of their Cruelties to the Civil Magistrate, would have been punished with Death, pursuant to a Law enacted against them, Three Years before, by the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius* ⁱ. They therefore chose, notwithstanding the Advice of *Anastasius*, rather to suffer with Patience a most cruel Persecution, than redeem themselves from it at so dear a Rate ^k. In the same Council it was decreed among other things, that such of the *Donatist* Clergy, as should return to the Church, might be admitted, if the Bishop, who received them, thought it expedient, to the same Rank, which they had enjoyed before their Conversion. As a Decree had been lately enacted by *Anastasius*, and the other *Italian* Bishops, excluding converted Heretics from the Catholic Clergy ^l; it was to acquaint them with the Motives which had prompted the Fathers assembled at *Carthage*, to admit the *Donatists*, that *Aurelius* and his Colleagues writ to *Anastasius*; and not to beg of him a Dispensation in favour of the converted *Donatists*, as is ridiculously supposed by *Baronius* ^m.

*Who refuse
to comply with
his Advice.*

This is all I find recorded of *Anastasius*, by the antient Writers. ^{Anastasius dies.} He died on the 27th of *April* 402. after having held the See of *Rome* Four Years, One Month, and Thirteen Days. *Jerom*, with ^{Is greatly commended by Jerom.} whom he sided against *Ruffinus*, and the other Friends of *Origen*, distinguishes him with the Title of an *eminent Man*; and adds, *that Rome did not deserve to enjoy him long, lest the Head of the World should be cut off under such a Bishop; nay, he was snatched away, says he, lest he should strive to ward off, with his Prayers, the Execution of the Sentence that was already pronounced; the Lord saying to Jeremiah, Pray not for this People for their Good: when they fast I will not hear their Cry, &c* ⁿ. *Jerom* speaks there of the Calamities that beset *Rome* Seven Years after, when it was taken by the *Goths*, under *Alaric*. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, not only an avowed Enemy to *Origen*, but a cruel Persecutor of all who stood up in his Defence, extols *Anastasius* for his

^h Concil. t. 1. inter Concil. Afr. c. 33.
& Greg. l. 1. ep. 52.
ad ann. 401. n. 14.

^k Aug. ep. 127.

ⁿ Hier. ep. 16. Jerom. c. 14. ver. 11, 12.

ⁱ Cod. Theod. l. 3. de episc. & cler.

^l Concil. t. 2. p. 1642.

^m Bar.

pastoral Care, and indefatigable Pains, in preserving and maintaining the Purity of the Catholic Faith ^b; alluding, no doubt, to his acting in Concert with him, against *Origen*, and the pretended *Origenists*.

*Is honoured
as a Saint.*

Be that as it will, *Anastasius* is now honoured as a Saint by the Church of *Rome*; and the Honours paid him are chiefly owing to the Commendations of *Jerom* and *Theophilus*, whose Party he so warmly espoused. As to the Writings of *Anastasius*, Mention is made, by *Jerom*, of several Letters written by him on different Occasions; but that alone has reached our Times, which he writ to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and some Fragments of another to one *Ursinus*, on the *Incarnation* (A).

*An ill timed
Observation
of Baronius.*

Baronius observes, at the Death of *Syricius* ^c, that such Popes as did not, through Sloth and Indolence, exert the due Zeal in extirpating the heterodox Opinions that sprung up in the Church, that is, such Popes as did not exterminate all, who differed in Opinion from them, have been quickly cut off, to make room for other more zealous Asserters of the Purity of the Faith. An ill-timed Observation! which I might retort here, were I inclined to indulge such a Humour, since the *indolent* *Syricius* enjoyed his Dignity Thirteen Years (and not very many have enjoyed it longer), and the *very zealous* *Anastasius* only Four.

^b Justin. in ep. ad Menan.

^c Ad ann. 397. num. 21.

(A) The Two Decretals that have been transmitted to us under his Name, are evidently supposititious, the one being dated Fourteen Years before his Election, and the other Fourteen Years after his Death. One of these pretended Decretals is addressed to the *German* and *Burgundian* Bishops, tho' nothing is more certain, than that the *Bur-*

gundians were not converted to the Christian Religion till many Years after his Death, till the Year 436. if *Socrates* is to be credited (1). They are both made up of several Passages taken from the Letters of *Innocent*, *Leo*, *Gregory*, and others; and were, in all Likelihood, forged, as many others have been, by *Isidorus Mercator*.

(1) Socr. l. 7. c. 30.

INNOCENT,

ARCADIUS,
HONORIUS,

INNOCENT,

THEODOSIUS
the younger.*Thirty-ninth* BISHOP of Rome.

ON the Demise of *Anastasius*, *Innocent* was immediately, and with one Consent, chosen by the Clergy, and the People ^a. He was, according to *Anastasius* ^b, a Native of *Albano*, and the Son of another *Innocent*; but, according to *Jerom*, both the Son and Successor of *Anastasius* ^c. *Theodore*t styles him a Man of great Address, and a lively Genius ^d; *Prosper*, a worthy Successor of St. *Peter* ^e; and *Austin* distinguishes him, after his Death, with the Title of the *Blessed* *Innocent* ^f. *Orosius* says, that God withdrew that holy Bishop from *Rome*, when the City was taken, as he did *Lot* from *Sodom* ^g; and *Jerom*, in writing to *Demetrius*, exhorts her to adhere steadily to the Faith of *Innocent* ^h. *Austin*, in the Letter he writ to him in the Name of the Council of *Milevum*, ascribes his Election to a particular Providence; and adds, that the Fathers of the Council thought it a Duty incumbent upon them to suggest to him what might be done for the Good of the Church, since they could not think him capable of hearing any thing of that Nature with Contempt or Indifference ⁱ.

Year of
Christ 157.The Election
of Innocent,commended by
the Antients.

Innocent was no sooner chosen and ordained, than he writ to *Anyfius* of *Thessalonica*, acquainting him with his Election, and charging him, as his Three immediate Predecessors had done, with the Care of the Churches of *East Illyricum* ^k. In the End of the following Year 403. the Emperor *Honorius* visited the City of *Rome*; and, during his Stay there, *Innocent* went frequently to wait on him, in order to obtain, in Behalf of some Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics, an Exemption from executing certain Civil Offices hereditary in their Families. He succeeded in his Suit, but it cost him a great deal of Trouble and Uneasiness ^l. *Vitricius* Bishop of *Rouen*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, having applied to him for Information, with respect to the Practice and Discipline of the *Roman* Church, *Innocent*, to gratify him, and that he might not seem to approve, by

He writes to
Anyfius of
Thessalo-
nica.Innocent's
Letter to
Vitricius.

^a Collect. Rem. ab Holsten. p. 45. ^b Anast. c. 41. ^c Hier. ep. 8. ^d Theod. l. 5. c. 35. ^e Prosp. in Col. c. 10. ^f Pec. orig. c. 9. ^g Oros. l. 7. c. 39. ^h Hier. ubi supra. ⁱ Aug. ep. 92. ^k Coll. Rom. p. 46, 47. ^l Conc. t. 2. p. 1252.

his Silence, the Abuses that prevailed in some Churches, sent him a *Book of Rules*, as he styled it, containing several Regulations, which had been originally established, says he, by the Authority of the Apostles and Fathers, but were now, in many Places, either quite unknown, or utterly neglected. He therefore intreats *Victricius* to communicate them to the neighbouring Churches and Bishops, that they might be acquainted with the Discipline of the *Roman Church*, and conform to it in instructing the new-converted Christians ^m.

*The Articles
it contains.*

This *Book of Rules* contains Thirteen Regulations relating to different Points of Discipline, whereof the First forbids, and declares uncanonical, the Ordination of Bishops without the Knowledge and Approbation of their Metropolitans. The Second excludes from the Clerical Order such as have served, or shall continue to serve, in War after Baptism. The Third orders all Differences and Disputes, arising among the Ecclesiastics, to be decided by the Bishops of the Provinces, *saving the Rights of the Roman Church* (A); and commands those to be deposed who shall recur to other Tribunals, except in Causes of the greatest Importance, when, after the Bishops have given Sentence, Recourse may be had to the Apostolical See, pursuant to the Order of the Council; meaning, no doubt, the Council of *Sardica* ⁿ. The Three next relate to those who shall have married a Widow, a Woman that has been divorced, or a second Wife, either before or after Baptism; and they are all alike declared incapable of being ever admitted among the Clergy. The Seventh forbids Bishops to ordain Clerks of another Church, without the Permission of their own Bishops, or to admit those to serve one Church, who have been deposed in another. The Eighth allows the *Novatians* and *Donatists*, who return to the Church, to be readmitted by the bare Imposition of Hands; but subjects those to a long Penance, who had quitted the Church to be rebaptized by them. The Ninth relates to the Celibacy of the Priests and Deacons, who are debarred by it from all Commerce with their Wives, after Ordination. The inferior Clergy were allowed to marry; but *Innocent*, by the Tenth Article of the present Letter, excepts those who, before they were admitted among the Clergy, had lived in Monasteries, and professed Continence there; it being fit, says he, they should observe in a

^m Ibid. p. 1249.

ⁿ See above, p. 120, 121.

(A) In some Editions this Clause is wanting.

higher Rank what they had observed when only Monks. In the same Article he observes, that those, who had lost their Virginity before Marriage, did not receive the Blessing of the Church when they afterwards married; and that it was the antient Practice of the Church, that such as had lost it before Baptism, should promise, before they were admitted to the Clerical Order, never to marry. The Eleventh forbids those to be ordained, who were not exempted from all Civil Offices and Employments, such Offices diverting them from the Functions of the Priesthood, and sometimes obliging them to exhibit Shews and public Sports, of which the Devil was, without all Doubt, the Author and Promoter. The Twelfth forbids Women, who have married a Second Husband, their First being still alive, to be admitted to Repentance, or allowed to do Penance, till one of the Two dies. The same Discipline is to be observed, according to this Article, with respect to the Virgins, who, after consecrating their Virginity to *Jesus Christ*, shall, either by a public Marriage, or by private Fornication, violate the Faith they had pledged to their immortal Spouse.

Innocent thinks the Marriage of a Woman with another Man valid, while her Husband is still alive.

Baronius °, to answer the Objections which some *Innovators*, as *The unchristian Severity of one of these Articles ill excused by Baronius.* he is pleased to style them, have offered against the unchristian Severity of this Article, tells us, that the Repentance of such a Virgin can by no means be sincere, so long as she continues with the Man she married; which is quite foreign to the Purpose, since *Innocent* excludes her from Repentance, not only so long as she lives with him, but so long as he lives. *Innocent* knew what *Baronius* seems not to have known; viz. that the Marriage of Virgins, however solemnly consecrated, held good, even according to the Practice of the *Roman Church* p; and, consequently, that they could not abandon their Husbands; and hence he would not admit them to Repentance, or the Participation of the Sacred Mysteries, till the Death of their Husbands; which was keeping them, as it were, in a State of Excommunication, without any possible Means of redeeming themselves from it. And it is this uncharitable Severity, which some Divines of the *Reformed Churches* have deservedly blamed. *Baronius* stigmatizes such Marriages with the Name of *Adultery*; but he confounds the Time of *Innocent* with his own; for, in his Time, the Vow of Chastity was declared a true Marriage, and, consequently,

° Bar. ad ann. 404. num. 130.

p See Natal. Alex. hist. eccles. t. 10. p. 14.

every subsequent Marriage void and null; but, in *Innocent's* Time, the Marriage of a sacred Virgin was held valid, though commonly deemed sinful. Whether it be sinful or no, or whether a Vow of that kind can be lawfully made, I shall not take upon me to determine here; but I am very confident, that of most Persons, who debar themselves by a solemn Vow from ever marrying, we may say, with the Fathers of the Eighth Council of *Toledo*, that *they had better break a Vow, which they had rashly made, than fill up, by observing it, the Measure of their Sins.*

But to return to the Letter: The Thirteenth and last Article will have those Virgins to do Penance for some time, who shall marry after having promised to live Virgins, though they had not yet received the Sacred Veil ^q. This Letter has been inserted by *Dionysius Exiguus*, in his Code of the *Roman* Church, and is quoted by the Second Council of *Tours*, held in 567 ^r. and by several other Councils ^s (A).

^q Conc. t. 2. p. 1249—1252.
Decr. p. 55.

^r Concil. t. 5. p. 858. & 866.

^s See Blond.

(A) And yet some have been induced by the Date it bears, to question its Authenticity. For it is dated the 15th of *February* 404. Now, it is manifest, say they, from the Letter itself, that *Vitricius* was at *Rome* while the Emperor *Honorius* was there; and it is no less certain, that *Honorius* did not arrive at *Rome* till the Month of *December* 403. If therefore *Vitricius* was at *Rome* in *December* 403. it is not at all probable, that *Innocent* should have written to him on the 15th of *February* 404. To solve this Difficulty, some suppose *Vitricius* to have applied to *Innocent*, while he was still at *Rome*; and *Innocent*, instead of informing him, as he might, by Word of Mouth, to have given him in Writing the desired Instructions, that, having thus more Weight, they might the more readily be complied with by other Bishops. But it is manifest, from *Innocent's* Words, that his Letter was an Answer to one from *Vitricius*; and we cannot well suppose *Vitricius*, who was at *Rome* in *December*, to have returned to *Rouen*, to have written from thence to *Innocent*, and *Innocent* to have returned him so full an Answer by the 15th of the following *January*. We may conclude the Year to have been, by some Mistake, altered, and 404. inserted in the Date in-

stead of 405. since the Letter could not be written earlier, as I have just observed, than the Month of *January* (if *January* was the true Month) of the latter Year; and we have no Reason to think it was written later. The Mistake as to the Year might have been occasioned by the Transcriber's omitting P. C. *Poss Consulatum Honorii*, and thereby confounding the Year of the Emperor's Sixth Consulship 404. with the Year after it 405.—Such Omissions frequently occur, and have led Writers, not aware of them, into great Mistakes, in point of Chronology, or made them suspect, nay, and condemn, as spurious, the most authentic Pieces of History. This Letter, in some Editions, bears no Date; and F. *Labbé* assures us, that he has seen a manuscript Copy of it, in which the Date was wanting. Some therefore suppose the Date to have been afterwards added, nay, and the whole Conclusion of the Letter. For *Innocent* closes it by saying, that the Observance of the Rules it contains will banish all Ambition among the Bishops, compose all Differences, prevent all Schisms, and leave no room for the Devil to insult the Flock of Christ. A Conclusion taken probably from some other Piece, and not at all adapted or applicable, with Truth, to this.

In

In the Year 404. *Austin* writ to *Innocent*, in the Name of the ^{Letter of} Bishops assembled in Council at *Carthage*, intreating him to apply to ^{the Council} *Honorius* for new Laws against the *Donatists*; whose Cruelties to ^{of Carthage} *Innocent* towards the Orthodox, if not magnified by *Austin* ^{to}, are scarce to be matched in History. The Emperor hearkened to *Innocent's* Recommendations, and severe Laws being issued against them, they began by that means to be convinced of their Errors, and to return daily in great Numbers to the Unity of the Church. This is what we read in one of *Austin's* Letters ^w; for the *Donatists*, as he would make us believe, finding themselves persecuted, began to inquire, which they had never done before, into the Grounds of the Religion, for which they suffered. This Inquiry had the desired Effect; their Eyes were opened; they discovered the Errors of their Sect; and, being sensible of their Folly in foregoing any temporal Advantage, or exposing themselves to the least Inconvenience, for the sake of such a Religion, they sincerely abjured it, and zealously embraced the Catholic Faith. An ingenious Term, I must own, to excuse, nay, and to authorize and sanctify, the greatest Barbarities! But daily Experience teaches us, that Persecution has a contrary Effect, and that the more Men are persecuted, the more obstinately they adhere to the Opinions, however absurd, for which they suffer; witness the great Number of Martyrs which almost every Church, as well as the Catholic, can boast of. And, where it has not that Effect, the most it can do is to make Men become Hypocrites, and profess a Religion they do not believe, but scarce ever changes their Hearts, or brings any to a sincere and efficacious Assent to a Faith which is thus violently forced on their Minds.

About the same time, or not long after, *Innocent* writ to the Bishops of *Spain*; and the chief Articles of his Letter were: 1. That they ought to cut off from their Communion such of their Brethren as refused to communicate with *Symphosius*, *Dictinius*, and other Bishops, who, having renounced the Errors of *Priscillian*, had been re-admitted to the Communion of the Church by the Council held at *Toledo*, in the Year 400 ^x. 2. That those Bishops should be deposed who had been ordained without the Knowledge or Consent of their Metropolitan. 3. That such as presumed to ordain against the Canons should be likewise deposed, and all who had been thus ordained by them.

^w Aug. ep. 50.^w Idem ibid.^x See above, p. 247.

Chrysoſtom
Biſhop of
Conſtanti-
nople. *recurs*
to Innocent.

Chryſoſtom, the celebrated Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, having been unjuſtly depoſed in 403. and driven from his See by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and the Council *ad Quercum*, or at *the Oak*, near *Chalcedon*, had, upon his Return to *Conſtantinople*, inſiſted upon a Council being ſummoned, to make his Innocence the more plainly appear to the World. This *Theophilus*, and the Biſhops of his Party, not only ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, but, by the great Intereſt they had at Court, prevailed upon the Emperor *Arcadius* to drive him from *Conſtantinople* a Second time, and baniſh him to *Cucusus*, an inhospitable Place in *Cilicia*. The News of theſe laſt Proceedings had not yet reached *Rome*, when *Theophilus* ſent one of his Lectors with a Letter to *Innocent*, acquainting him, that he had depoſed *Chryſoſtom*. As, in this Letter, *Theophilus* obſerved an intire Silence with reſpect to the Motives that had prompted him to take ſuch a Step, *Innocent* prudently forbore returning him an Answer. There happened to be then at *Rome* a Deacon of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, who, hearing what *Theophilus* had written, went immediately, and warned *Innocent* to be upon his Guard, intreating him at the ſame time, not to proceed but with the utmoſt Caution, in ſo nice and important an Affair, and aſſuring him, that the Truth could not remain long undiscovered. Accordingly, in Three Days, *Panſovius*, and Three other Biſhops, arrived at *Rome*, with Three Letters for *Innocent*; viz. one from *Chryſoſtom* himſelf, another from the Biſhops of his Communion, and the Third from the whole Clergy of *Conſtantinople*. *Chryſoſtom* in his Letter, which is ſtill to be ſeen in his Works, and in thoſe of *Palladius*, who writ the History of his Perſecution, after giving *Innocent* an Account of the Storm his Enemies had raiſed againſt him, intreats him to declare ſuch wicked Proceedings void and null, to pronounce all who had any Share in them puniſhable, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and to continue to him the Marks of his Charity and Communion. In the Title and Cloſe of the Letter, he addreſſes himſelf to one, but every-where elſe to more Perſons, the Letter having been written, as appears from the Copy in *Palladius*, not to *Innocent* alone, but to him, to *Venerius* of *Milan*, and *Chromatius* of *Aquileia*, Biſhops of the Three chief Sees in the Weſt.

Innocent's
Answer to
Chryſo-
ſtom's Let-
ter.

Innocent, acting with his uſual Prudence and Circumſpection, in his Answer to the above-mentioned Letters, declared, that he ad-

1 Pall. Dial. c. 2.

mitted

mitted the Bishops of both Parties to his Communion, from which he could exclude no Man till he was lawfully judged and condemned; and that therefore, to compose all Differences, and leave no room for Complaints on either Side, it was fit a Council should be assembled, consisting of the Western as well as the Eastern Bishops. The other Bishops of *Italy*, to whom *Chrysostom* had written, returned much the same Answer ², following therein the Advice, which *Chrysostom* himself had given to the Bishops of his Party; viz. that they should communicate with his Enemies, to prevent Divisions in the Church, but not sign his Condemnation, because he did not think himself guilty ³. *Innocent's* Answer to *Theophilus* was in Words to the same Effect. His Letter to *Chrysostom* was carried into the East by *Demetrius* Bishop of *Pessinus*, who took care to shew it every-where, to the end it might be every-where known, that the *Roman* Church still communicated with that holy Bishop ^b.

A few Days after *Innocent* had answered *Chrysostom's* Letter, *Petrus*, one of *Theophilus's* Presbyters, and *Martyrius* Deacon of the Church of *Constantinople*, arrived at *Rome*, with Letters from *Theophilus*, and the Acts of *Chrysostom's* Deposition by the Council *ad Quercum*. From these it appeared, that the Council had consisted of Thirty-six Bishops, whereof Twenty-nine were *Egyptians*, and over these *Theophilus* had, as their Metropolitan, too great an Influence; that *Chrysostom* had been condemned without being heard, and that nothing had been laid to his Charge, deserving so severe and exemplary a Punishment. *Innocent* therefore, having read them, with the utmost Indignation, answered *Theophilus* in a few Words; that he was determined, as he had notified to him by his former Letter, to communicate both with him and his Brother *John*; that he could by no means depart from the Communion of the latter, till he was lawfully judged and condemned; that a Council was to be soon held, before which it was incumbent upon *Theophilus* to make good his Charge, and the Steps he had hitherto taken, by the Canons and Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, since the *Roman* Church admitted no others ^c. With this Letter *Petrus* and *Martyrius* returned to *Constantinople*, whence arrived at *Rome*, soon after their Departure from that City, *Theoctecnus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Constantinople*, and one of *Chrysostom's* Friends, with Letters from Twenty-five Bi-

Theophilus
writes to *In-*
nocent.

Innocent's
Answer to
Theophilus.

Letters from
the Bishops
of *Chryso-*
stom's Party
to *Innocent.*

^a Idem ib. c. 8.

^b Idem ib.

^c Idem ib. c. 3.

^d Idem ib.

shops, informing *Innocent*, that *Chrysostom* had been driven a Second time from his See; that he had been conducted by a Band of Soldiers to *Cucusus*, and confined to that Place; and that the great Church had been consumed by Fire, the very Day he was carried out of *Constantinople*. *Innocent* was greatly affected with this Account, and shed many Tears in reading it. But as these Troubles and Disorders were fomented by some great Men at the Court either of *Arcadius* or *Honorius*, and a Misunderstanding was then subsisting between the Two Brothers, or their Ministers, he concluded, that his Endeavours towards the restoring of Peace and Unity would prove unsuccessful, and might even blow the Fire, which already burnt with so much Violence, into a greater Flame. On these Considerations he wisely forbore making any Application for the present to *Honorius*, and only sent Letters of Communion to *Chrysostom*, and the Bishops, who had espoused his Cause ^d. These Letters were delivered to *Theoctecnus*, who was scarce gone, when one *Paternus*, who styled himself a Presbyter of the Church of *Constantinople*, arrived at *Rome*, with Letters from *Acacius*, who had been intruded into the See of *Constantinople*, and from some other Bishops of his Party, charging *Chrysostom* with setting Fire to the *Basilic* or Great Church. So barefaced a Calumny provoked *Innocent* to such a Degree, that he would neither hear *Paternus*, nor return an Answer to the Letters he had brought.

*Who sends
Letters of
Communion
to them.*

*Letters from
Acacius to
Innocent.*

*Chryso-
stom's
Friends
cruelly per-
secuted.*

In the mean time a most cruel Persecution was raised at *Constantinople*, against *Chrysostom's* Friends, refusing to communicate with *Acacius*, *Theophilus*, and *Porphyrius*, who had intruded himself into the vacant See of *Antioch*, and, in Defiance of the Canons, maintained, by Force of Arms, the Dignity he had usurped. This Persecution was carried on under a Christian Emperor, with as much Cruelty as any had ever been under the most inveterate Enemies of the Christian Name. The Pretence they made use of was to discover the Authors of the late Fire; and as the Imperial Officers chiefly suspected, or pretended to suspect, *Chrysostom's* Friends, *Optatus*, who was then Prefect or Governor of *Constantinople*, and a Pagan, laid hold of that Opportunity to vent upon them the implacable Hatred he bore to the Religion they professed. Many therefore, without Distinction of Sex or Condition, were, by his Orders, dragged to the

^d Pallad. ibid. c. 2.

public Gaols, and confined there to Dungeons, others tormented with such Barbarity as to expire on the Rack; and great Numbers, after having undergone repeated Tortures, stript of all their Effects, and banished to the most remote and desolate Places of the Empire.

At the same time the Emperor *Arcadius*, strangely prepossessed Two Edicts enacted against them. against *Chrysostom*, and those of his Communion, caused Two Edicts to be published; the one directed to the Governors of the Provinces, whom he strictly enjoined not to suffer, in their respective Jurisdictions, any private Assemblies or Meetings of Persons, who, despising the Churches, worshiped elsewhere, lest they should seem to communicate with *the most Reverend Prelates of the holy Law, Arsacius, Theophilus, and Porphyrius*. The other commanded such Bishops as refused to communicate with them, to be driven from their Sees, and their Effects to be seized. The Persecution, which still raged, though it was soon after stopt at the Remonstrances of *Studius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and the Severity, with which the Two Imperial Edicts were put in Execution, drove great Numbers, both of the Clergy and Laity, from *Constantinople*, and the Provinces subject to *Arcadius*. Among the former were *Cyriacus* Bishop of *Synnada*, *Eulysius* of *Apamea* in *Bithynia*, *Palladius* of *Helenopolis*, *Germanus* a Presbyter, and *Cassianus* a Deacon, who afterwards embraced the Monastic Life, and became famous for his Ascetic Writings. *Eulysius* brought Letters Several Bishops, and the whole Clergy of Constantinople write to Innocent. to *Innocent* from Fifteen Bishops of *Chrysostom's* Communion, acquainting him with the deplorable State of the *Constantinopolitan* Church, and one from *Anysius* of *Thessalonica*, declaring, that in the present unhappy Divisions he had resolved to conform intirely to the Sentiments of the *Roman Church*. *Germanus* and *Cassianus* likewise delivered Letters to *Innocent*, written in the Name of the whole Clergy of *Constantinople*, and giving him an Account of the Persecution that still raged, and of the cruel Treatment their Bishop had met with. *Innocent*, in his Answer to this Letter, expresses, His Answer to the Clergy. in the most pathetic Terms, his Concern for the unhappy State of that Church, and their Sufferings; he encourages them to bear, with Patience, their present Tribulation and Afflictions, nay, and with Joy, since it is for the sake of Justice they suffer, and are thus persecuted: he complains of the undue Deposition of his Colleague, and Installation of another in his Life-time, which he shews to be against the Canons of the Council

* Pall. ubi supra. Soz. l. 8. c. 26. Hist. Lausiac. c. 121.

of *Nice*, the only Canons admitted and obeyed by the *Roman Church* : he concludes with informing them, that as he had always thought it necessary, that an Oecumenical Council should assemble, he had long considered, and was still considering, by what Means it might be assembled, *since a Council, and nothing else, could appease so violent a Storm*, and restore to the Church the so much wished for Tranquillity ^b.

Innocent
applies to
Honorius ;

Two Presbyters in the mean time came to *Rome* from the East, *Domitianus* of *Constantinople*, and *Vallagus* of *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, and brought with them the original Acts, which they had purchased with a large Sum of the Imperial Officers, containing an authentic Detail of the Cruelties which some Women of Quality had been made to endure for not communicating with *Arsacius*, and the Bishops of his Faction. With these the good Bishop was so deeply affected, that he could no longer forbear applying to *Honorius*, who, at his Request, writ immediately to *Arcadius* a very pressing and friendly Letter in favour of *Chrysostom*, and those of his Communion. At the same time he issued an Order for convening a Council of the Western Bishops, who, meeting soon after at *Rome*, drew up an Address, which they sent to *Ravenna*, where the Emperor then was, earnestly intreating him to interpose anew his good Offices with his Brother *Arcadius*, that an Oecumenical Council might be allowed to assemble at *Thessalonica*, in order to compose the present Differences, which had already produced a Misunderstanding between the Eastern and Western Churches, and might in the End bring on an intire Separation. *Honorius*, in Compliance with their Request, writ a Third Letter to *Arcadius* (for he had, it seems, written already a Second), and at the same time one to *Innocent*, desiring him to appoint Five Bishops, Two Presbyters of the *Roman Church*, and One Deacon, to carry his Letter into the East, thinking that such a Legation would add no small Weight to his Mediation. The Letter to *Arcadius* was in the following Terms :

who writes
to Arcadius.

His Letter.

“ This is the Third time I write to your Meekness (*ad Mansuetudinem tuam*) intreating you to correct and rectify the iniquitous Proceedings that have been carried on against *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*. But nothing, I find, has been hitherto done in his Behalf. Having therefore much at Heart the Peace of the Church,

^b Soz. ubi supra, & ep. Rom. Pont. Inn. 15.

“ which

“ which will be attended with that of our Empire, I write to you anew
 “ by these holy Bishops and Presbyters, earnestly desiring you to
 “ command the Eastern Bishops to assemble at *Theffalonica*. The
 “ Western Bishops have sent Five of their Body, Two Presbyters of
 “ the *Roman* Church, and One Deacon, all Men of the strictest Equity,
 “ and quite free from the Byas of Favour and Hatred. These I beg
 “ you would receive with that Regard which is due to their Rank
 “ and Merit : if they find *John* to have been justly deposed, they may
 “ separate me from his Communion ; and you from the Communion
 “ of the Orientals, if it appears that he has been unjustly deposed.
 “ The Western Bishops have very plainly expressed their Sentiments,
 “ in the many Letters they have written to me on the Subject of the
 “ present Dispute. Of these I send you Two, the one from the Bi-
 “ shop of *Rome*, the other from the Bishop of *Aquileia*; and with
 “ them the rest agree. One thing I must above all beg of your Meek-
 “ ness ; that you oblige *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* to assist at the
 “ Council, how averse soever he may be to it ; for he is said to be
 “ the first and chief Author of the present Calamities. Thus the Sy-
 “ nod, meeting with no Delays or Obstructions, will restore Peace
 “ and Tranquillity in our Days.”

With these Letters the Legates set out from *Rome*, attended by the
 above-mentioned Prelates *Demetrius*, *Cyriacus*, *Eulysius*, and *Pal-*
ladius ; and, sailing for *Greece*, put in at *Athens*, with a Design to
 pursue their Voyage to *Theffalonica*, having Letters from *Innocent* to
Anysius Bishop of that City. But at *Athens* they were, to their great
 Surprize, stopt and detained by a Military Tribune, who let them
 know, that they must not touch at *Theffalonica* ; and at the same time
 appointed a Centurion as a Guard over them, strictly injoining him
 not to suffer them, under any Pretence whatsoever, to approach that
 City. Soon after the Tribune parted them, and putting them on
 board Two Vessels, ordered the Mariners to convey them strait to *Con-*
stantinople. *Anysius* communicated with *Chrysostom*, as I have ob-
 served above ; and it was, without all doubt, on this Consideration
 that the Legates were not allowed to set foot in his Diocese. They
 arrived at *Constantinople* the Third Day after they had left *Athens*,
 but starved with Hunger ; for the Tribune had neither supplied them
 with Provisions when they embarked, nor allowed them Time to

*The Pope's
Legates not
allowed to
touch at
Theffalo-
nica.*

*They had U-
sage they met
with on their
Journey,*

* Pall. ibid.

and at Constantinople.

supply themselves; so that they had tasted no Kind of Victuals during the Three Days they were at Sea. On their Arrivail at *Constantinople*, they were not suffered to come ashore there, but ordered to a Castle on the *Thracian* Coast called *Athyra*, where they were all closely confined, the Legates in one common Room, and the other Bishops in so many separate Cells. As the People of *Constantinople* were most zealously attached to *Chrysostom*, the Emperor apprehended, and with a great deal of Reason, that their entering the City, and conversing publicly there, might be attended with uncommon Disturbances and Commotions; and therefore thought it adviseable to keep them at a Distance, and under Confinement. They had not been long thus confined, when they were ordered, they knew not by whom, to deliver the Letters they had brought. But neither by this Person, whoever he was, nor by several others, who were successively sent on the same Errand, could they be prevailed upon to part with them; alleging, that Letters from an Emperor ought to be delivered to none but an Emperor.

The Letters taken from them by Force.

As they continued firm and unshaken in this Resolution, one *Valerian*, a Military Tribune, was at last called in, and ordered to employ the Rhetoric peculiar to his Profession, since no other could prevail. *Valerian* accordingly, after a short Preamble, proceeded to Violence; and, seizing them, took the Letters by Force, having in the Struggle wounded one of the Bishops in the Hand. The next Day they were visited by a Person, who, without acquainting them who he was, or by whom sent, offered them a very considerable Sum on condition they would communicate with *Atticus*, who, upon the Death of *Arsacius*, had, by the Bishops of his Faction, been intruded in his room. Upon their rejecting, as they did, with the utmost Indignation, this Offer, *Valerian*, who was present, conducted them under a strong Guard to the Sea-side, and there put them on board an old leaky Vessel, having first, with a large Bribe, prevailed upon the Commander, as they were informed, to engage his Word that they should not outlive that Voyage. They outlived it however, and having reached *Lampsacus*, they embarked on board another Vessel, which landed them safe at *Otranto*. As for the Eastern Bishops, who had attended them from *Rome*, viz. *Cyriacus*, *Eulysius*, *Palladius*, and *Demetrius*, after having been some time kept under close Confinement at *Athyra*, they were banished to the most remote and abandoned Places of the Empire. The other Bishops, who refused to

They are put on board a leaky Vessel;

but arrive safe in Italy.

com-

communicate with *Atticus*, *Theophilus*, and *Porphyrius*, fared no better, being in like manner either driven into Banishment, or obliged to abscond, and, under the Disguise of Mechanics, earn their Livelihood by the meanest Professions. Many perished in the Places of their Exile for want of Necessaries; and others were so cruelly harassed, nay, and barbarously beaten, by the merciless Soldiery appointed to conduct them, that they died on the Road ^d. Such were the wretched Effects of that unchristian Principle of Persecution being lawful to punish Error in religious Disputes, which all Sects of Christians then held, and all suffered by in their Turns, as the different Parties among them got the Civil Magistrate and Force on their Side.

Honorius, being informed of the base Treatment the Legates had met with, though vested with the sacred Character of Embassadors, was so provoked at such a notorious Violation of the Right of Nations, that he resolved to make War on his Brother, and revenge it by Force of Arms. But from this Resolution he was diverted by a threatened Invasion of the *Barbarians*, and the seasonable Discovery of the famous *Stilicho's* Treachery, which obliged him to keep all his Troops in *Italy*, or the adjoining Provinces. As for *Innocent*, finding the Mediation of *Honorius*, which he had procured, prove unsuccessful, and no other Means left of affording the least Relief to *Chrysostom* and the other persecuted Bishops, he resolved to make known to the World his Abhorrence of the Evils, which it was not in his Power to redress; and accordingly separated himself from the Communion of *Atticus*, *Theophilus*, and *Porphyrius*, as the chief Authors of the present Calamities ^e.

Baronius, thinking it inconsistent with the Dignity of his High Pontiff thus tamely to bear with the insulting Conduct of *Arcadius*, would fain persuade us, that, after he had tried in vain all other Methods of bringing the Emperor, and the Empress *Eudoxia*, to a Sense of their Duty, he at last thought himself obliged to thunder against both the tremendous Sentence of Excommunication, cutting them off as rotten Members from the Body of the Faithful committed to his Care and Direction. To prove this, he produces several Letters from *Innocent* to *Arcadius*, and from *Arcadius* to *Innocent*, transcribed partly from *Gennadius*, *Glycas*, and *Nicephorus*, and partly from the *Vatican Manuscripts* ^f. To enter into a critical Examination of those

^d Pall. in dial. ubi supra.

^e Idem ibidem.

^f Bar. ann. 407. n. 19—22.

Pieces would be wasting Time, and tiring the Reader to no Purpose. I shall therefore content myself with Three Observations, each of them sufficient, in my Opinion, to make the World reject them all as mere Forgeries. In the first place, the Silence of the Historians, who writ at that Time, touching so remarkable and unprecedented an Event as the Excommunication of an Emperor and an Empress, is an unanswerable Confutation of every Proof that can be alleged to support the Authenticity of the pretended Letters. For who can imagine that the Writers, who flourished then, and have transmitted to us most minute Accounts of far less important Transactions both Civil and Ecclesiastical, would have passed this over in Silence? In the Second place, *Eudoxia* is supposed, in all those Letters, to have outlived *Chrysostom*; whereas it is certain that she died in 404. four Years before him. Lastly, In the above-mentioned Letter, *Arcadius* is all along supposed to have repented and changed his Conduct towards *Chrysostom*, to have persecuted his Enemies as he had formerly done his Friends, and to have chiefly vented his Resentment on the first Author of all the Disturbances, the Empress, who thereupon, out of Grief, Rage, and Despair, fell into a dangerous Malady &c. But of all this not the least Hint is to be met with in *Palladius*, who writ in the last Days of the Life and Reign of *Arcadius*; nay, that Historian speaks of the Friends of *Chrysostom* as Men still under the Emperor's Displeasure, and feeling the dreadful Effects of it in the inhospitable Places, to which they had been formerly confined.

Chrysostom did not appeal to the See of Rome.

From the Conduct of *Chrysostom* on this Occasion, the *Roman-Catholic* Divines have taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that the Custom of appealing to the See of *Rome* obtained in his Time; that he actually appealed to that See; and consequently, that the Prerogative of receiving Appeals from all Parts, and finally deciding all Controversies, claimed by the Bishops of *Rome*, was then acknowledged even in the East. Nothing surely but the utmost Distress for want of other Instances to prove their Assertion, could have tempted them to make use of this; since, from the Conduct of *Chrysostom* on this very Occasion, nay, and from that of *Innocent* too, if set in their true Light, it may be undeniably made out, that this pretended Prerogative was utterly unknown to both. The Fact stands thus, and thus it is related by the Historians, who have transmitted it to us: *Chrysostom*

* Vid. Bar. ubi sup. Niceph. l. 13. c. 34. & Glyc. l. 4. p. 259, 260.

is unjustly accused; the Bishop of *Alexandria* takes upon him to inquire into his Conduct; assembles a Council, consisting chiefly of *Egyptian* Bishops, and summons *Chrysofom* to appear before them: *Chrysofom* pays no Regard to the Summons, protests against it, and will not allow the Bishops assembled to have any Power or Authority over him, *since it had been ordained by the Canons of the Church, that the Affairs of the Provinces should be regulated by the Bishops of the Provinces; and it was consequently very incongruous, that the Bishops of Thrace should be judged by those of Egypt*^k. No Regard is had to his Protest, none to the Canons upon which it was grounded: he is summoned anew; and, not appearing within the limited Time, is judged, condemned, and deposed. From this Sentence he appeals to a lawful Council; but, being, notwithstanding his Appeal, driven from his See, he recurs at last to the Western Bishops, namely, to *Innocent* of Rome, *Venerius* of Milan, and *Chromatius* of *Aquileia*, intreating them not to abandon him in his Distress, nor exclude him from their Communion^l, but to procure by all means the assembling of a General Council, in order to restore the Church to her former Tranquillity.

Such was the Conduct of *Chrysofom*: and, from this Conduct, *Chrysofom* does it not manifestly appear, that *Chrysofom* was an utter Stranger to the pretended Power in the Bishops of Rome of receiving Appeals from all other Tribunals, and finally determining all Controversies: Who can think, that, had he been acquainted with such a Prerogative, he would, when so unjustly oppressed, have appealed to a Council, which, he was well apprised, would meet with great Obstructions, when he had, ready at hand, a more certain and easy Method of finding Relief? Had he been satisfied, that *Innocent* had such a Privilege, is it likely he would have written to him on so urgent an Occasion, without taking the least Notice of it; that he would have contented himself with only intreating him to procure the assembling of a General Council? Should a Bishop now, apprehending himself injured by a National or Provincial Synod, appeal, not to the Pope, but, as *Chrysofom* did, to a General Council, he would, by such an Appeal, draw upon himself the Indignation of the *Roman* See: for it would be thence concluded, and no Conclusion can be more natural, that he did not acknowledge the Power of receiving Appeals claimed by that See.

^k Chrysof. ep. 122.

^l Pall. dial. 2.

Chryso-
stom
never ac-
knowledg-
ed such a Power.

But *Chryso-
stom*, say they, did acknowledge such a Power; for, in his Letter to *Innocent*, he intreats him to declare such wicked Proceedings void and null, and to pronounce all, who had any Share in them, punishable, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws. But *Chryso-
stom* addresses himself here, not to *Innocent* alone, as I have already observed, but to him, in Conjunction with *Venerius* of *Milan*, and *Chromatius* of *Aquileia*^m; nay, he addresses himself, throughout the whole Letter, to more Persons than one; and yet *Baronius* has the Assurance to style the Letter an Appeal to *Innocent*ⁿ. And why to him, and not to the other Two, since he writ nothing to him but what he writ to them? *Bellarmino*, finding some Expressions in the above-mentioned Letter, which he thought might be so interpreted as to favour and countenance the Pretensions of the See of *Rome*, had *Chryso-
stom* addressed himself to *Innocent* alone, makes him accordingly, by altering the Number in the Passage he quotes, address himself to *Innocent* alone (A); and then concludes, that even the *Greeks* acknowledged the Bishop of *Rome* for their Supreme Judge^o. What must every impartial Man think of a Cause, that wants to be thus defended? What of those, who thus defend it?

The Disin-
guity of Bel-
larmino.

Innocent's
Letter to Ex-
uperius
Bishop of
Toulouse.

About this time, that is, in the Year 405. *Innocent*, being consulted by *Exuperius* (B) Bishop of *Toulouse*, concerning some Points of Discipline, answered him by a Decretal, containing the following Decisions: 1. That the Priests and Deacons, who were daily employed in sacrificing or baptizing, were not to be allowed the Use

^m Idem ibid.

ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 404. n. 20.

^o Bell. Rom. Pontif. l. 2. c. 15.

(A) He changes *obsecro ut scribatis* into *obsecro ut scribas*.

(B) *Exuperius* was, as we gather from *Aufonius*, a Native of *Bordeaux*, one of the greatest Orators of his Time, and had governed *Spain* in Quality of Prefect. He afterwards withdrew from the World; embraced the Ecclesiastical State in the Place of his Nativity (1); and was, for his eminent Virtues, raised to the See of *Toulouse*. He was chiefly commendable for his Charity to the Poor; though he bestowed the greater Part of it on Objects, perhaps, of all, the least worthy of his Compassion: for, by the Monk *Sifennius*, he

sent considerable Sums into the East, to be distributed there among the Monks of *Egypt* and *Palestine* (2); which might have been better employed at home, *Gaul* being then threatened with an Invasion of the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and other barbarous Nations; who, accordingly, broke into that Province on the last Day of the Year 406. and made themselves Masters of *Toulouse* itself. It was, however, this Kindness of *Exuperius* to the Monks, that chiefly recommended him to *Jerom* (3), who often mentions him with the greatest Commendations (4), and even inscribed to him his Comment on *Zechariah*.

(1) Paulin. ep. 20.

(2) Hier. præf. in lib. 1, 2, & 3. Zech. & ep. 152.

(3) Idem ibid.

(4) Idem ep. 410, 411.

of Matrimony; that those, who were ignorant of the Decretal issued by *Syricius*, might be forgiven, upon their promising thenceforth to live continent; but, as to the rest, they should, as unworthy of Indulgence, be deposed. The Second Article relates to those, who, after Baptism, had led a wicked or sinful Life, and at the Point of Death desired the Communion. *Innocent* declares, that to such, according to the antient Discipline of the Church, which was more severe, Repentance was granted, and not the Communion; but, according to the present Practice, both were granted. By Repentance is here meant, according to the most probable Opinion, a Reconciliation with the Church; and, by the Communion, the Eucharist, which the Thirteenth Canon of the Council of *Nice* commands to be given to all dying Persons who desire it. Some doubted whether it was lawful for a Christian to discharge the Office of a Judge, in criminal Cases. *Innocent* therefore declares, in the Third Article, that no Penance ought to be imposed upon those who had condemned Criminals to the Rack, or even to Death, the Civil Power having been established by God for the Punishment of Criminals. As Women were, it seems, more frequently punished for Adultery than Men, some imagined that Crime not to be alike punishable in both. This Notion *Innocent* confutes in the Fourth Article; adding, that Women were more frequently punished, merely because the Husbands were more forward in accusing their Wives, than Wives were in accusing their Husbands. The Fifth Article is a Confirmation of the Third; for it only absolves from all Sins such as are obliged, by their Office, to prosecute or condemn Criminals. The Sixth Article excludes from the Communion of the Church all Men, who, after they have been parted from their Wives, marry other Women; and all Women, who, after they have been parted from their Husbands, marry other Men (A). The same Punishment is, by this
Ar-

(A) The matrimonial Bond is held, by the Church of *Rome*, indissoluble, and a Separation only allowed as to Bed and Board, even in Cases of Adultery; whence it follows, that so long as they both live, neither can marry, without being guilty of Adultery. There are, however, some annulling Impediments, as the Canonists style them, that is, Circumstances rendering the Marriage-contract null; and if any of these intervene, and is made to appear,
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the Parties are then declared not to have been married; and, consequently, free to marry whom they please. Till *Innocent's* Time, Men, who had been parted from their Wives convicted of Adultery, were allowed to marry again. This *Epiphanius* tells us in express Terms; adding, that, agreeably to Scripture (no doubt to *Matt. v. 32.*), it could be no Crime to marry again; that those who married again were not excluded, on that score, from Life everlasting;
R r and

Article, inflicted on those who marry them, but not on their Parents or Relations, provided they have been no-way accessory to that unlawful Contract. The last Article contains a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of Scripture, the same as are still acknowledged by the Church of *Rome* as Canonical. In the same Article, some Books are pointed out, that ought to be absolutely condemned and rejected ^P (B). These Directions, or Instructions, *Innocent* pretends to have drawn partly from Scripture, and partly from Tradition; and thanks *Exuperius*, because he had, by applying to him for a Solution to his Difficulties, engaged him to examine them with Attention, and thereby given him an Opportunity of learning what he had not known before. It is surprising he should have mentioned the Scripture, since the very First Article, debarring for ever married Men from the Use of Matrimony, is an open Contradiction to the Directions given by *St. Paul* to all married Persons, without Restraint or Distinction; *Defraud you not one the other, except it be with*

^P Conc. t. 2. p. 1254—1256.

and consequently ought not to be excluded from the Communion of the Church (1). The Scope and Design of *Epiphanius*, throughout his Work, was to acquaint us with the several Heresies that sprung up in the Church, and to explain, in Opposition to them, the Catholic Doctrines. It must therefore have been deemed a Heresy in his Time, that is, towards the latter End of the Fourth Century, to think the matrimonial Bond indissoluble, even in Cases of Adultery, or to hold it unlawful for a Man to marry again, who had put away his Wife *for the Cause of Fornication*. But the Heresy became afterwards a Catholic Truth, and the Catholic Truth a Heresy. This Change, however, was not so much owing to *Innocent's* Decretal, as to the Two Books, which *St. Austin* writ about the Year 419. to prove, that it is unlawful for a Husband, who has put away his Wife, even for Adultery, or for a Wife who has been thus put away, to marry again, while both are living. He founds his Opinion on that of *St. Paul*, *The Wife is bound by the Law, as long as her Husband liveth* (2). But, instead of understanding that Passage with the Exception made by our Saviour himself, *Whoever shall put away his Wife, saving for the Cause of Fornication, &c.* he

endeavours, by many logical Distinctions, and unnatural Interpretations, to remove that Exception, though expressed by the Evangelist in the plainest Terms. He was therein, no doubt, misled, by the groundless, but then reigning, Notion, of an extraordinary Merit annexed to Celibacy; and therefore ends his Work with exhorting the Husbands, who have put away their Wives, to observe Continency, in Imitation of the Ecclesiastics, who observe it (says he) with the greatest Exactness, though it was not by their own Choice that some of them went into Orders. It may be questioned, whether, even then, the Continence of the unmarried Clergy was such as he represents 'it.

(B) These were several Books, styled *The Acts of the Apostles*, forged by *Leucius*, *Nexacharis*, and *Leonides*, and ascribed by them to some of the Apostles. *Leucius* was, by Sect, a *Manichee*, as appears from *Austin*, who confuted his Books (3). *Nexacharis* and *Leonides* are, by *Innocent*, styled Philosophers. The Books of *Leucius*, in the latter End of the present Century, were anew declared Apocryphal by Pope *Gelasius*: *The Books*, says he, in one of his Decretals, *composed by Leucius, a Disciple of the Devil, are all Apocryphal* (4).

(1) *Epiph.* hæref. 59. (2) 1 *Corinth.* vii. 39. (3) *Aug. de fide contra Manich.*
(4) *Gelas. in Decretal. de lib. Apocryph.*

Consent for a time, &c. and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your Incontinency 9.

As the Bishops of *Rome* had, ever since the time of *Damasus*, ^{His Letter to} taken upon them to appoint the Bishop of *Theſſalonica* their Vicar ^{Anyſius of} for *East-Illyricum*, *Innocent* no ſooner heard, that *Rufus* had been ^{Theſſalo-} promoted to that See, vacant by the Death of *Anyſius*, than he let ^{nica.} all the Bishops in thoſe Parts know, by a Circular Letter, probably directed to *Rufus* himſelf, that he conferred on him the ſame Dignity which his Predeceſſors had conferred on the other Bishops of *Theſſalonica*. He writ, at the ſame time, a private Letter to *Rufus*, containing ſome Inſtructions relating to the Exerciſe of his Vicarious Power, and, with them, the Names of the Provinces which he was to govern, as his Vicar and Firſt Primate; but without intrenching, adds *Innocent*, upon the Rights and Privileges of the Primate or Metropolitan of each Province. In this Letter he takes great care, that *Rufus* ſhould not forget he is indebted for ſuch a Power to the See of *Rome*; for that he frequently repeats, as if he entertained ſome Jealouſy of *Rufus*, or apprehended that he might claim ſuch a Power, as Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, that City being, according to the Civil Diviſion of the Empire, on which the Eccleſiaſtical was ingrafted, the Metropolis of *East-Illyricum* 1.

The ſame Year 407. the Emperor *Honorius* viſited the City of *Rome* ^{re-} *Rome*, and continued there till the Month of *May* of the Year 408. ^{duced to great} On the 23d of the following *Auguſt*, *Stilicho* was killed; and *Alaric* ^{Streights by} the *Goths*, entering *Italy* ſoon after his Death, appeared before *Rome*, ^{Alaric.} and laid cloſe Siege to that City in the latter End of the ſame Year. As no Proviſions could be conveyed into the Place, all the Avenues being ſhut up and well-guarded, a Famine ſoon enſued, and upon the Famine a Plague, which daily ſwept off great Numbers of the Inhabitants. In this Extremity, ſuch of the Senators as ſtill adhered to the Pagan Superſtitious, promiſing themſelves Relief from the Gods of their Anceſtors, reſolved to implore their Protection, by ſolemn Sacrifices offered up to them in the Capitol, and other public Places of the City. This Reſolution, ſays *Zoſimus* 2, they imparted to *In-* ^{The Pagan} *nocent*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, who, ſacrificing his private Opinion ^{Superſtitious} to the public Welfare, agreed to it, on Condition that the Ceremony ^{connived at} ſhould be privately performed. Of theſe Sacrifices *Sozomen* too ^{by Innocent.}

1 1 Corinth. vii. 5.

2 Holſten. Coll. Rom. t. 1. p. 49—51.

3 Zoſ. l. 5. c. 40.

takes particular Notice ^t; but makes no Mention of *Innocent*, which has induced some to suspect the Veracity of *Zosimus*, who was, as is well known, a sworn Enemy to the Christian Religion. But that those Sacrifices were performed, is affirmed both by him and *Sozomen*; and it is not at all probable, that *Pompeianus*, who was then Governor of *Rome*, and a Christian, would have suffered them, without the Consent and Approbation of *Innocent*. However that be, I see not why *Baronius* should be so provoked against *Zosimus*, for making *Innocent* thus connive at the superstitious Worship of the Gentiles, since his Successors have always allowed, and do still allow, even in *Rome* itself, the free Exercise of the *Jewish* Worship.

Innocent leaves Rome, and repairs to the Emperor at Ravenna.

Rome being reduced to the last Extremity, Deputies were, in the End, sent out to treat with *Alaric*, who, hearkening to their Proposals, raised the Siege, upon their paying to him Five thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, Thirty thousand of Silver, Four thousand Silk Garments, Three thousand Skins of Purple Dye, and as many Pounds of Pepper. At the same time the *Romans* engaged to mediate a Peace between him and *Honorius*: but the Emperor refusing to comply with the Terms that were proposed, though no-ways unreasonable, the *Roman* Senate sent Two solemn Deputations to *Ravenna*, where *Honorius* then resided, to lay before him the Danger to which he exposed the Empire, and persuade him to accept the Conditions offered him both by them and by *Alaric*. As the First Deputation proved unsuccessful, *Innocent*, thinking his Presence might give some Weight to the Negotiations, left *Rome*, and, together with the Deputies, repaired to *Ravenna*. Thus he escaped the Mortification of seeing the City of *Rome* taken and plundered by the Barbarians ^u. For, *Honorius* still rejecting the Terms of Peace, *Alaric* returned with his Army before *Rome*; and, having made himself Master of it on the 24th of *August* of the Year 410. treated the great Metropolis of the Empire no better, if *Jerom* may be credited, than the *Greeks* are said to have treated antient *Troy* ^w.

Innocent's Letter to Marcianus, Bishop of Naissus.

While *Innocent* continued at *Ravenna*, he writ to *Marcianus* Bishop of *Naissus*, a City in *Mæsia*, concerning the Ecclesiastics of his Diocese, who had been ordained by *Bonofus*, of whom we have spoken above ^x. In that Letter, *Innocent* declares, that *Marcianus*

^t Soz. l. 9. c. 6. ^u Zof. l. 5. p. 819, 820. Soz. l. 9. c. 7. ^w Hier. ep. 16.
^x Vid. sup. p. 263—266.

ought to admit to his Communion, and even restore to their Churches, those Ecclesiastics, who, having adhered to *Bonofus* after his Condemnation, were willing to return, provided they had been ordained by him before his Condemnation. One of these, by Name *Rusticus*, to remove all Doubt concerning the Validity of his Ordination, had caused himself to be reordained by a Catholic Bishop; and this Reordination *Innocent* condemns, in the same Letter, as highly criminal ^γ.

In the Year 412. *Innocent* writ to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, His Letter to Aurelius of Carthage. whom he seems to have greatly honoured and esteemed, concerning the Day on which *Easter* was to be kept in the Year 414. He acquaints *Aurelius*, that the 16th Day of the Moon of *March* would fall that Year on the 22d of the Month, and the 23d of the Moon on the 29th of the Month; and consequently that, in his Opinion, *Easter* ought to be kept on the 22d of *March*. However, he desires *Aurelius* to discuss that Point in the Council of the *African* Bishops, that was in a short time to be held at *Carthage*; and to let him know, whether they approved of such a Regulation, or what they objected against it, that he might solemnly notify by his Letters, according to Custom, the Day, on which *Easter* was to be celebrated ^γ. Their thus notifying to the other Bishops the Day on which *Easter* was to be kept, was no Argument of Power; but it gave them an Air of Pre-eminence, which they dextrously improved into Power.

In the Year 414. *Vitalis*, Archdeacon probably of *Theffalonica*, The Letter of the Bishops of Macedon to Innocent. arrived at *Rome*, with Letters for *Innocent*, from the Bishops of *Macedon*, touching certain Points of Discipline, which, it seems, they had referred to him, and he had decided before. In this Letter they represent to him, in the first Place, that, according to the Custom and Practice of their Churches, the marrying a Widow was no Bar or Impediment to Orders, or even to the Episcopal Dignity; and that to marry one Wife before, and a Second after, Baptism, was not, with them, deemed Bigamy. Then passing to those, who had been ordained by *Bonofus*, they declare it as their Opinion, that nothing more could be required than the Blessing of a lawful Bishop to re-admit them to the Functions of their Office. They conclude with begging Leave to raise to the Episcopal Dignity one *Photinus*, who had been condemned by the Predecessors of *Innocent*, and to depose a Deacon, by Name *Eustatius* ^α.

^γ Conc. t. 2. p. 1271.

^α Conc. t. 2. p. 1269.

^β Conc. t. 2. p. 1272—1276.

Innocent's
Answer.

This Letter *Innocent* answered, almost in the Style and Language of a modern Pope. He begins with expressing his Surprize at the Affront they offered to the Apostolic See, by calling in Doubt what he had already decided. He then answers, one by one, the Heads of their Letter, with all the Authority of an unerring Judge, though neither he, nor any of his Predecessors, had ever yet claimed, or thought of claiming, such a Prerogative. He absolutely condemns the Practice of admitting to Orders such as had married Widows, because that was forbidden, says he, by *Moses* to the High-Priest of the *Jews*; which was tacitly declaring the *Levitical* Laws to be still, in some Degree, binding with respect to the Christian Clergy. He adds, that if any such had been ordained, it was the general Practice of all the Churches, both in the East and West, to depose them (A). As for those who had married but one of their Two Wives after Baptism, *Innocent* declares them equally incapable of being ordained as if they had married both (B). As to the Ecclesiastics ordained by *Bonofus*, *Innocent* not only excludes them from the Ministry, but endeavours to prove in general, that Orders, when conferred by Heretics, are null, borrowing, for that Purpose, of St. *Cyprian*, all the Arguments which that Father had made use of to prove a no less erroneous Opinion; viz. the Nullity of Baptism, when conferred by Heretics (C).

Innocent de-
clares Orders
conferred by
Heretics to
be null.

Which Opini-
on has been
since declared
heretical.

The Opinion, which he endeavours to establish here, has been since condemned as heretical, by several of his Successors, and is now held as such by the whole Church; which has cut out a great deal of Work for the Champions of Infallibility. They plainly see (and who can read *Innocent's* Letter without seeing?), that the Reasons which

(A) Such a Practice, however general, could have no other Foundation but the same unwarrantable Notion: I say, unwarrantable; for what can be more so than to exclude, as *Innocent* does, even from the lowest Degrees in the Church, a Man who had married a Widow, because the High-Priest of the *Jews* was not allowed to marry one, though all other Priests were, under that Law, free from such a Restriction?

(B) *Jerom* held the contrary Opinion, and maintained it in one of his Letters (1), with Reasons, that appeared to *Baronius*

almost unanswerable (2), that is, no otherwise answerable than by the *Ipse dixit* of *Innocent*, which, with him, stood in the room of Reason.

(C) He was, it seems, no Logician; else, to prove his Opinion, he had never made use of Arguments, that equally proved, and had been calculated to prove, an erroneous Opinion, an Opinion long before condemned by all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, and very lately by himself, in a Letter to *Alexander* Bishop of *Antioch*, where he maintains the Validity of Baptism conferred by an *Arian* (3).

(1) Hier. ep. 83.

(2) Bar. ad ann. 405. n. 69.

(3) Inn. ep. 18.

he made use of were all calculated to prove the Nullity of Ordination by the Hands of an Heretic; but nevertheless pretend, that whatever their seeming Purport may be, *Innocent* employed them only to prove, that an heretical Bishop had not the Power of conferring Grace, and with it the Right of exercising lawfully the Functions of his Office ^b. But who can believe any Man, endowed with the least Share of common Sense, capable of arguing so absurdly? If his Meaning may be thus wrested, in spite of his Words, to a Catholic Sense, whose Meaning may not?

With respect to *Photinus*, *Innocent* declares himself very unwilling to blame, or give Occasion to the World to think that he blamed, the Conduct of his Predecessors, who had condemned *Photinus*; but nevertheless, since so many Prelates had made it appear by their joint Testimonies, that the Holy See had been imposed upon by false and groundless Reports, he agrees to his Promotion. As to the Deacon *Eustatius*, he lets them know, that, whatever Reports may have been spread to his Prejudice, he is well assured both of his Probity, and the Purity of his Faith, and therefore cannot consent to his Deposition. In the End of his Letter, he complains of the Bishops of *Macedon* for not paying due Regard to the Testimony of the *Roman* Church, in behalf of the Two Subdeacons *Dizonianus* and *Cyriacus*.

We have observed above, that *Chrysostom* being driven from the See of *Constantinople* into Exile, *Innocent*, and with him most of the Western Bishops, had espoused his Cause with great Warmth; but, finding that all their Endeavours in his Behalf proved unsuccessful, they at last separated themselves from the Communion of *Atticus* of *Constantinople*, *Porphyrius* of *Antioch*, and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. In the Year 407. *Chrysostom* died at *Cumana* in *Pontus*; but with him did not die the Animosities, which his Deposition had occasioned between the Churches of the East and the West. *Atticus* indeed thought nothing could now obstruct the wished-for Union; and therefore, as soon as *Chrysostom's* Death was known, he applied to *Rome*, desiring the Communion of that Church. But he was greatly surpris'd, when he understood, that *Innocent*, instead of readily granting him his Request, insisted upon his first acknowledging *Chrysostom* to have been, and to have died, lawful Bishop of *Con-*

Innocent owns the Holy See to have been imposed upon.

The Misunderstanding between the Eastern and Western Churches continues after the Death of Chrysostom.

^b Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 10.

Constantinople, by inrolling his Name in the Diptychs (A), with the Names of other Bishops of that City. This Demand seemed to *Atticus* highly unreasonable; for it was obliging him to acknowledge his own Election to have been null. He therefore peremptorily refused to comply with it; but nevertheless continued soliciting, by means of his Friends at *Rome*, a Reconciliation with that Church. But *Innocent* was inflexible; he was determined at all Events to carry his Point, and therefore would hearken to no other Terms till that was complied with. The Eastern Bishops followed the Example of *Atticus*; the Western that of *Innocent*. And thus were the Separation, and the Animosities attending it, continued Seven Years longer, each Party bitterly inveighing, in the mean time, against the Authors of the Divisions, and each expressing a most earnest Desire of a Reconciliation.

*The Churches
of Antioch
and Rome
reconciled.*

At length *Porphyrius* of *Antioch*, one of *Chrysostom's* most inveterate Enemies, dying in the Year 413. or 414. *Alexander*, who till then had led a monastic Life, was chosen in his room by the unanimous Consent of the People and Clergy. As he was fully convinced of *Chrysostom's* Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies, he no sooner found himself vested with that Dignity, than he caused the deceased Prelate's Name to be inserted in the Diptychs of his Church, and the Two Bishops *Helpidius* and *Pappus* to be restored to their Sees, from which they had been driven for refusing to renounce his Communion, and to communicate with his Enemies. After this *Alexander* sent a solemn Deputation to *Rome*, at the Head of which was, it seems, the famous *Cassian*, to acquaint *Innocent* with his Promotion, to inform him of what he had done, and thereupon to renew the Union between the Two Churches. *Alexander*, who entertained a sincere Desire of seeing Peace and Concord restored between the East and the West, did not doubt but the Example of his Church would be followed by many others, and a Way, by that Means, be paved to a general Pacification. *Innocent* received the Deputation with the greatest Marks of Joy, admitted *Alexander* to his Communion, and, with the Consent and Approbation of Twenty-

* Theodoret. l. 5. c. 34.

(A) The Diptychs were Tables, in which were inrolled the Names of all those who died in the Communion of the Church. The Bishops were placed there by themselves; and of all Commemoration was made by the Deacon in the Time of the Service.

four

Four other Bishops, declared the Church of *Antioch* again united to that of *Rome*.

Several other Bishops, moved partly by the Example, and partly ^{The Bishop of Antioch strives to reconcile the Churches of Rome and Constantinople.} by the Letters and Exhortations of the Bishop of *Antioch*, yielded to *Innocent*, and submitted to the Terms he required. But *Atticus* still adhered to his former Resolution, and, to gain him, *Alexander*, who spared no Pains to complete the Work he had begun, repaired in Person to *Constantinople*. But he acted there with such Indiscretion as rendered that haughty Prelate more averse, than he had ever yet been, to an Accommodation on the Terms proposed by *Innocent*. For all other Means he could think of, to compass his Design, proving unsuccessful, he resolved in the End to apply to the Populace, who, as he well knew, had been most zealously attached to *Chrysostom* during his Life, and revered him as a Saint after his Death. Suffering therefore his Zeal to get the better of his Prudence, and of every Consideration Prudence could suggest, he began to harangue the Multitude, and inflame them with seditious Speeches against *Atticus*, as carrying, even beyond the Grave, his Hatred and Malice against their holy Bishop. The Populace heard him with Attention, applauded his Zeal, and, full of Rage against *Atticus*, demanded, in a tumultuous manner, that the Name of so holy, so great and deserving a Prelate, might be inrolled, without further Delay, in the Diptychs. But their Clamours and Threats made no more Impression on the Mind of *Atticus* than the Reasons of *Alexander*; he withstood both; and the Bishop of *Antioch*, finding all his Attempts thus shamefully baffled, returned to his See, with the Mortification of having only widened the Breach, which he intended to close, between the Churches of *Rome* and *Constantinople* ^{d.} *Baronius* supposes *Alexander* to have acted on this Occasion as *Innocent's* Legate ^{e.} But I find nothing in the Antients to countenance such a Supposition, besides his haughty Behaviour, and his pursuing, by the most unwarrantable Methods, what he had in View.

Atticus, however, allowed, in the End, *Chrysostom's* Name to be ^{The Name of Chrysostom inrolled in the Diptychs by the Bishop of Constantinople.} inserted in the Diptychs; but whether he did it by Choice or Compulsion, is uncertain; for, in one of his Letters, he writes, that he could no longer withstand the Threats and Violence of the enraged Multitude ^{f.}; and in another, that he had done it to comply with

^d Niceph. l. 14. c. 27.

^e Bar. ad ann. 48. n. 32.

^f Niceph. c. 26.

the Will of the Emperors, and to conform to the Sentiments of his Brethren, both in the East and the West &c. However that be, it is certain, that he never changed his Sentiments with respect to *Chrysofom*, as is manifest from his declaring, after he had placed his Name in the Diptychs, that he thereby meant no more than to own, that he had been once Bishop of *Constantinople*; but that he still adhered to the Judgment that was given against him. With this, however, *Innocent* was satisfied; and so is *Baronius*.

The Two Churches reunited at last.

Innocent's Letter to Alexander of Antioch.

The Prerogatives of the See of Rome owing to the City, and not to St. Peter.

Alexander maintained ever after a close Correspondence with *Innocent*, courting his Favour with the most servile Submissions, recurring to him in every momentous Affair relating to his Church, and suffering himself to be blindly guided by his Counsels. In one of his Letters he consulted him, it seems, concerning the Prerogatives of his See, and the Extent of his Jurisdiction; and nothing can be more subtle than *Innocent's* Answer. For after a long Preamble on the Dignity of the See of *Antioch*, he craftily insinuates all the Privileges and Prerogatives annexed to it to be owing not to the Dignity of the City, but to the Dignity of the See, as having been once the See of *St. Peter*. He adds, that on this Consideration it had been distinguished with an extensive Jurisdiction, and that it yielded to that of *Rome* itself only because *St. Peter* had accomplished there what he had begun at *Antioch* ^b. What *Innocent* proposed to himself by thus exalting the See of *Antioch*, by deriving the Privileges, Prerogatives, and Jurisdiction, of that See from *St. Peter*, is obvious. If they were owing not to the City, but to *St. Peter*, as *Innocent* affirms, those enjoyed by the See of *Rome* were, in like manner, owing to *St. Peter*, and not to the City. This Notion, now first started by *Innocent*, was not suffered to drop; but, being greedily embraced by his Successors, it was, in Process of Time, improved by them into a general Plea for all their exorbitant Claims. And thus *Innocent* may be justly said to have pointed out the Ground on which the unwieldy Fabric of the Papal Power was afterwards built. But if it be true, as *Innocent* pretends, that the See of *Antioch* owed its Dignity to *St. Peter*, and not to the City, how will he account for its being ranked under that of *Alexandria*, which was neither founded, nor had ever been honoured, by that Apostle? but not to waste Time in combating such a groundless Notion, nothing is more certain, than that the Disposition and Division

^a Idem, c. 27.

^b Conc. t. 2. p. 1269.

of the Church was founded upon, and intirely agreeable to, the Disposition and Division of the Empire ⁱ; and consequently that as no Regard was had to St. *Peter*, or any other Apostle, in the Civil, none could be had in the Ecclesiastical, Polity. And hence it naturally follows, that as *Rome* was the first City of the Empire, *Alexandria* the Second, and *Antioch* the Third, the Sees should be ranked in the same Order; and in the same Order they were ranked accordingly, though the See of *Alexandria* was founded only by a Disciple of St. *Peter*, and that of *Antioch* was supposed to have been founded by St. *Peter* himself.

This Division of the Church took place soon after the Division of the Empire made by *Constantine the Great*, on which it was founded. It was first introduced by Custom, but afterwards confirmed by several Councils; and in none of them is there a Word of St. *Peter*. As therefore the Bishop of *Alexandria* preceded in Rank the Bishop of *Antioch*, for no other Reason but because the City of *Alexandria* preceded in Dignity the City of *Antioch*, according to the secular Constitutions of the Empire; so the Bishop of *Rome* preceded in Rank all other Bishops, for no other Reason but because the City of *Rome*, as the Seat of the Empire, preceded in Dignity all other Cities.

But to return to *Innocent*: In the same Letter to *Alexander* he observes, that the Bishop of *Antioch* did not preside over a single Province, but a whole Diocese; and therefore advises him not only to maintain the Right he had of ordaining the Metropolitans, but not to suffer other Bishops in the Provinces under his Jurisdiction, however distant, to be ordained without his Consent and Approbation. He adds, that, with respect to the Bishops of the less remote Provinces, he might reserve to himself the Right of ordaining them ^k. This was encouraging the Bishop of *Antioch* to invade and usurp the undoubted Rights of the Metropolitans, in open Defiance of the Fourth and Sixth Canons of the Council of *Nice*, which were afterwards confirmed by almost innumerable other Councils, all granting to the Metropolitans the Power of ordaining the Bishops of their respective Provinces jointly with the Bishops of the same Province, without ever once mentioning the Patriarch or Head of the Diocese ^l. But of this Right the Bishops

ⁱ See above, p. 105, & seq. ^k Concil. t. 2. p. 1269. ^l Vid. Ell. Du Pin. de antiq. eccles. disciplin. dissert. prim. n. 12.

of *Rome* had deprived the Metropolitans under their Jurisdiction as early at least as the Time of *Syricius*; for that Pope, in the Letter which he writ to *Anysius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, appointing him his Vicar for *East-Illyricum*, charges him not to suffer any Bishops to be ordained in those Provinces without his Consent and Approbation. *Innocent* maintained what his Predecessors had usurped; and to countenance their Usurpation and his own, he encourages, by this Letter, the Bishop of *Antioch* to pursue the same Conduct with respect to the Metropolitans of his Diocese. The Example of the Bishops of *Rome* was, in Process of Time, followed by those of *Constantinople*, who, rivaling them in Pride and Ambition, not only usurped the Power of ordaining all the Bishops of their Diocese, but, by the Interest they had at Court, obtained an Imperial Rescript, confirming to them the Power which they had usurped. But they were soon obliged to part with it, though thus guaranteed, by the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* empowering, by their Twenty-eighth Canon, the Bishops of *Constantinople* to ordain the Metropolitans in the Dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*; but at the same time ascertaining to the Metropolitans the Right of ordaining the Bishops of their respective Provinces. But the Bishops of *Rome*, ever determined to part with no Power, however acquired, found means not only to elude the Decrees of this and several other Councils, ascertaining the Rights of the Metropolitans in the plainest Terms, but to improve, by daily Incroachments, their usurped Jurisdiction, as I shall have frequent Occasion to observe in the Sequel of this History.

Innocent's
Letter occasions great
Disputes between the Bishops of Antioch and those of Cyprus.

Innocent complains, in the next Article of his Letter, of a Custom that obtained in the Island of *Cyprus*. It was one of the chief Privileges of the Patriarch, or Bishop, who presided over a whole Diocese, to ordain the Metropolitans of the Provinces comprised under his Diocese. But the Metropolitan of *Cyprus* was ordained by the Bishops of that Island without the Consent, or even the Privy, of the Bishop of *Antioch*, though *Cyprus* belonged to his Province, according to the Civil Division of the Empire. This Custom *Innocent* condemns, as repugnant to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*; adding, that it was first introduced in the unhappy Times when *Arianism* prevailed all over *Syria*, the Bishops of *Cyprus* refusing then to acknowledge those of *Antioch*, who were infected with that Heresy. This Article proved the Source of endless Disputes between the Bishops of *Antioch* and those of *Cyprus*; the former pretending, that the Power of ordaining the Metropolitan of *Cyprus* was lodged in them, and the latter opposing

sing with great Warmth such a Pretension. The Controversy was at length referred to the Council of *Ephesus*; and the Fathers of that numerous Assembly, having heard and examined with great Attention the Pleas of both Parties, condemned in the strongest Terms the Pretension of the Bishops of *Antioch*, as repugnant to the antient Canons, that is, to those very Canons, on which, at the Suggestion of *Innocent*, they had founded it. And here I cannot help observing, by the way, that the Bishops of *Antioch* never thought of alleging, in support of their Claim, the Authority of *Innocent*, which they would certainly have done, had they not been well apprised, that no Regard would have been paid to it by the Fathers of the Council. As for what *Innocent* adds concerning the Time and Manner in which the Custom he complains of was introduced, he must certainly have been no less mistaken in those Particulars, than he was in the Sense and Meaning of the Canons of *Nice*. For who can imagine, that the *Arian* Bishops, at the Time *Arianism* prevailed, that is, when they had the greatest Interest at Court, and the Orthodox had none, would have suffered the Bishops of *Cyprus* to withdraw themselves, contrary to the established Laws of the Church, from their Jurisdiction, for no other Reason, but because the Bishops of *Antioch* professed the Doctrine of *Arius*?

Alexander, in his Letter to *Innocent*, had asked him, Whether Two Metropolitan Sees should be erected in one Province, which had been divided by the Emperors into Two? *Innocent* replies, That the Concerns of the Church being different from those of the State, the Church ought to adhere to the antient Rule. However, it is plain from History, that such Alterations in the State were, generally speaking, attended with the like Alterations in the Church; insomuch that when the Bishop of any considerable City wanted to be raised to the Dignity of a Metropolitan, the most expeditious Way of gratifying his Ambition was, to apply to the Emperor for a Division of the Province; that his City being advanced, by such a Division, to the Rank of a Metropolis, he might, by the same Means, be preferred to that of a Metropolitan. Of mere Bishops, thus raised to the Dignity of Metropolitans, without any Regard to *Innocent's* Letter, or, as it is styled, Decretal, several Instances occur in History.

Innocent, in the End of his Letter, declares it as his Opinion, that such Ecclesiastics as had renounced *Arianism*, or any other Heresy, with

Which are in the End decided in favour of the latter.

Alterations in the State generally attended with the like Alterations in the Church.

*Ecclesiastics
ordained by
Heretics to be
admitted into
the Church
only as Lay-
men.*

with a Desire of being received into the Church, ought not to be admitted as Ecclesiastics, but only as Laymen. This Doctrine is entirely agreeable to the erroneous Doctrine concerning the Invalidity of Ordination by the Hands of an Heretic, which we have heard him labour to establish in his Letter to the Bishops of *Macedon*¹. He concludes this Letter with intreating the Bishop of *Antioch* to cause it to be read in a Council, or to see that Copies of it be transmitted to all the Bishops of his Diocese, that all may agree in observing the Instructions which it contains ^m.

*Innocent's
Letter to the
Bishop of
Eugubium.*

But of all *Innocent's* Letters, that which he writ to *Decentius* Bishop of *Eugubium* (a City still known by the same Name in the Duchy of *Urbino*) is by far the most worthy of Notice, whether we consider the Doctrine which he there lays down, or the Principles on which he founds it. As to the Doctrine, it may be reduced to the Two following Heads; *viz.* That all the Churches in the West are bound to adopt, and strictly to observe every Practice and Custom observed by the *Roman* Church; and that the Customs of all other Churches, differing from those of the *Roman* Church, are but Corruptions of the ancient Tradition, Deviations from the Practice of the Primitive Times, and insufferable Abuses. As for the Principles on which he founds this Doctrine, they are, to say no more, of a Piece with the Doctrine itself. For he pretends, 1. That no Apostle, besides St. *Peter*, ever preached in the West. He ought, with St. *Peter*, to have at least excepted St. *Paul*; and, no doubt, would, had not his Memory failed him, as well as his Infallibility. He supposes, in the Second place, That all the Churches in the West were founded by St. *Peter*, or by some of his Successors; and consequently, that they ought to conform to the Customs of the *Roman* Church, since to that Church they owe their Origin. But that the Church of *Lyons*, not to mention others, was founded by Preachers sent thither out of *Asia* by St. *Polycarp*, and not by St. *Peter*, or any of his Successors, is affirmed by all the Antients, and allowed by the most learned among the Moderns; though some of them pretend, without the least Foundation, the Whole to have been done by the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*ⁿ. *Innocent* pretends, in the Third place, every Point of Discipline and Ecclesiastical Polity to have been settled by the Apostles, and whatever was settled at *Rome* by St. *Peter* to have been there strictly observed ever since his

*All Churches
ought, accord-
ing to him,
to conform to
the Customs of
the Roman
Church.*

¹ Vide supra, p. 310.

^m Concil. t. 2. p. 1265—1269.
Marc. dissert. de primat. p. 227.

ⁿ Vide Petr. de

Time, without the least Addition or Diminution. He concludes this Part of his Letter with laying it down as a general Maxim, That it is unlawful for any Bishop to make the least Alterations in the Discipline of his Church, or even to introduce into one Church a Custom or Practice observed by another ^o. This nevertheless is what all Bishops have done, and even those of *Rome*, both before and after *Innocent's* Time, and consequently what they thought it lawful to do. The Psalmody, for Instance (and innumerable other Instances might be alleged), or the singing of Psalms in the Churches, was not instituted by any of the Apostles, but first introduced by St. *Ignatius* into the Church of *Antioch* ^p, whence it spread in a very short time to all the Churches in the East, those Bishops no more scrupling to adopt, than *Ignatius* had scrupled to introduce so laudable a Practice. Of the Eastern Churches it was borrowed by the Church of *Milan*, and of the Church of *Milan* by that of *Rome*, long before *Innocent's* Time; which plainly shews, that his Predecessors held not that Doctrine, no more than one of the best of his Successors, St. *Gregory the Great*, who openly approves of some Customs, that were first unknown to, but afterwards adopted by his Church ^q. Upon the Whole, it is evident, that *Innocent* was grossly mistaken, not only with respect to this Point, but likewise in asserting, that whatever had been settled at *Rome* by St. *Peter*, was still observed there without the least *Addition or Diminution*.

The remaining Part of *Innocent's* Letter relates to some particular Ceremonies and Customs, especially to the Ceremony of confirming those who were baptized, and the Custom of fasting on *Saturdays*. With respect to the former, he informs *Decentius*, that, according to the Custom of the Church, founded on the Practice of the Apostles, the Bishop alone can anoint on the Forehead those who have been baptized, and give them the Holy Ghost; and that the Priests can only anoint other Parts, the Episcopal Power not having been granted to them, though they partake of the Priesthood (A).

The

^o Concil. t. I. p. 1245. Ugh. t. I. p. 676.
l. 7. ep. 64.

^p Socrat. l. 6. c. 8.

^q Greg.

(A) The Ceremony of anointing with Oil the Forehead, and likewise the Organs of the Five Senses, in those who had been baptized, is undoubtedly very antient. *Ter-*

tullian, who lived in the Latter-end of the Second Century, speaks of it as a Ceremony universally practised and established (1). St. *Cyprian* (2), who flourished Fifty Years

(1) Tert. de resur. carnis.

(2) Cypr. ep. 72, 73.

after,

Confirma-
tion not a Sa-
crament.

The *Roman Catholics*, finding this Ceremony, now known by the Name of *Confirmation*, styled a *Sacrament* by St. *Cyprian*^r, and St. *Austin*^s, have thereupon raised it to that Rank, not reflecting that the antient Writers frequently make use of that Word to express no more than a *sacred Ceremony*, or *Mystery*. And truly were they to reckon among their *Sacraments* all the Ceremonies which the Fathers and other Christian Writers have distinguished with that Title, their Number would amount to Seventy rather than to Seven.

Why deemed
formerly un-
lawful to fast
on Sunday or
Saturday.

With respect to the other Point, those who are ever so little versed in the Writings of the Fathers, must know, that from the earliest Times it was deemed unlawful, nay, and highly criminal, for a

^r Cypr. ep. 72.

^s Aug. de diver. serm. 33.

after, St. *Ambrose* (3), St. *Austin* (4), St. *Jerom* (5), and the other Fathers, describe it as a Ceremony, by which the Holy Ghost was given to those who had been baptized, and consequently which none but Bishops could administer, they being the Successors of the Apostles, to whom alone that Power was granted. For the Fathers, generally speaking, and other antient Writers, suppose this, and the Imposition of Hands, by which the Holy Ghost was given by the Apostles to those who were baptized (6), to be one and the same Ceremony. The Oil employed on this Occasion was, as early as the Third Century, solemnly consecrated, kept in the Churches or Places where the Faithful met, and held by them in great Veneration (7). This gave Rise, in the following Century, to many superstitious Practices, and Miracles were said to have been wrought by the *holy Oil*, to warrant such Practices, and confound those who thought it unlawful to comply with them. A very remarkable Miracle of this Nature is gravely related by *Optatus Milevitanus* (8), who writ about the middle of the Fourth Century. But, in the Time of the Apostles, the Whole of this Ceremony consisted in the Imposition of Hands: *Then laid they their Hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost*. Not a Word of *Oil*, of *Chrism*, of *Unction*,

of *signing with Oil on the Forehead* in the Form of a *Cross*, and much less of a *Blow* given by the Bishop on the Cheek to the Person that is confirmed, though these are now all deemed, in the Church of *Rome*, material Parts of this Ceremony. As such Rites were unknown to, and unpractised by, the Apostles, it matters little how early they were introduced after their Time. And here I cannot help observing, that the *Roman Catholics* themselves have not thought fit to adopt all the Ceremonies used on this Occasion, and recommended by the Fathers. For, in *Innocent's* Time, the Person confirmed was not only anointed on the Forehead, but on other Parts; on the Forehead by the Bishop, on other Parts by the Priests. The other Parts were, as we gather from *Cyriel Bishop of Jerusalem* (9), the Eyes, Ears, Nose, Mouth, Hands and Feet. The anointing of these Parts was, in the Opinion of that Father, no less fraught with Mysteries than the anointing of the Forehead, and yet the former Unction, notwithstanding its Antiquity, and all the Mysteries it symbolized, has been long since omitted, as altogether unnecessary. They might in like manner have omitted all the rest, and contented themselves, as the Apostles did, with the bare Imposition of Hands.

(3) Ambr. de sacram. l. 3. c. 2. (4) Aug. contra Petil. l. 1. c. 104. de baptif. l. 3. c. 16. In ep. 1. Joan. tract. 3. & de diver. ser. 33. (5) Hier. contra Luciferian. (6) Act. viii. 15—17. (7) Cyp. ep. 70. & de oper. card. & unct. Chris. (8) Optat. Milev. contra Parm. l. 2. (9) Cyril. Catech. mystag. 3.

Christian to fast on *Sunday* or *Saturday*; on *Sunday*, because those Heretics, who denied the Resurrection of our Saviour, fasted on that Day, in Opposition to the Orthodox, who, believing it, solemnized the *Sunday*, the Day on which it happened, with Feasting and Rejoicings; on *Saturday*, because other Heretics holding the God of the *Jews*, and the Author of their Law, to be an evil Spirit, whom Christ came to destroy, fasted on the Seventh Day, thinking that by fasting they vilified the God of the *Jews* as much as the *Jews* honoured him by feasting[†]. Among the antient Canons, known by the Name of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, we read the following Ordinance: *If a Clerk shall be found to have fasted on a Sunday or a Saturday, let him be deposed; if a Layman, let him be cut off from the Communion of the Faithful*[‡]. But that Cannon must be understood only with respect to the East; for there was broached, and there chiefly prevailed, the Heresy that first introduced such a Practice. But in the West, where that Heresy was scarce known, some Churches, and the *Roman* in particular, observed both *Fridays* and *Saturdays* as Fast-days. The *Friday* was, from the earliest Times, a Fast-day with all Churches, both in the East and the West; the *Saturday* was only in the West, and even there with very few Churches, which had borrowed that Custom of the *Roman* Church, as we are informed by St. *Austin* §. *Innocent* therefore, desirous of establishing in all other Churches the Custom that obtained in his own, undertakes to prove, first, That all may, and, secondly, That all ought to observe *Saturday* as a Fast. That all may, he proves well enough; but the Reasons he offers to shew that they all ought, viz. *Because Christ lay in the Sepulchre the Saturday as well as the Friday, and the Apostles fasted*, as he supposes, on both Days, are manifestly unconvincing as to any Obligation. Besides, it was not because Christ lay in the Sepulchre, or because the Apostles fasted, but because Christ was crucified on a *Friday*, that a Fast was appointed to be observed on that Day. In Process of Time, the Custom of sanctifying both Days with a Fast took place in most of the Western Churches; and this Custom has been made in latter times a general Law, and one of the Commandments of the Church, which all *Roman Catholics* are bound to obey on Pain of Damnation. However, the Severity of it is so far relaxed, that, as they are only re-

† Vide Iren. l. 1. c. 21—24. & Epiph. hæres. 21—28. & 41, 42.
can. 55. ‡ Aug. ep. 86.

§ Apost. const.

quired to abstain from Mear, the utmost Riot and Epicurism in other Kinds of Food, and in Wine, may be, and are indulged on their Fast-days.

*The Ceremony
of anointing
the Sick with
Oil.*

The last Article of *Innocent's* Letter relates to the Ceremony of anointing the Sick with Oil, agreeably to that of St. *James*, *Is any sick among you, &c.* 7? As the Apostle directs the Faithful to call for the Elders of the Church; some took from thence Occasion to question whether Bishops were impowered to perform that Ceremony. *Innocent* therefore answers *Decentius*, who had proposed the Question, that there can be no room to doubt whether or no the Bishops have such a Power, since the Priests can have none, which the Bishops have not, of whom they receive all their Power. It is true, says *Innocent*, that St. *James* ordered the Faithful to call for the Elders, and not for the Bishops; but that was because he knew that the Bishops could not have so much Leisure from other important Duties as the Priests. He adds, that this Unction must not be applied to Penitents; that the Oil used in it must be blessed by the Bishop; and when it is thus blessed, not the Presbyters only, but all the Faithful, may anoint with it both themselves and others. The Power of anointing, St. *James* confined to the Elders or Priests, and that is the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, though *Innocent* extended such a Power to all the Faithful. This Ceremony, now known by the Name of *Extreme Unction*, was, in *Innocent's* Time, a kind of Sacrament; for so he styles it 2. But it is now a true Sacrament, and such it was declared by the Council of *Trent* 3.

*Letters from
the Councils
of Carthage
and Milevum
to Innocent.*

In the Year 416. *Innocent* received Three Letters from the *African* Bishops; viz. one from the Bishops of *Africa*, properly so called, assembled at *Carthage*; another from those of *Numidia*, assembled at *Milevum*; and a Third from St. *Austin*, signed by him and Four other Bishops. The Two Councils writ to acquaint *Innocent*, that they had condemned *Pelagius* and his Disciple *Celestius*, of whose Opinions I shall speak hereafter, and desire him to add the Authority of the Apostolic See to their Decrees. The Letter from St. *Austin*, and the Four other Bishops, was to inform *Innocent* in a friendly manner, that he was suspected of countenancing those Heretics, and favouring their Doctrine. This Suspicion they themselves seem not to have

7 James v. 14, 15.
can. 1.

2 Concil. t. 2. p. 1248.

3 Conc. Trid. sess. 14.

thought quite groundless: for *Possidius*, one of the Bishops who subscribed the Letter, writes, that the *African* Bishops took a great deal of Pains to convince *Innocent*, and his Successor *Zosimus*, that the Doctrine of *Pelagius* was erroneous and heretical, knowing that his Followers were striving to infect the Apostolic See itself with their poisonous Tenets ^b. They strove in vain, says *Baronius*; and perhaps they did; but the *African* Bishops had never taken so much Pains to guard the Apostolic See against that Infection, had they not thought it capable of being infected. The Five Bishops sent to *Innocent*, together with their Letter, St. *Austin's* Answer to a Letter which he had received from *Pelagius*, his Confutation of a Book composed by that Heretic, and the Book itself, with the Passages marked in it that gave most Offence, and claimed a particular Attention, lest he should overlook them ^c. This was not treating him as an infallible Judge (A).

The Letters from the Council of *Carthage*, from that of *Milevum*, ^{Innocent's Answer to the Councils.} and from the Five Bishops, were brought to *Rome* by *Julius*, Bishop of some City in *Africa*; and, by the same *Julius*, *Innocent* answered them with Three Letters, all dated the 27th of *January* of the Year 417. The First, which is addressed to *Aurelius*, probably Bishop of *Carthage*, and to the other Bishops of that Assembly, he begins with commending them for their Zeal, their Pastoral Vigilance, and the Regard they had shewn for the *Apostolic See*. He thence takes an Opportunity to resume his usual and favourite Subject, the Dignity, Pre-eminence, and Authority of that See; roundly asserting, that *all Ecclesiastical Matters throughout the World are, by Divine Right, to be referred to the Apostolic See, before they are finally decided in the Provinces.* ^{He claims the first a Divine Right of finally deciding all Controversies.} This was indeed a very bold Claim, and a direct asserting to himself the Universal Supremacy attained by his Successors. But it was yet too

^b *Possid.* Aug. vit. c. 18.

^c *Aug.* ep. 95.

(A) *Baronius* observes here, that their informing him by a private Letter, and not by a public one from the Council, of the Suspicions that some entertained of him, was a Mark of the great Respect and Veneration they had for the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Nakedness they were unwilling, as it became dutiful Children, to expose to the Eyes of the World (1). And who told

Baronius, that, in the like Circumstances, they would not have shewn the same Respect for any other Bishop? He had better have observed, and the Observation is more obvious, that his being suspected at all evidently proves the *Infallibility* of the *Apostolic See* not to have been, in those Days, an Article of the Catholic Faith.

(1) *Bar.* ad ann. 416. n. 11.

early for such a Claim to be granted; and it is plain the *African* Bishops had no Idea of this Divine Right. For, had they entertained any such Notion, they surely would never have presumed finally to condemn and anathematize, as they did, *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, without consulting at least the Apostolic See: neither would they have written to *Innocent* in the Style they did, after they had condemned them: for, in their Letter, they did not leave him at Liberty to approve or disapprove of what they had done; but only desire him to join his Authority to theirs, which they well knew he could not refuse to do, without confirming the Suspicion of his countenancing the *Pelagians*, and their Doctrine. *We have anathematized Pelagius and Cælestius*, say the Fathers of the Council of *Carthage*, and thought fit to acquaint you with it, that to the Decrees of our Mediocrity might be added the Authority of the Apostolic See. This is a modest Style, and respectful to the See of *Rome*; but it is that of Men who plainly thought they had a Right to act in this Matter, by their own Judgment and Power, without waiting for the Award of that See, as they ought to have done, if they had allowed of *Innocent's* Claim. In like manner the Council of *Milevum*, after informing *Innocent* of the Sentence, which they had pronounced against the Two above-mentioned Heretics, adds: *And this Error and Impiety, which has every-where so many Followers and Abettors, ought also to be anathematized and condemned by the Apostolic See*^b; which was putting *Innocent* in mind of what he ought to do, and not consulting him what they should do. This Conduct of the *African* Bishops gave *Innocent* no small Uneasiness. He was at a Loss what to do at so critical a Juncture. For to approve of a Conduct, so derogatory to the pretended Dignity of his See, was giving up his Claim to the *Divine Right* of finally deciding all Ecclesiastical Controversies. To disapprove it, was confirming the Suspicion of his countenancing the Doctrine which they had condemned. But *Innocent* was a Man of great Subtlety and Address; and he found out, at last, an Expedient to extricate himself out of that Perplexity, and gratify the Fathers of both Councils, without either approving or condemning their past Conduct. The only thing they required of him was to join his Authority with theirs, in condemning the *Pelagian* Heresy; and that

Which is not acknowledged by the African nor the Numidian Bishops.

An Instance of Innocent's great Subtlety and Address.

^a Aug. ep. 90—95.

he readily did. But, lest in so doing he should seem to approve of their having condemned it without first consulting him, in his Answer to their Letters, he supposes them to have actually consulted him; nay, to have referred to him the final Decision of that Controversy; and, agreeably to that Supposition, he commends them for the Deference they had thereby shewn to the Apostolic See. *You have well observed, says he, the Ordinances of the antient Fathers, and not trampled under-foot what they, not in human Wisdom, but by Divine Order, have established; viz. That whatever is done in Places, however remote, should, for a final Conclusion, be referred to the Apostolic See.* And again, *You have had due Regard to the Honour of the Apostolic See, I mean of him who has the Charge and Care of all Churches, in consulting him in these Perplexities, and intricate Cases*ⁱ. Thus did Innocent maintain his Claim, and, at the same time, avoid quarrelling, at an improper Season, with those who had acted in direct Opposition to it. A necessary Policy in the first setting up of such extravagant and groundless Pretensions.

In the present Letter he not only approves of the Judgment given against *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* by the *African* Bishops, but alleges several Reasons in Confutation of the Doctrines they taught; and concludes, by declaring them cut off from the Communion of the Church, agreeably to the Sentence of the *African* Bishops, as Men not only unworthy of that Communion, but of human Society, and even of Life^k. The same things he repeats in his Answer to the Bishops of *Numidia*; but he seems there to have been sensible, upon a more cool Consideration, that, in his Letter to the Council of *Carthage*, he had strained his Prerogative too high; and therefore in this he confines to Matters of *Faith* the general Maxim, which he had laid down, concerning the Obligation of referring all Ecclesiastical Matters, for a final Decision, to the Apostolic See. In the same Letter he endeavours to confute, in particular, the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, allowing Children, who die without Baptism, to partake of eternal Life^l. In his Answer to the Five Bishops, he refers them for his real Sentiments, concerning the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, to the other Two Letters, adding, that he had read the Book of *Pelagius*, which they

ⁱ Idem ib.^k Aug. ep. 93.^l Idem ep. 91. 93.

had sent him, and found nothing in it that he liked, or rather that he did not dislike ^m (A).

*Cælestius
condemned by
the African
Bishops, not-
withstanding
his Appeal to
Rome.*

Cælestius had been condemned by a Council held at *Carthage* in the Year 412. and probably consisting of the same Bishops who composed that of the Year 416. From their Sentence he appealed, as *Baronius* observes ⁿ, to the See of *Rome*, summoning his Accuser *Paulinus* to appear at the same Tribunal. But all we can infer from thence is, that either *Innocent* did not receive the Appeal, or, if he did, that the *African* Bishops made no Account of it, since they condemned him anew, without waiting for the Judgment of *Innocent*, to whom he had appealed.

*Innocent's
Letter to
Jerom.*

Innocent writ Two Letters more, a little before his Death, one of which was to St. *Jerom*, comforting him in his Distress. For some who favoured *Pelagius*, provoked at *Jerom's* repeated Invectives against him, had set Fire to his Monastery at *Bethlehem*, and burnt it down to the Ground, agreeably to the Spirit and Methods in which religious Controversies were now carried on. Their Design was to have burnt *Jerom* himself; but he had the good Luck to escape out of the Flames, and save himself in a strong Tower. The Two noble Virgins, *Eustochium* and her Niece *Paula*, who led a retired Life under the Direction of *Jerom*, met with no better Treatment. For those Fanatics, breaking into the House where they lived, beat some of their Attendants in their Presence, killed others, and threatened them with Fire and Destruction. With this they acquainted *Innocent* who thereupon writ to *Jerom*, offering to exert the whole Authority of the *Apostolic See* against the Authors of such Excesses, provided he knew who they were: for the Two Virgins had concealed their Names, probably to prevent his exerting that Authority, which they had Reason to apprehend would be attended with greater Evils.

^m Idem ep. 96.

ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 412. n. 25.

(A) That the *Pelagian* Heresy was first condemned by the *African* Bishops, is a Fact so well attested, that one would think it impossible it should ever have come into any Man's Thoughts to call it in question. And yet *Baronius*, upon the Authority of a very doubtful Passage out of St. *Prosper*, a contemporary Writer, roundly asserts that

Heresy to have been first condemned, not by the *African* Bishops, but by *Innocent* (1). The Words of *Prosper* are:—*Pestem subeuntem prima recidit sedes Roma Petri* (2). These Words are variously interpreted by the Learned, but all agree in rejecting the Interpretation of *Baronius*, as making (3) *Prosper* contradict a known Truth.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 412. n. 26.

(2) Prosp. de Ingratis, l. i. c. 2.

(3) Vide

Janenium de Hær. Pelag. p. 16. Merc. t. 1. p. 9.

Innocent adds, that so long as the Authors and Promoters of those unheard of Barbarities are unknown, he can only condole with those who have suffered by them; but, if they were accused in due Form, at his Tribunal, he would not fail to appoint proper Judges to try them; which, by the way, he had no Right to do.

Innocent's other Letter is to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who hated *Jerom* on account of his Inveteracy against *Origen*, and was suspected to connive at the cruel Treatment he and his Followers had met with. Him therefore *Innocent* reprimands very severely, for suffering such enormous Abuses within the Limits of his Jurisdiction. In his Letter he gives him the Title of *well-beloved Brother*; but, at the same time, treats him with more Haughtiness than was becoming even in a Superior, though he neither had, nor could claim by the Canons, any kind of Jurisdiction or Authority over him.

These Letters *Innocent* writ in the Later-end of *January*, and *Innocent* died on the 12th of *March* of the same Years 417. having governed the *Roman Church* near Fifteen Years; for his Predecessor *Anastasi* died on the 27th of *April* 402. and he was chosen soon after his Decease, as I have observed above. He was generally esteemed a Man of good Parts, and well acquainted with the Laws and Traditions of the Church. Hence he was frequently consulted by the Western, and sometimes by the Eastern Bishops, in Points both of Faith and Discipline. Of this general Esteem, and the Deference that was thereupon paid to his Decisions, he took Advantage to lay down, with an Air of Authority, and as undoubted Truths, many false, groundless, and dangerous Maxims, all tending to the Diminution of the Episcopal Power, and the Advancement of the Papal. *The Dignity of the Apostolic See* was, as we have seen, the Burden of almost all his Letters; he even improved it into a Claim of Supremacy; and we may say, with great Truth, that to him the See of *Rome* was more indebted for the Grandeur it afterwards gained, than to all his Predecessors together. He formed the Plan of that Spiritual Monarchy, which they, by constant Application, established at last, in spite of the many almost insurmountable Difficulties, which they had to contend with. He was the first who, changing the antient Foundation of the Primacy, claimed it as the Successor of *St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles*, as he is styled, and not as the Bishop of the first City, though on that Consideration alone it had been granted by the

His Letter to John of Jerusalem.

dies.

The See of Rome greatly indebted to him for its Grandeur.

the Councils. I said *Primacy*, because the Word *Supremacy* was utterly unknown in those Days. The Council of *Sardica*, held in the Year 347. had allowed, in some Cases, and under several Restrictions, Appeals to be made to the See of *Rome*, as has been observed elsewhere †. But *Innocent*, scorning to owe any Branch of his Authority to that, or any other Council, claimed, by *Divine Right*, the Power of finally deciding all Ecclesiastical Controversies and Disputes; which was claiming, by Divine Right, an unlimited Jurisdiction. It is true, no Regard was had to such Claims; nor indeed did *Innocent* dare to pursue them, being well apprised of the Opposition he would meet with, if he should then have made such an Attempt. He therefore wisely contented himself with laying Foundations, and thought it a great Advance, as it certainly was, to have openly asserted such Notions, and brought the Ears of Men to endure them, if not their Minds. Had he gone farther, he would have been stopped in his Career, and it might have proved fatal to the Power of *Rome* before it was come to an Age of Maturity; but that he went thus far was of great Benefit to it, because it made a Beginning, and furnished his Successors with a Pretence to plead some Antiquity for the Opinions and Principles upon which they proceeded.

His Decretals often quoted by the Popish Divines.

Accordingly the Decretals of *Innocent* are frequently quoted by the Advocates for the See of *Rome*, to shew how early the Popes claimed, by Divine Right, and as Successors of St. *Peter*, an universal Authority and Jurisdiction. But if the Principles, on which they founded their Claims, were false in *Innocent's* Time, they are still so in ours; if no Account was then made of such Claims (and that none was made, I have sufficiently shewn), no Account ought to be made of them now; no more than if they were dated but Yesterday. Nor, indeed, ought the Beginning of the Fifth Century to be esteemed an early Time in the Christian Church. Great Corruptions were then crept into it; and, with regard to the Point in Question, it was very late. For had the Bishop of *Rome* been supreme Head of the Church, in Right of St. *Peter*, how came that Supremacy to be unknown, and unheard of, for above Four hundred Years? If the Four first Centuries could not discover it, on what new Light was it revealed to the Fifth?

Is sainted.

Innocent has been inrolled, by his Successors, in the Catalogue of Saints; and he is now adored in the Church of *Rome* as a Saint of the

† Vide p. 121.

first Rate ; an Honour which, it must be confessed, he better deserved at their Hands, in their Estimation of Merit, than any of his Predecessors, or any of his Successors, except *Gregory* the VIIth.

HONORIUS,

Z O S I M U S,

THEODOSIUS
the younger.

Fortieth BISHOP of Rome.

Z O S I M U S, the Successor of *Innocent*, was, according to the *Bibliothecarian*, a *Greek* by Nation, and the Son of one *Abraham* ; which is all we know of him before his Election. He was elected and ordained Six Days after the Death of his Predecessor, that is, on the 18th of *March* 417 (A). Year of Christ 417.

The first thing that engaged the Attention of *Zosimus*, after his Election, was the Heresy of *Pelagius*, and his chief Disciple *Celestius*, which, at that time, made a great Noise in the Church. *Pelagius* was by Birth a *Briton*, and a Monk by Profession ; but one of those who, parting with their Estates, and renouncing all worldly Honours, lived an austere Life ; but in no Community, and under no Rule. Such a Monk was the famous *Paulinus*, such *Pammachius*, and such probably *Pelagius* ; for I do not find, in any ancient Writer, that he ever confined himself to a Monastery ; nay, the wandering Life he led is a strong Proof he never did (B). As to his Parts, *Jerom*, who could never discover any thing commendable in those he opposed,

* Anaf. c. 42.

(A) *Paschasius*, Bishop of *Lilybaeum*, observes, at the Year 443. that in 417. when *Zosimus* was Bishop of *Rome*, *Easter*, which ought to have been kept on the 22d of *April*, was, by a Mistake, kept on the 25th of *March* (1) ; so that on the 25th of *March*, *Zosimus* was in Possession of the See ; and consequently must have been chosen and ordained on the 18th of that Month, the only *Sunday* in 417. between the 12th of *March*, when *Innocent* died, and the 25th. For in those Days Bishops were commonly ordained on *Sundays*, and

it is very certain, that *Zosimus* was ordained on that Day, since he pretended the Ordination of Two Bishops, whom he deposed, to be null, because they had been ordained on another Day (2).

Theodoret makes *Boniface* the immediate Successor of *Innocent* (3). But all the other Writers, without Exception, place *Zosimus* between *Innocent* and *Boniface*.

(B) He is commonly styled *Pelagius the Briton*, to distinguish him from *Pelagius* of *Tarento*, who lived about the same time (4).

(1) Leo, t. 1. p. 413.

(2) Conc. t. 2: p. 1569.

(3) Theod. l. 5. p. 751.

(4) Aug. ep. 106. Prosp. contra Ingrat. l. 1. c. 1.

speaks of him with the greatest Contempt, as if he had no Genius, and but very little Knowledge^c. But St. *Austin*, a more candid and less passionate Writer, owns him to have been a Man of extraordinary good Sense, of a very sprightly Genius, of great Penetration, and one who was not easily overcome, but rather capable of maintaining, with the strongest Reasons that could be offered, the Opinions which he once embraced^d. He lived several Years at *Rome*, at least from the Year 400. to 411. and was there well known, and greatly esteemed. For St. *Austin*, who first heard of him, while he lived at *Rome*, spoke of him in the first Books, which he writ against him, as of a Man, *who passed for a Saint, who had made great Progress in Piety, whose Life was chaste, and Manners blameless, who had sold and given to the Poor all he had, &c.* St. *Paulinus* and St. *Jerom* seem to have once entertained a no less favourable Opinion of him in these respects, than St. *Austin* did; for they too, in some of their Letters, speak of him with the greatest Commendations. But he no sooner began to broach his new Doctrines than he forfeited their good Opinion, and with it every Virtue which he had formerly possessed; nay, they pretend that he abandoned himself, at once, to immoderate Eating and Drinking, and to all manner of Debauchery, passing his whole Time in Revels and Banquets, in caressing and pampering his Body, which by that means, says *Jerom*, swelled to such an exorbitant Size, that he was more capable of crushing his Adversaries with the Weight of his Carcase than the Weight of his Arguments^e. We shall find very few, if any at all, who, upon their teaching Doctrines not approved by the Fathers, have not been immediately transformed by them, out of their great Zeal for the Purity of the Faith, into Monsters of Wickedness, though they themselves had, perhaps, proposed them before for Patterns of every Christian Virtue. It behoves us therefore to be very cautious in giving Credit to what they say of those whom they style Heretics. With respect to *Pelagius*, St. *Austin*, more moderate than the rest, does not charge him with any Vices, but only ascribes to Hypocrisy the Virtues which he had admired in him before^f.

*Cælestius,
his Family,
Profession,
Parts, &c.*

Cælestius, the first and chief Disciple of *Pelagius*, was, according to some, a Native of *Scotland* or *Ireland*; according to others, of

^c Janf. Hist. Pel. p. 2.
Orig. c. 8—21, &c.

^d Aug. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3.
^f Hier. in Jer.

^e Aug. ep. 95. Pecc.
^g Vide Jan. hist. Pel. l. 6. c. 24.

Campania in *Italy*^h; but, with respect to his Country, nothing certain can be advanced. He was descended of an illustrious Family, and had applied himself, from his Youth, to the Study of the Law, and made some Figure at the Bar; but growing weary of that Profession, he retired from the World, embraced a monastic Life, and lived some Years in a Monasteryⁱ. St. *Jerom* speaks of him as a Man of no Genius or Talents^k. But St. *Austin* entertained a very different Opinion of his Parts; for he commends him as a good Writer, as one who was thoroughly acquainted with all the Subtilties of Logic, and whose Talents would have proved very serviceable, could he have been retrieved from his Errors^l.

The Tenets of *Pelagius* or *Cælestius* (for those, who embraced *Their Doctrine* them, are styled indifferently *Pelagians* and *Cælestians*) may be reduced to the following Heads: 1. That we may, by our Free-will, without the Help of Grace, do Good, and avoid Evil. 2. That if Grace were necessary for either, God would be unjust in giving it to one, and denying it to another. 3. That Faith, which is the first Step to our Justification, depends upon our Free-will. 4. That the Sin of *Adam* hurt none but him; that Children are born in the State which he was in before the Fall; that they are not delivered by Baptism from eternal Perdition, but, without Baptism, partake of Life everlasting. By Life everlasting they meant, a middle State between eternal Happiness and eternal Misery. 5. That Grace is only necessary to render the Observance of the Commandments more easy.

These Opinions *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* first broached at *Rome*, *Both pass over into Africa*, about the Year 405. and gained there a great many Followers; more, says St. *Austin*, than could be well imagined^m. They both left *Rome* in 410. or 411. and, crossing over into *Africa*, infected many there, says the same Author, especially at *Carthage*, with their new Doctrineⁿ. *Pelagius*, after a short Stay at *Carthage*, went first into *Egypt*, and from thence into *Palestine*, where he continued a long time^o. *Cælestius* remained at *Carthage*, hoping to be preferred there to the Priesthood; but as he did not use the due Caution in propagating his Doctrine in that City, he was soon discovered, and ac-

^h Hier. in Jer. et Gernarius in Mar. Mercat.

ⁱ Gennad. de script. eccles. c. 44.

^k Hier. ad Ctesiph. c. 3.

^l Aug. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3.

^m Aug. ep. 89.

ⁿ Aug.

de Gest. Pelag. c. 22.

^o Aug. ibid.

*Cælestius
accused and
condemned in
Africa.*

cus'd by one *Paulinus*, a Deacon, before a Council, at which several Bishops were present, and *Aurelius* of *Carthage* presided. The Charge brought against him was, That he held the Sin of *Adam* to have hurt him alone; that it could not be imputed to his Descendants; and that no Sin was cancelled by Baptism. These Tenets he did not own before the Council; but neither would he disown or anathematize them: and therefore the Bishops, provoked at his Obstinacy, not only condemned his Doctrine, but, at the same time, cut him off, as an incorrigible Heretic, from the Communion of the Church °. From this Sentence *Cælestius* appealed to the Judgment of *Innocent*, then Bishop of *Rome*, summoning *Paulinus*, his Accuser, to make his Charge good at that Tribunal. But *Cælestius* himself laid, it seems, no Stress on his Appeal; for, instead of repairing to *Rome*, he fled to *Ephesus* p, where we shall leave him for the present.

*Appeals to
Rome, but
flies to Ephe-
sus.*

*Pelagius ac-
cused in Pa-
læstine by
Heros and
Lazarus, two
Gallican
Bishops;*

Pelagius, in the mean time, was not idle in *Palestine*, whither he had retired; as I have said above; but, being countenanced by *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he gained daily such Numbers of Followers there, that *Heros* and *Lazarus*, Two Bishops of *Gaul*, whom I shall speak of hereafter, happening to be then in *Palestine*, thought it incumbent upon them to accuse him to *Eulogius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and Metropolitan of *Palestine*. They drew up a Writing accordingly, containing the chief Heads of the Doctrine which *Pelagius* taught, together with the Articles, for which his Disciple *Cælestius* had been condemned by the Council of *Carthage*; and this Writing they presented to *Eulogius*. Hereupon a Council was assembled soon after at *Diospolis*, a City of *Palestine*, known in Scripture by the Name of *Lydda*. It consisted of Fourteen Bishops, and *Eulogius* of *Cæsarea* presided; but neither of the *Gallican* Bishops was present, the one being prevented by a dangerous Malady, and the other not chusing to abandon him in that Condition. However, their Charge against *Pelagius* was read, and he examined, by the Fathers of the Assembly, on the Articles it contained. But as no-body appeared against him, as none of those Bishops were sufficiently acquainted with the *Latin* Tongue to understand his Books, and he disowned some Propositions, explained others in a Catholic Sense, and anathematized all who maintained Doctrines repugnant to those of the

*and absolved
by the Coun-
cil of Dios-
polis.*

° Aug. ep. 89. Mar. Mer. comm. c. 1.
Mar. Mer. comm. c. 1. Oros. apol. p. 801.

p Aug. ib. et de Gest. Pel. c. 11.

Catholic Church, the Council pronounced, at the Suggestion of *John of Jerusalem*, the following Sentence: *Since the Monk Pelagius, here present, has satisfied us, as to his Doctrine, and anathematized with us whatever is contrary to the true Faith, we acknowledge him to be in the Communion of the Church* ^{q.} This Council *St. Jerom* styles, *The pitiful Synod of Diospolis* ^{r.} But *St. Austin*, instead of insulting them, calls them *Holy and Catholic Judges*; and will not answer, that he himself might not have been deceived by the Artifices of *Pelagius*, had he been one of his Judges ^{s.}

Heros and *Lazarus*, surprised to hear that the Fathers of the Assembly had absolved *Pelagius*, and despairing of ever being able to get him condemned in the East, where his Cause was openly espoused by the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, resolved to apply to their Brethren in the West, especially to the Bishops of *Africa*, who they well knew could not be prejudiced in his Favour, since they had already condemned his favourite Disciple *Cælestius*. Pursuant to this Resolution, they writ, by the famous *Orosius*, who was returning from *Palæstine* to *Africa*, to the Bishops of that Province, accusing *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* as the Authors of an *Execrable Sect*; giving them a particular Account of what had passed in the Council of *Diospolis*, and acquainting them with the wonderful Progress the new Heresy made in the East, especially in *Palæstine* ^{t.}

He is accused by Heros and Lazarus to the Bishops of Africa.

These Letters were delivered by *Orosius* to the Bishops of the Province of *Carthage*, who, after having caused them to be read in the Provincial Council, which was then sitting in that City, and, with them, the Acts of the Council, which had been held Five Years before against *Cælestius*, not only condemned the Doctrine ascribed to him and *Pelagius*, but declared, that the same Sentence should be pronounced against them, unless they anathematized, in the plainest and most distinct Terms, the Errors with which they were charged ^{u.} The Example of the Bishops of *Africa* was followed by those of *Numidia*, assembled at *Milevum*, and by *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, as I have related above.

The Doctrine of Pelagius and Cælestius condemned anew in Africa.

This Condemnation, so solemn and general, was attended with the wished for Effect. It greatly lessened the Reputation of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, staggered many of their Followers, and deterred others

They appeal to Rome.

^q Aug. Gest. Pel. c. 6. 11. 20. 29. 30. 35. ep. 96. 106. Hier. ep. 79. ^r Hier. ibid. ^s Aug. Gest. Pel. c. 1. Vide Noris hist. Pel. l. 2. c. 8. ^t Aug. ep. 90.

^u Idem ibid. ep. 95.

*Cælestius is
driven from
Ephesus and
Constanti-
nople.*

*Repairs to
Rome, and
presents him-
self before
Zosimus.*

from embracing their Doctrines. Of this both *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* were well apprised; and, at the same time, sensible, that the only means of retrieving their Credit, and maintaining the Ground they had gained, was to justify themselves either to the Bishops of *Africa*, or to the Bishop of *Rome*, they chose the latter, thinking it more easy to gain over one than many. Besides, in *Africa* they knew *St. Austin*, who was in great Reputation there, and swayed all the Councils as he pleased, to be their declared and irreconcilable Enemy; whereas they had many Friends at *Rome*; and, among the rest, the Presbyter *Sixtus*, who was afterwards raised to that See ^w. In order, therefore, to persuade the Bishop of *Rome*, as *Pelagius* had done the Bishops of *Diospolis*, that they had been falsely and maliciously accused, *Pelagius* writ a Letter to *Innocent*, whose Death he had not yet heard of, while *Cælestius*, trusting to his Eloquence, and depending on the Favour which the Bishops of *Rome* had always shewn to those who recurred to them, undertook a Journey to that City. He had fled from *Carthage* to *Ephesus*, as I have related above. On his Arrival in that City he was well received by the Bishop of the Place, and even preferred, after he had staid some time there, to the Priesthood. But, in the mean time, his Doctrine giving Offence to some, while it was embraced by others, great Disturbances arose; and he was, in the End, driven out of the City. Being thus expelled from *Ephesus*, he repaired to *Constantinople*; but he no sooner began to discover his Sentiments there, then *Atticus*, who then held that See, and kept a watchful Eye over him, commanded him forthwith to depart the City ^x. From *Constantinople* he went strait to *Rome*; and, finding that *Innocent* was dead, he presented himself before his Successor *Zosimus*, declaring, that he was come to *Rome*, to defend his oppressed Innocence at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See; not doubting but he should make it appear before so knowing and unprejudiced a Judge, and confute the many groundless Aspersions with which his Enemies had strove to blast his Reputation in the Eyes of the whole Church: he complained of the Judgment given against him by the *African* Bishops about Six Years before; and, pretending that his Accuser *Paulinus*, conscious of his Innocence, and his own Guilt, had declined the Judgment of the Apostolic See, he summoned him anew to appear, and make good the Charge which

^w Aug. Pecc. Orig. c. 8. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3. ep. 104, 105. Prosp. in collat.
^x Aug. ep. 90. 92. Hier. in Jer. Mercator, com. c. 1.

he had brought against him. At the same time he presented to *Zo-* He delivers his Confession of Faith to Zosimus;
simus a Request, containing a Confession of his Faith, with long De-
 scants on the Articles of the Apostolic Symbol, concerning which his
 Orthodoxy had never been questioned. But as to *Grace* and *Original Sin*, he said, they were not Matter of Faith; but that he was,
 nevertheless, ready to acquiesce, even with respect to them, in the
 Judgment of the *Roman See* ^y.

Zosimus had at this Time some Affairs of the greatest Importance
 on his Hands ^z; but, highly pleased with the pretended Submission
 of *Cælestius*, and thinking this a favourable Opportunity of extending
 his Authority, and drawing to the Tribunal of the Apostolic See Ap-
 peals in Causes that had been judged and decided elsewhere, he post-
 poned the other Affairs to attend to this alone, in his Opinion, the
 most important of all. A Day was appointed, without Loss of Time,
 for *Cælestius* to appear in the Church of *St. Clement*, and there give
 an Account of his Faith. He appeared accordingly; and the Confes-
 sion being read, which he had delivered to *Zosimus*, he owned that,
 and no other, to be his Faith. In that Confession he did not deny
 Original Sin, but declared, in the clearest Terms, that he was in
 Doubt about it; and that the Belief of Original Sin was no Article of
 the Catholic Faith. And yet such a Confession was approved by *Zosimus* which is ap- proved by him. as Catholic; which was approving, if not the Doctrine, at least
 the Doubts which *Cælestius* entertained of Original Sin ^a. The *Roman* The Roman Catholic Divines strive in vain to excuse Zosimus.
Catholic Divines have taken great Pains to clear *Zosimus* from this
 Imputation; but have been attended with no better Success than *St.*
Austin was before them. For that Father, unwilling to condemn
 one of his Brethren, pretended that *Zosimus*, in approving the Con-
 fession of *Cælestius*, did not declare his Doctrine to be Catholic, but
 only the Disposition of his Mind to condemn whatever should be
 found amiss in his Doctrine; for such a Disposition, says he, makes a
 true Catholic ^b: he might have added, *if sincere and not feigned*;
 for it was certainly feigned in *Cælestius*; and consequently *Zosimus*
 was no less mistaken in declaring his Disposition of Mind to be Ca-
 tholic, than if he had made such a Declaration with respect to his
 Doctrine. *St. Austin* himself was sensible of the Weakness of his
 Plea, and therefore immediately added; *But, allowing the Doctrine*
of Pelagius and Cælestius to have been approved by the Roman Church,

^y Aug. Gr. Ch. c. 30. 33. Peccat. Orig. c. 23.

^a Aug. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3. & Pecc. Orig. c. 6.

^z Vide Bar. ad ann. 417.

^b Idem ad Bon. ibid.

all we can infer from thence is, that the Roman Clergy was guilty of *Prevarication*^c; an Inference which he seems to be no-way solicitous about, though he could not have admitted it without giving up the Question, if he had thought the Pope infallible.

His haughty
Letter to the
African Bi-
shops in fa-
vour of Cæ-
lestius.

Zosimus, however prejudiced in favour of *Cælestius*, did not take upon him to restore him to the Communion of the Church, from which he had been cut off by the Bishops of *Africa* Six Years before, or to come to any farther Resolution till he had imparted the Affair to them. He writ accordingly to *Aurelius* of *Carthage*, and to the other *African* Bishops; not that he stood in need of their Advice, or wanted to be directed by them, as he let them know in his Letter, but because he was willing to hear what they had to object against one who had been first accused at their Tribunal. He upbraids those Prelates, and with great Bitterness and Acrimony, as if they had acted with too much Haste and Precipitation in an Affair that required the most mature Deliberation. As for *Heros* and *Lazarus*, the two great Opposers of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, he inveighs against them with the most abusive Language that an implacable Rage could suggest. He lets the *African* Bishops know, that if the Accusers of *Cælestius* did not appear at *Rome* in Two Months, to make good their Charge against him, he would declare him innocent, and admit him as a true Catholic to his Communion. He styles all such Inquiries, that is, Inquiries concerning *Grace* and *Original Sin*, empty Speculations, and trifling Disputes, owing to a criminal Curiosity, and an immoderate Desire of speaking and writing; in which perhaps he was not much to blame: he closes his Letter with exhorting them not to trust to their own Judgment, but to adhere in every thing to the Scripture and Tradition^d.

The Charac-
ters of He-
ros, Laza-
rus and Pa-
troclus.

As for *Heros* and *Lazarus*, against whom *Zosimus* chiefly vented his Spleen, while he favoured *Cælestius*; St. *Prosper* gives us, in his Chronicle, the following Account of the former: “ *Heros*, says he, “ was Bishop of *Arles*, a holy Man, and the Disciple of St. *Martin*. “ However, he was driven from his See by his own People, though “ quite innocent, and not even accused of any Fault. In his room “ was placed one *Proculus*, an intimate Friend of Count *Constantius*, “ who at that Time bore a great Sway in the Empire, and whose Fa- “ vour they courted, and hoped to earn by that Violence.” This happened in 412. All we know of *Lazarus* is, that he was ordain-

^c Idem ibid.

^d Mercat. comm. c. 1. Vide Bar. ad ann. 417. n. 19, 20, &c.

ed Bishop of *Aix* in *Provence*, by *Proculus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, a Prelate of extraordinary Merit, as appears from the high Commendations bestowed on him by the Council of *Turin* ^e, by *St. Jerom* ^f, and by *Tiro Prosper* in his Chronicle. *Patroclus*, who was intruded in the room of *Heros*, is painted by *Tiro Prosper*, a Writer no-ways prejudiced against the *Pelagians* or their Friends, as a Man of a most abandoned Life, and one who turned the Episcopacy into a Trade, and sold the Priesthood to all who had Money to purchase it ^g. *Baronius* interprets the violent Death, which he suffered in 426. when he was barbarously murdered by a Military Tribune, as a Punishment from Heaven for his criminal Intrusion ^h. Such were the Characters of *Heros*, *Lazarus*, and *Patroclus*; and yet of the latter, who favoured the *Pelagians*, *Zosimus* entertained the highest Opinion, and often commends him in his Letters as a Man of great Merit and Virtue. But the Two former, who had distinguished themselves above the rest in opposing the *Pelagians*, he most outrageously abuses, styling them, in his Second Letter to the *African* Bishops, *Two Plagues*, who, with their nonsensical Whims, disturbed the Peace and Tranquillity of the whole Church; *Whirlwinds and Storms*, that could suffer none to enjoy any Quiet. He adds, that he was not at all surpris'd at their wickedly attempting to defame with false Depositions, and lying Evidences, a Layman, meaning *Pelagius*, who had served God so long with an untainted Reputation, and shining Virtues, since they had raised so many Storms in the Church, had contrived so many Plots, employed so many Engines, to compass the Ruin of their Brethren and Collegues in the Episcopacy ⁱ. No Mention is made by the Historians of those Times of any other Storms or Disturbances, in the Churches of *Gaul*, but such as were occasioned by the Expulsion of *Heros*, and the Intrusion of *Patroclus*; and these *Patroclus* probably exaggerated beyond Measure, laying the whole Blame on *Heros*. For *Patroclus* was in *Rome* at the very Time *Zosimus* writ his Letter to the *African* Bishops, fraught with Invectives against *Heros* and *Lazarus* ^k. In the same Letter *Zosimus* charges the Two Prelates with several other Crimes; viz. that they had both been ordained against the *Canons*, and against the Will of the People as well as the Clergy, whom, however, they had forced by Chains, Prisons, Confiscations, and the Favour of the Tyrant, meaning, no doubt, the Usurper *Constantine*, to

*Heros and Lazarus
falsely charged
with many
Crimes by
Zosimus.*

^e Conc. t. 2. p. 1115.
ann. 426. n. 26.

^f Hier. ep. 4.

^g Tiro Prosp. p. 51.

^h Bar. ad

ⁱ Bar. ibid.

^k Conc. t. 2. p. 1571.

consent in the End to their Election; that *Lazarus* had ascended the Episcopal Throne, while his Hands were still reeking with innocent Blood, &c. But, had they been guilty of such Excesses, would *Prosper*, who lived at this very Time, and all the other Historians, have passed them over in Silence? Would he have styled *Heros* an holy Man? Would St. *Austin* have called them both his holy Brethren^l? Would the Fathers of the Council of *Carthage* in 416. have acknowledged them for their Fellow-Labourers and Collegues in the Priesthood^m? Would *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, one of the most illustrious Prelates at that Time in *Gaul*, have ordained *Lazarus*, while his Hands were still reeking with innocent Blood? We may therefore, upon the Whole, agree here with *Baronius*ⁿ, and ascribe the Crimes, of which the two Prelates were arraigned by *Zosimus*, to the Suggestions of their Enemies, especially of *Patroclus*, in whom *Zosimus* reposed an intire Confidence. However that be, *Zosimus*, highly incensed against both, not only declared them deposed, as Men unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, but cut them off from his Communion, for many Reasons, says he, and, among the rest, because they had deposed themselves^o.

They are both degraded and excommunicated by Zosimus.

The Injustice of this Sentence.

This Sentence he pronounced in their Absence, without even acquainting them with the Crimes laid to their Charge; not reflecting, in the Height of his Passion, that he was, at that very Time, complaining of the *African* Bishops for having condemned *Celestius* in his Absence, reproaching them with too much Haste and Precipitation, and laying it down as a Rule never to be swerved from, that no Man ought to be condemned before he is heard, let the Crimes laid to his Charge be ever so great. As for their *deposing themselves*, or voluntarily abdicating their Dignity, it is very certain, if *Prosper* is to be credited, that *Heros* did not abdicate, but was violently driven from his Sec. If *Lazarus* abdicated (for Cardinal *Noris*^p and others^q are of Opinion he did not), that ought not to have been imputed to him as a Crime, any more than it was to *Nazianzen* Bishop of *Con-*

The other Bishops make no Account of the Anathemas of Zosimus.

stantinople, and many others, who were not even censured by their Enemies on that Account. The other Bishops seem to have made no Account of the Anathemas of *Zosimus*; for they still continued to communicate with them, and acknowledge them for their Collegues^r;

^l Aug. Gest. Pel. c. 16.

^m Idem ep. 90.

ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 417. n. 23.

^o Bar. ibid. n. 27, 28, 29.

^p Noris Hist. Pel. l. 1. c. 12.

^q Gallia Christiana,

t. 1. p. 2.

^r Merc. comment. c. 3.

the Name of *Heros* was inserted into the Diptychs of the Church of *Arles* after his Death; and *Lazarus* was, according to some, even restored to his See ^s.

Not long after *Zosimus* had written the Letter, which I have mentioned above, to the Bishops of *Africa* in favour of *Cælestius*, he received one from *Praxius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, warmly recommending to him the Cause of *Pelagius*; and another from *Pelagius* himself, in his own Vindication, and with it a Confession of his Faith. These Letters were directed to *Innocent*; but he being dead before they reached *Rome*, they were delivered to *Zosimus*. In the Confession of Faith *Pelagius* owned, that *Baptism ought to be administered to Children as well as to the Adult*; and that, *notwithstanding our Free-will, we want the Assistance of Grace* ^t. Neither of these Propositions was inconsistent with, or repugnant to, his Doctrine; for though he denied Original Sin, he allowed Baptism to be administered even to Children, but *only for their Sanctification*. He admitted the Necessity of *Grace*, but not *Grace* as that Word was understood by *St. Austin*, and the other Bishops who opposed him: for by *Grace* he meant no more than the Remission of Sins, Instruction, the Example of Christ. In this Confession he did not disown any of his Tenets; but, not thinking it safe or adviseable openly to own them, he industriously declined explaining himself more distinctly on either of the above-mentioned Heads. *Zosimus*, however fully satisfied with his Confession, and quite astonished (to use his own Words) at the rash Proceedings of the *African* Bishops, in condemning, as Heretics, Men whose Doctrine was so sound and orthodox, immediately transmitted to *Aurelius* of *Carthage*, and his Collegues in *Africa*, the Confession as well as the Letter which had been sent him by *Pelagius*. On this Occasion he writ himself a second Letter to the *African* Bishops, which we may justly style a Panegyric on *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, and a bitter Invektive against their Accusers, *Heros* and *Lazarus*. This Letter he concludes with exhorting the Bishops of *Africa* to the Love of Peace and Unity, and condemning, as guilty of an Injustice unknown even to the Pagan *Romans*, those who gave Judgment in the Absence of the Persons accused, what Crimes soever were laid to their Charge ^u, as I have observed above.

Pelagius transmits to Zosimus a Confession of his Faith;

which he approves of,

and censures the African Bishops for condemning him.

^t Gall. Christ. ibid. ad ann. 417. n. 25. 29.

^s Aug. Gr. Ch. c. 3c. & P. ec. Orig. c. 18, 19.

^u Bar.

The African Bishops maintain their former Judgment.

The *African* Bishops were no less surprised to find *Zosimus* so warmly engaged in favour of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, than *Zosimus* was surprised at their having condemned them. However, they were determined to stand to the Judgment which they had given, though sensible that such a Determination would not fail to produce, if *Zosimus* did not yield, a Misunderstanding, and perhaps an intire Separation, between *Rome* and *Africa*. This St. *Austin* seems chiefly to have apprehended, and to have been resolved, if it should so happen, to abdicate and retire ^w. To prevent this Evil, which would have proved very detrimental to the common Cause, many Letters passed between *Rome* and *Africa* ^x; but as none of those that were written at this Juncture by the *African* Bishops have reached our Times, having been probably destroyed by those whose Interest it was to destroy them; all we know concerning this Affair is, that the *Africans* maintained, with great Steadiness, their former Judgment against the Pretensions of *Zosimus*; and would never allow a Cause, that had been determined in *Africa*, to be re-examined at *Rome*, the rather as *Innocent*, the Predecessor of *Zosimus*, had concurred with them in condemning both *Cælestius* and his Doctrine ^y. The Letter from *Zosimus* to the *African* Bishops was carried by one *Basilus*, Subdeacon of *Rome*, who was charged with a verbal Order for the Deacon *Paulinus*, the first who accused *Cælestius*, to repair to *Rome*. To this Summons *Paulinus* returned Answer, that as the Bishops of *Africa* had condemned *Cælestius* upon his Accusation, it was no longer incumbent upon him, but upon them, to shew that his Accusation was well grounded; and therefore he could not conceive why *Zosimus* should require him to take a Journey to *Rome* ^z.

Paulinus, summoned to Rome, refuses to obey the Summons.

The Council of Carthage condemns anew the Pelagian Doctrine without waiting for the Judgment of Zosimus.

In the mean time *Aurelius* of *Carthage* was under the greatest Apprehension lest *Zosimus* should be prevailed upon by *Cælestius*, and the other *Pelagians* at *Rome*, to take some hasty Step in their Favour. Having therefore assembled, with all possible Expedition, a Council at *Carthage*, he first writ, in his own and their Name, to *Zosimus*, earnestly intreating him to suspend all further Proceedings in an Affair of such Moment, till he was more fully informed. This Letter was written, and a Messenger dispatched with it to *Rome*, while the Council was yet very thin; the Haste *Aurelius* was in to stop the Proceedings of *Zosimus* not allowing him to wait the Arrival of all. When

^w Hier. ep. 195. 209. ann. 418. n. 4. & Quesnel. in Leon. opera, p. 676.

^x Aug. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3.

^y Aug. ib. & Bar. ad

^z Quesnel. ibid. p. 675.

the rest came, and they were in all Two hundred and Fourteen, they unanimously confirmed their former Sentence, and, without waiting for the Judgment of *Zosimus*, condemned anew the Doctrine of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* ^a. The Decrees which they made on this Occasion against the *Pelagians* were received, says *Prosper*, by *Rome*, by the Emperors, no doubt, *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, and by the whole World ^b. And yet, in the making of these Decrees, the Bishop of *Rome* had no Hand; so that it was not *Rome*, but *Africa*, it was not the Pope, but the Bishops of *Africa*, or more truly *St. Austin* (for he governed intirely that Council) who taught the Church what she was to believe, and what disbelieve, concerning *Grace* and Original Sin. One of these Decrees is related by *Prosper* ^c, wherein the Two hundred and Fourteen Bishops declare, that *we are aided by Grace, not only in the Knowledge, but in the Practice, of Virtue; and that without it we can neither think, speak, or do any thing whatsoever that is pious or holy* ^d. This, and the other Decrees of the Council, were sent immediately to *Rome* by the Fathers, who composed them, with a Letter for *Zosimus*, declaring that they were determined to adhere to the Judgment, which his Predecessor *Innocent* had formerly given against *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, till such time as both owned, and in the most plain and unexceptionable Terms, the Necessity of *Grace*, and abjured the opposite Doctrine. It was the Effect of a *The Policy of the African Bishops.* refined Policy in the *African* Bishops not to mention their own Judgment, but to lay the whole Stress on that of *Innocent*, though his was not only preceded, but produced, or rather extorted, by theirs. They hoped that the Regard, which they pretended to have for *Innocent*, would bring *Zosimus* to a better Temper, and divert him from absolving those whom his Predecessor had so lately condemned. As *Zosimus* had reproached them in his Letter for believing too easily those who had appeared against *Cælestius*, they in their turn represented to him, that he ought not so easily to have believed *Cælestius*, and those who spoke in his Favour. In the same Letter they gave him a particular Account of all that had passed in *Africa* concerning *Cælestius*. No wonder therefore that *Zosimus* should have complained of the Length of the Letter, calling it a Volume, and saying, ^e that

^a *Prosper*. chr. & in coll. c. 10.

^b *Prosper*. chron. in *Ingrat*. l. 1. c. 2.

^c *Prosper*.

in *Ingrat*. l. 1. c. 3.

^d *Idem* *ibid*.

^e *Prosper*. *ibid*. l. 1. c. 2. *Aug.* ad *Bon*. l. 2.

c. 3. & *Pecc. Orig*. c. 8. *Bar.* ad ann. 418. n. 5. 12.

he had got through it at last. With this Letter *Marcellinus*, Sub-deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, was dispatched to *Rome*, and he arrived there in the Beginning of *March 418*.

Zosimus begins to yield.

Zosimus was alarmed at the Steadiness of the *Africans*. He plainly saw from their Letter, and more plainly from their Decrees, that they were determined not to yield; and therefore, apprehending the evil Consequences that would infallibly attend his continuing to protect *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* against them, he resolved to yield, and withdraw, by Degrees, his Protection from both. Hence, in his Answer to the Council, he contented himself with setting forth and boasting the Pre-eminence, Authority, and Prerogatives of the Apostolic See; which however, more modest than his Predecessor, he did not ascribe to Divine Institution, but to the Canons of the Church, and Prescription. He tells the *African* Bishops, that though he is vested with a Power of judging all Causes, though his Judgment is irreversible, yet he had chosen to determine nothing without having first consulted them; and this he dwells upon as an extraordinary Favour. He expresses great Surprise at their seeming to be persuaded, that he had given an intire Credit to *Cælestius*, assures them that he had not been so hasty, being well apprised that the last and definitive Judgment ought not to be given but with the greatest Caution, and after the most mature Deliberation; and in the Close of his Letter lets them know, that, upon the Receipt of their first Letter, he had suspended all further Proceedings; and, to gratify them, left Things in the State they were in before f.

His boasting Letter to the African Bishops.

The Doctrine of Pelagius condemned again in a Council at Carthage.

In the mean time the *African* Bishops, assembling in Council at *Carthage*, from all the Provinces of *Africa*, and some even from *Spain*, the more effectually to oppose and defeat any further Attempts of *Zosimus*, in favour of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, condemned their Doctrine anew, and more distinctly than they had hitherto done. This Council met on the 1st of *May 418*. consisted of 225 Bishops, and enacted Eight Canons, anathematizing the *Pelagian* Doctrine concerning Grace and Original Sin g. To these Eight Canons they added Ten more, calculated to establish some Points of Discipline. Among the latter the Ninth deserves particular Notice; for it is there decreed, That Presbyters, Deacons, and inferior Clerks, if they complain of

f Bar. ibid.

g Conc. l. 2. p. 1121. Aug. ep. 47.

the Judgment of their own Bishop, may appeal, with his Consent, to the neighbouring Bishops, and from them to the Primate or Council of *Africa*. But, if any one should presume, say they, to appeal beyond Sea, let no Man receive him to his Communion^b. To this Decree *Gratian* has added, to save the Jurisdiction of the Pope, unless they appeal to the See of Rome; than which nothing can be more absurd, since it was to restrain the encroaching Power of the See of Rome that this Canon was made. We must not forget that *St. Austin* was present at this Council, and signed this, as well as the other Canons and Decrees, that were, on this Occasion, enacted by the 225 Bishops.

The *Africans* had dispatched, the Year before, the Bishop *Vindemialis* to the Court of *Honorius*, with the Decrees of the Council held against *Pelagius*, of which I have spoken above. And those Decrees the Emperor not only approved, but enacted this Year 418. a severe Law against the *Pelagians*, dated from *Ravenna*, the 30th of *April*, and addressed to *Palladius* then *Præfectus Prætorio*. *Honorius* there declares, he had been informed, that *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* taught, in Opposition to the Authority of the Catholic Church, that God had created the first Man mortal; that he would have died, whether he had or had not sinned; that his Sin did not pass to his Descendants; and several other impious Errors, that disturbed the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. To put a Stop therefore to the growing Evil, he commands *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* to be driven from *Rome*: orders it to be every-where notified, that all Persons shall be admitted before the Magistrates, as Informers against those who are suspected of holding their wicked Doctrines; and such as are found guilty shall be sent into Exileⁱ. In virtue of this Law, an Order was issued by the *Præfeti Prætorio*, viz. by *Junius Quartus Palladius* Prefect of *Italy*, *Monaxius* Prefect of the East, and *Agriola* Prefect of *Gaul*, commanding *Pelagius* and *Cælestius* to be driven out of *Rome*, and the Accomplices of their Errors to be stripped of their Estates, and condemned to perpetual Banishment^k. A most barbarous Treatment for holding Opinions, which, if erroneous, were certainly harmless. But it is usual for a persecuting Spirit to be as

^b Conc. l. 2. p. 1064. Nor. hist. Pel. l. 1. c. 17.

^k Bar. ad ann. 420. n. 4. Nor. hist. Pel. p. 88.

ⁱ Bar. ad ann. 418. n. 20.

violent upon the most unessential as the most weighty Points: and the Rage of Disputation is never more keen, than when the Disputants can hardly define what they quarrel about; especially when the Sword of the Magistrate is drawn on that Side which has least to say for itself in Reason and Argument. I do not affirm this was the Case in the present Dispute; but this is certain, that if *Pelagius* went too far in his Opinion, so did his Opposers in theirs: and so far his Conduct was infinitely better than theirs, that he declared his own Notions to be Matters very indifferent to Catholic Faith, and professed a general Assent to that Faith; whereas they anathematized his Opinions as execrable Errors, and punished them with all the Severity that the most implacable Malice could exert (B).

Zosimus
summons
Cælestius to
appear before
him, and to
condemn his
Doctrine.

Pelagius and *Cælestius* being thus condemned by the Decrees of the *African* Bishops, by the Law of the Emperor, and even by the Voice of the People, or rather of the Populace, who were everywhere ready, but no-where more than at *Rome*, to rise against the *Enemies of Grace*, as they were styled, and their Abettors; *Zosimus* thought it not safe to afford them any further Protection, unless *Cælestius*, who was still at *Rome* (the Imperial Law not being yet published there), consented to anathematize the Doctrines ascribed to him and *Pelagius*, in such clear and precise Terms as should leave no room, even for his Enemies, to question his Sincerity. He therefore appointed a Day for the *Roman* Clergy, and the neighbouring Bishops, to assemble; and, acquainting *Cælestius* with this Resolution, he summoned him to appear at the Time appointed, that, by condemning whatever he should be required to condemn, he might be publicly restored to the Communion of the Church, from which he had been cut off by the *African* Bishops. *Cælestius* was greatly perplexed with this Summons: he conceived it impossible to dissemble any longer his real Sentiments; but, at the same time, thinking it base to renounce them, and foreseeing the Consequences that would infallibly attend his avowing them, after he had been long in Suspense what Expedient to resolve on, he concluded at last, that the best and safest was privately to withdraw from *Rome*, and keep himself concealed till the present Storm was blown over. This Expedient he chose, and put it in Execution with such Secrecy, that he

Cælestius in-
stead of ap-
pearing re-
tires from
Rome.

(B) *Honorius* supposes, and likewise his Prefects, *Pelagius* to have been in *Rome*, when this Law was enacted; but it is very certain, that he was then in *Palæstine*.

was

was no more heard of till Three Years after, when he appeared again in *Rome* ^m.

In the mean time the appointed Day came; but *Celestius* did not appear: he was summoned anew, and the Proceedings were adjourned for a few Days; but as he still absented himself, and no Tidings could be heard of him, *Zosimus* was so provoked in seeing himself thus deluded, that, without further Examination, he condemned the Confession of Faith, which he had approved before; confirmed the Sentence of the *Africans*, which he had so sharply censured; and, anathematizing the Doctrine both of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, declared the one and the other cut off from the Communion of the Church, if they did not publicly renounce and abjure *the poisonous Tenets of their impious and abominable Set* ⁿ. He did not stop here; but, to retrieve his Reputation, which had suffered greatly on this Occasion, and to atone by an opposite Zeal, for that which he had hitherto exerted in their Favour, he writ a long circular Letter to all the Bishops, anathematizing the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, and exhorting them to follow his Example. Copies of this Letter were sent into all the Provinces of the Christian World, and out of so great a Number of Bishops Eighteen only were found, who refused to receive it, and confirm, with their Subscriptions, the Anathemas it contained ^o.

As for the Eighteen Bishops, who refused to join the rest, they alleged, that they could not, in Conscience, condemn any Man in his Absence, and that it was but just they should first hear what he had to plead in his Defence, quoting to that Purpose the very Passages of Scripture which *Zosimus* had quoted in his Letter to the *Africans*, censuring them for condemning *Pelagius* in his Absence. They added, that, as for *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, they had both condemned, in their Writings, the Errors imputed to them, and therefore did not deserve, in their Opinion, the Anathemas that *Rome* and *Africa* had, perhaps too hastily, thundered against them. *Julian*, Bishop of *Eclana* in *Campania*, one of the Eighteen, and the most distinguished among them, writ Two Letters on this Subject to *Zosimus*, one of which was signed by them all, and contained a

Zosimus condemns the Confession, which he had approved before.

Excommunicates Pelagius and Celestius;

and writes a circular Letter against them.

Some Bishops refuse to sign it,

and send a Confession of their Faith to Zosimus.

^m Aug. Pecc. orig. c. 8. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3. Mar. Merc. comm. c. 1. Pecc. orig. c. 3, & 4. in Jul. l. 1. c. 4. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 3. Mercat. ubi supra. Prosp. chr. & Ingrat. l. 1. c. 3. ^o Aug. in Jul. l. 1. c. 4. Conc. t. 3. p. 349. Prosp. cl r. Merc. c. 3.

Confession of their Faith, agreeing, in the most material Points, with the Confessions of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*. For there they absolutely reject, and in the strongest Terms, Original Sin, under the Name of *Natural Sin*; but allow (and in this Article alone they differ from *Pelagius*) that by the Sin of *Adam* Death was let into the World. They intreat *Zosimus* to acquaint them with what should be found amiss in their Confession; but beg that he would not think of employing Force, since no Force, but that of Conviction, could produce in them a Change of Sentiments. They let him know, in the End of their Letter, that they have already appealed to the Judgment of an Oecumenical Council p. *Zosimus* was so provoked at this Appeal, that, upon the Receipt of the Letter, he assembled, in great Haste, a Council, consisting of the *Roman* Clergy, and the neighbouring Bishops; and, having caused the Letter to be read in their Presence, he condemned anew *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, and with them *Julian*, and the other Bishops, who signed it, declaring them guilty of the same Errors, and in Consequence thereof degraded, as incorrigible Heretics, from the Episcopal Dignity. The Prelates, thus degraded, had recourse to the Emperor *Honorius*, complaining of the undeserved Severity of *Zosimus*, and intreating him to convene, by his Authority, an Oecumenical Council, to the Judgment of which they were ready to submit both themselves and their Doctrine. The Emperor seemed at first inclined to grant them their Request. But Count *Valerius*, a great Friend of St. *Austin*, and then very powerful at Court, not only diverted *Honorius* from it, but prevailed upon him to enact a Law, banishing from *Italy* *Julian*, and with him all the Bishops, whom *Zosimus* had deposed q. This Law was soon followed by another, commanding all Bishops to sign the Condemnation of *Pelagius* and *Cælestius*, on Pain of Deposition, and perpetual Banishment r. The *Pelagians* interpreted their being refused a Council, as a Token of Victory; whence *Julian*, in a Letter which he writ to his Friends in *Rome*, insults his Adversaries, as if they had distrusted their Cause, and therefore declined the Judgment of an Oecumenical Council s. In another Place he reproaches St. *Austin*, in particular, for courting the Friendship of Men in Power, especially of Count *Valerius*, with no other View but to crush, by their means,

*They are
condemned
and degraded
by Zosimus.*

*They recur
to the Em-
peror for a
General
Council.*

*Who issues
several Laws
against them.*

p Merc. subnot. p. 320—326.

Conc. t. 2. p. 1558.

Jul. l. 3. c. 1. ad Bon. l. 2. c. 24.

q Aug. op. imperf. l. 1. c. 10. ad Val. p. 343.

r Mer. Com. c. 3. Nor. hist. Pel. l. 1. c. 16.

s Aug. in

those whom he could not convince. St. *Austin* answered, *That Recourse indeed had been had to Men in Power; but that the Pelagians ought rather to be thankful, than to complain, on that Score, since it was not to crush them, or to do them the least Hurt* (for they were only driven from their Sees, and banished for Life) *that the Interest and Power of great Men had been made use of, but merely to reclaim them from their sacrilegious Temerity* ^t. Might not a *Decius*, a *Dioclesian*, or any other Persecutor of the Church, have used the same Plea to justify his Persecution?

About this time, that is, in the Latter-end of the Year 418. or the Beginning of 419. the Doctrine of *Pelagius* was condemned in a Council held at *Antioch*, at which presided *Theodotius* Bishop of that City; and in another, that met about the Year 421. in *Cilicia*, under the famous *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, who had been hitherto an avowed Patron of the *Pelagians*, had received *Julian* when driven out of *Italy*, and even written a Book against St. *Austin*, in Defence of the *Pelagian* Doctrine ^u. His Conversion was perhaps owing, as that of many others certainly was, to the severe Laws enacted against the *Pelagians*. Soon after the Council of *Antioch*, *Pelagius*, whom *Jerom* styles the *Second Catiline*, was driven from *Jerusalem*, where he had lived a long time, and obliged to fly to some other Place for Shelter ^w. Whither he retired, or what became of him afterwards, is not recorded. St. *Austin* supposes both him and *Celestius* to have been still alive, while he was writing against *Julian*, that is, about the Year 421 ^x. As for *Celestius*, it appears from a Rescript, or rather a Letter, of the Emperor *Constantius* to *Volusianus*, Prefect of *Rome*, in 421. that he was then in that City. For *Constantius* writes to *Volusianus*, that though he had enacted some Laws against the antient as well as the modern Heresies, yet he was informed, that they made daily great Progress; and therefore, to prevent the Disturbances that must arise from thence, he commands the Laws to be put in Execution, and the Enemies of the true Religion to be carefully sought for, especially *Celestius*, and to be banished, if apprehended, an Hundred Miles from *Rome*. To this Letter the Emperor added, with his own Hand, by way of Postscript, that the Reputation of *Volusianus* depended on the punctual Execution of this Order ^y. In Obedience to the Emperor's Commands, *Volusianus* issued a Procla-

The Pelagian Doctrine condemned by Two Councils in the East.

Pelagius driven from Jerusalem.

Celestius returns to Rome.

Law issued against him.

^t Aug. op. imperf. l. 2. c. 14.
in Jul. l. 2. c. 10.

^u Merc. Comm. c. 3.
^y Bar. ad ann. 420. r. 2.

^w Hier. ep. 55. ^x Aug.

*Is banished
all Italy.*

*Is driven
from Con-
stantinople,
together with
Julian and
the other
Pelagian Bi-
shops.*

*Julian dies
in Sicily.*

*His Birth,
Education,
&c.*

mation, banishing *Celestius* an Hundred Miles from *Rome*, and threatening with Proscription all who should presume to conceal him ^z. *Celestius* however appeared again in *Rome* Three Years after, and even applied to *Celestine*, then in that See, to have his Cause examined anew. But *Celestine*, rejecting his Request with Indignation, caused him to be banished all *Italy* ^a. From *Rome* he repaired to *Constantinople*, with *Julian*, and the other Bishops of the *Pelagian* Party, who all met there with a more kind Reception. The Emperor *Theodosius* the younger was even inclined to assemble, at their Request, a great Council; and *Nestorius*, then Bishop of *Constantinople*, writ to the Pope in their Favour. But, in the mean time, *Marius Mercator* having composed, and presented to the Emperor, a Memorial against them, they were ordered by *Theodosius*, in virtue of that Memorial, to depart the City ^b. Of *Celestius* no farther Mention is made by any of the Antients. As for *Julian*, he wandered, for several Years, from Place to Place, being every-where abhorred, detested, and driven out by the Populace, as if his Presence had been enough to draw down from Heaven some remarkable Judgment upon them. However, he found an Asylum at last in a small Village of *Sicily*, where he earned a Livelihood by keeping a School, till the Year 455. when he died, after he had divested himself of all he had, to relieve the Poor of the Place in a great Famine ^c. He was a Man of a sprightly Genius, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, well versed in all the Branches of polite Literature, especially in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, and once famous among the Doctors of the Church ^d. He was descended from an illustrious Family. His Father was an *Italian* Bishop, for whom St. *Austin*, notwithstanding his irreconcilable Aversion to the Son, professed the greatest Friendship and Veneration ^e. His Mother was a Lady of the first Quality, and yet more commendable for her Virtue than her Birth ^f. His Enemies envying him even his noble Descent, strove to rob him of that Honour, small as it is, in Comparison of his other Endowments, by giving out, that he was a supposititious Child ^g. He was admitted by his Father among the Clergy, when he was yet very young, and married, when he was of a more mature Age, to a Lady named *Ja*, of a Senatorial, nay, of the *Emilian* Family, and the

^z Phot. c. 53.

^a Prosp. in Coll. c. 41.

^b Vid. Garn. in Mercat. p. 144.

^c Gennad. c. 45.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Aug. in Jul. l. 1. c. 4. & op. imperf. l. 1.

c. 68.

^f Merc. subnot. c. 4. Aug. op. imperf. p. 22.

^g Merc. ib. p. 40.

Daughter

Daughter of *Æmilius* Bishop of *Benevento* ^b. *St. Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola*, did not think it beneath him to write an Epithalamium on this Occasion, of a most singular kind; for he advises him and his Bride to continue Virgins, and observe Continency ⁱ. A very extraordinary Advice on a Wedding-Day! That the married Couple agreed to it then, we are not told; but, not long after, probably on the Death of his Wife, *Julian* bound himself to the Observance of Continency; for he was ordained Deacon, and soon after raised to the See of *Eclana* ^k. He had, long before, embraced the *Pelagian* Doctrine; and was so fully convinced of the Truth of it, that he often declared, if *Pelagius* himself should renounce his Doctrine, yet he would not ^l. These Sentiments he maintained to the last, chusing rather to be driven from his See, and deprived of all the Comforts of Life, than to abjure Opinions, which he thought true, or admit Opinions which he thought false. He was buried in the Place where he died; and his Tomb was discovered in the Ninth Century, with the following Epitaph; *Here rests in Peace Julian a Catholic Bishop*. From this Epitaph some have concluded, that he renounced at last the *Pelagian* Doctrine, and died a good Catholic. But they were not, it seems, aware, that the *Pelagians* constantly styled themselves Catholics, stigmatizing *St. Austin*, and the rest who opposed them, with the Name of *Manichees*.

Julian is supposed to have dissented in some Points from *Pelagius*, in those especially that relate to Grace, and thereby to have introduced, or laid down such Principles as naturally tended to introduce, the *Semipelagian* Doctrine; which may be reduced to the following Heads: 1. That when the Truth has been sufficiently declared, we may, by our own Free-will, without the Help of preventing Grace, begin to believe it; so that the first Beginning of our Faith cannot be properly called a *Gift of God*, but, *our own Act*. 2. That for all other good Works Grace is necessary (and here they differed from the *Pelagians*); but is never denied to a Man, who, by the good Use of his Free-will, has begun to believe. Thus, according to them, Grace was the Reward of Faith, and not Faith the Effect of Grace, which was the Doctrine of *St. Austin*. 3. That, by Grace preceding our Merits, no more can be meant, than the natural Grace and Bounty of God, given to Man in his Reason, and the

The Semi-pelagian Doctrine.

^b Paulin. car. 14.
Mer. Comm. c. 3.

ⁱ Idem ibid.
^l Aug. ep. 106.

^k Aug. in Jul. l. 3. c. 21. et l. 4. c. 11.

natural Faculties of his Soul; by the good Use of which, he may render himself worthy of the extraordinary Grace that is necessary for him to work out his Salvation. 4. That the Children who die before they attain to the Years of Discretion, are eternally rewarded or punished, according to the good or bad Life they would have led, had they attained to the Years of Discretion. A most impious Tenet! making God punish Sins with eternal Misery that were never committed: yet not quite so impious as that of St. *Austin*; who, without having recourse to the Supposition of Crimes foreseen, supposed innocent Children to be eternally damned for a Crime committed by *Adam*, if, by the Fault of their Parents, they were not baptized. Other Tenets of the *Semipelagians* were these: 5. That the Notion of Election and Reprobation, independent on our Merits or Demerits, is maintaining a fatal Necessity, is the Bane of all Virtue, and serves only to render good Men remiss in working out their Salvation, and to drive Sinners to Despair. 6. That the Decrees of Election and Reprobation are posterior to, and in consequence of our good or evil Works, as foreseen by God from all Eternity. On these Two last Propositions the *Jesuits* found their whole System of Grace and Free-will, agreeing therein with the *Semipelagians* against the *Jansenists* and St. *Austin*; though, not daring to contradict *the Doctor of Grace*, as he is styled, they pretend their Doctrine, and not that of the *Jansenists*, to be the true Doctrine of St. *Austin*; which has occasioned endless Disputes, and endless Volumes. The latter Popes have all favoured the *Semipelagians* or *Jesuits* against the *Jansenists* and St. *Austin*; and *Clement XI.* above all the rest, by his famous Bull *Unigenitus*. But the Popes who lived nearer those Times, especially *Gelasius* and *Hormisdas*, were all zealous Asserters of the Doctrine of St. *Austin*; nay, *Hormisdas* declared the Doctrine contained in the Books of that Father, namely, in those he writ on *Predestination* and *Perseverance*, to be the Doctrine of the Catholic Church; which was declaring every true Catholic to be a *Predestinarian*^m. For the Doctrine of Predestination (as Predestination has been since understood by *Calvin* and his Followers) is there laid down in the plainest Terms; which so shocked some Persons, otherwise eminent for their Piety, say *Prosper* and *Hilarius*ⁿ, that they could not help centuring it, as a Doctrine repugnant to the Sense of

*The System of
the Jesuits
founded on
the Semipe-
lagian Doc-
trine.*

^m Concil. t. 4. p. 1531.

ⁿ Prosp. et Hil. Literæ ad Aug. l. 7. p. 542. 546.

the Church, and the Fathers; nay, as a Doctrine, which, were it even true, ought not to be made public, since it was not necessary that Men should know it; and if they did, it would render all Exhortations to good Works vain and useless ^p. But these, say the *Jesuits*, pretending their System to be the pure Doctrine of St. *Austin*, misunderstood that Father, as did *Faustus* the famous Abbot of *Lerins*, when he writ, *That if it be true, that some are predestined to Life, and others to Destruction, as a certain holy Man (St. Austin) has said, we are not born to be judged, but we are judged before we are born; so that there can be no Equity in the Day of Judgment* ^q. To speak impartially, it is no easy Matter to determine what System St. *Austin* had formed to himself, with respect to Grace, Free-will, and Predestination: for, in one Place, he seems to reject and condemn what he had been labouring to prove and establish in another. Hence *Julian*, whose Understanding was far more methodical, used often to quote him against himself, as the *Jesuits* and *Jansenists* still do in maintaining their Systems, though diametrically opposite, to be intirely agreeable to his Doctrine. He was apt to run into Extremes, and, in confuting one Error, to lay a Foundation for many others. Hence even his greatest Admirers are often at a Loss how to make him agree either with the Church or himself. However, his great Knowledge in those Days, his extraordinary Zeal for what he called the Catholic Doctrine, and, above all, his heaping daily Volumes upon Volumes against all who opposed it, so dazzled the Understandings of the Popes themselves, that, looking upon him as an inspired Writer, they suffered him to dictate even to them, as if he had been Pope, and they common Bishops; as if Infallibility had been transferred from *Rome* to *Hippo*, and no longer vested in them, but in him.

But to return to *Zosimus*: As his Partiality to *Pelagius* and *Celestius* occasioned a Quarrel between him and the *African* Bishops; his Partiality to *Patroclus*, who had usurped the See of *Arles*, as I have related above ^r, occasioned, in like manner, a Quarrel between him and some Bishops of *Gaul*; and from the latter he reaped no more Credit or Honour, than he had done from the former. It arose on the following Occasion: The Bishops of *Arles* and *Vienne* had been long contending for the Metropolitan Dignity, and the Jurisdiction

Zosimus quarrels with some Bishops of Gaul.

The Occasion of this Quarrel.

^p Prosp. et Hil. *ibid.*
p. 336, 337.

^q Vide Sirmond. *hist. prædest.* c. 1, 2, &c.

^r See

attending it, over the Provinces of *Narbonne* and *Vienna*: and the Decision of the Controversy having been referred, some Years before, to a Council that was held in *Turin*, it had been there decreed, that the Bishop who should prove his City to be the Metropolis of those Provinces, according to the Civil Division of the Empire, should enjoy the Metropolitan Dignity, and the Privileges annexed to it; but, in the mean time, to avoid any Breach of Charity, that both should exercise the Jurisdiction of a Metropolitan over the Churches that were nearest to their respective Cities^t. Thus Matters continued, till *Patroclus* repairing to *Rome*, and there imposing upon *Zosimus*, who was quite unacquainted with the Merits of the Cause, prevailed upon him, by flattering his Vanity and Ambition, to decide, in his Favour, the Controversy, which had been so long depending. *Zosimus* censured very severely, as I have observed above, the *African* Bishops, for acting, as he pretended, with too much Haste and Precipitation, in the Case of *Cælestius*. But, surely, no Man ever deserved to be more justly censured, on that score, than himself: for, not to mention the Case of *Heros* and *Lazarus*, whom he excommunicated and deposed in their Absence, and without hearing what they had to plead in their Defence, he took upon him to decide the present Controversy, which a Council had left undetermined, upon the Information given him by one of the Parties concerned, without hearing the other: for, giving an intire Credit to all *Patroclus* said, or could say, in Behalf of himself and his Church, he writ a Letter, addressed to all the Bishops of *Gaul*, declaring, that, for the future, he would receive no Bishops or Ecclesiastics coming to *Rome* from those Provinces, unless they brought with them Letters of Communion, called *Formatæ*, from the Metropolitan of *Arles*, and excommunicating those who should transgress this Order^u (A). The Privilege of granting the *Formatæ* was only personal; for *Zosimus* did not grant it to the See of *Arles*, but to *Patroclus*, whom he styles his *holy Brother*, in Consideration of his extraordinary Merit. To such a Degree had he suffered himself to be imposed upon, by a Man, who was the Disgrace of his Order^w. In the same Letter he vests him, as Bishop of

^t Conc. t. 2. p. 1156.^u Conc. t. 2. p. 1567.^w See p. 337.

(A) These Letters were given, in the primitive Times, to traveling Ecclesiastics, that their Brethren, in the Places through which they passed, knowing who they were, and whence they came, might admit them to their Communion.

Arles, with a Metropolitan Jurisdiction over the Province of *Vienne* and the Two Provinces of *Narbonne*, adjudges to his See all the Parishes and Territories that had ever been subject to the City of *Arles*, and grants him a full Power to decide and finally determine all Controversies that should arise in the three above-mentioned Provinces, provided they were not of such Consequence as required them to be examined at *Rome* ^x. The only Reason *Zosimus* alleges for thus exalting the See of *Arles* to the Prejudice of the See of *Vienne*, is, because *Trophimus*, the First Bishop of *Arles*, had converted those Provinces to the Christian Religion. A Reason both false and impertinent: false, because *Trophimus* flourished in the Year 250 ^y. and the Church of *Arles* was famous as early as the Year 177. when they writ, with their Brethren of *Lions*, to the Faithful in *Asia* ^z: impertinent, because it was to the Dignity of each City, and to nothing else, that the Dignity of the Sees was owing. Hence the Council of *Turin* wisely adjudged the Metropolitan Dignity to him who should prove his City to be the civil Metropolis, with respect to the contested Provinces, as I have observed above. *Zosimus*, however, writ a Second Letter, which he addressed to all the Bishops of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Africa*, confirming to the See of *Arles* all the Rights and Privileges which he had granted in his First, and rejecting, with Scorn, the Decree of the Council of *Turin* ^a.

The Bishops of *Gaul*, viz. *Simplicius* of *Vienne*, *Hilarius* of *Narbonne*, and *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, amazed and astonished at the Temerity of the Bishop of *Rome*, openly refused to acknowledge his Authority, or submit to his Sentence. *Zosimus*, highly provoked at the Opposition he met with, writ several threatening Letters to *Hilarius* and *Proculus*, as if he were determined to cut them off from his Communion, if they did not yield, and acknowledge *Patroclus* for their Metropolitan. As for *Simplicius*, he seems to have acted with less Vigour on this Occasion than the other Two; and it was perhaps on that Account that he has been fainted. *Hilarius* too yielded at last, not to the Menaces of *Zosimus*, which he made no Account of, but to those of Count *Constantius*, the avowed Patron of *Patroclus* ^b, whom he allowed, on that Consideration, to ordain a Bishop at *Lodève*, within the Limits of his Province, which was owning him for

^x Conc. ib. p. 1567—1569.
c. 1. ^a Conc. t. 2. p. 1568.

^y Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. 1. c. 30.
^z Conc. ibid. p. 1581.

^a Euseb. l. 5.

especially by
Proculus Bi-
shop of Mar-
seilles:

Proculus ex-
communi-
cated and de-
posed by Zo-
simus.

his Metropolitan. But nothing could shake the Firmness and Constancy of *Proculus*. *Zosimus*, thinking he could frighten him into a Compliance, began with reproachful Language; from Reproaches he proceeded to Menaces; and from Menaces, to summon him to *Rome*, to answer there for his presuming to ordain Bishops in a Province (the *Second Narbonne*) that had been adjudged by the Apostolic See to the Metropolitan of *Arles*. But *Proculus* made so little Account of his Reproaches, Menaces, and Summons, that I do not even find he returned them an Answer. It is at least certain that he did not obey the Summons, and that he continued to exercise the same Jurisdiction, which he had exercised before, opposing to the repeated and peremptory Orders of *Zosimus* a Canon of the Council of *Turin*, appointing him Metropolitan of the *Narbonensis Secunda*. *Zosimus*, transported with Rage in seeing his Authority thus slighted, writ Three Letters, all dated the 29th of September 417. viz. one to the People and Clergy of the Province of *Vienne*, another to those of the *Second Narbonne*, and the third to *Patroclus*. In the Two former he inveighs bitterly against *Proculus*, and confirms anew to *Patroclus* the Metropolitan Dignity and Jurisdiction, which have been so unalterably intailed, says he, on the See of *Arles*, by the Decrees of the Fathers and Councils, that it exceeds even the Power and Authority of the *Roman* Church to transfer them to, or intail them upon, any other ^d. This was disclaiming, in the plainest Terms, the Power of dispensing with the Canons, which has since proved so beneficial to the Apostolic See. And yet *Zosimus* was acting the whole Time in direct Opposition to the Fourth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, vesting, as it was understood by the subsequent Councils, the Bishop of each Metropolis with the Metropolitan Dignity and Jurisdiction over the whole Province. *Zosimus*, in his Letter to *Patroclus*, encourages him to resume and exercise, in spite of *Proculus*, the Metropolitan Jurisdiction over the *Second Narbonne*, which *Proculus* had so unjustly invaded and usurped. This *Patroclus* durst not attempt, tho' seconded by the whole Power of the Apostolic See; which wrought the Pride, Ambition, and Resentment of *Zosimus* to such a Pitch, that, giving the Reins to his Passion, he thundered the Sentence of Excommunication against *Proculus*, declared him unworthy of, and degraded from, the Episcopal Dignity, and committing the Church of *Marseilles* to the Care of *Patroclus*, commanded him to exercise there the Jurisdiction with which he was vested. The Power of the Apo-

^c Conc. ibid. p. 1155.

^d Conc. t. 2. p. 1570.

stolic See was now exhausted, and what drove *Zosimus* almost to Despair, exhausted to no Effect: for *Proculus*, to shew how little Regard he paid to the Sentence pronounced against him at *Rome*, ordained a Bishop soon after he was acquainted with it. *Zosimus*, sensible that the Authority of his See was here at stake, would not abandon the Attempt. He writ Two Letters more on the same Subject, one to *Patroclus*, exhorting him to exert, with Vigour and Severity, the Power with which he was vested; and at the same time commanding him to declare, in his Name, that he should never be prevailed upon to acknowledge those whom *Proculus* had ordained. The other Letter was to the People, Clergy, and Magistrates of *Marseilles*, stirring them up against *Proculus*, and encouraging them to drive him out, and receive another in his room at the Hands of *Patroclus*. These Letters occasioned great Disturbances in the Church of *Marseilles*, which was now rent into Two opposite Parties, some refusing to acknowledge *Proculus*, and others declaring that they would acknowledge no other. But, in spite of the utmost Efforts of *Zosimus*, of *Patroclus*, and their Partisans, *Proculus* still kept his Ground, still continued to exercise all Episcopal as well as Metropolitan Functions, as he had formerly done. He thought even the Evils attending a Schism of a less dangerous Tendency than those which he apprehended from the Encroachments of the Bishops of *Rome*. Had all the Prelates thus stood up in Defence of their just Rights and Privileges against the Papal Usurpations, the Church had never been reduced to that deplorable Thralldom, which she groaned under for so many Ages. But, alas! there have been in all Times but too many *Simplicius's*, who, out of a mistaken Principle, have chosen rather to yield to an encroaching Power, than to raise Disturbances, and forego their own Ease, by withstanding it; but too many *Patroclus's*, who, to gratify their own Ambition, have prostituted their sacred Dignity to the ambitious Views of the Pope, and raised him, at the Expence of their own Order, that they might be raised by him in their Turn. *Proculus*, though deposed, excommunicated, calumniated, persecuted by *Zosimus* and his Tools, kept to the last Possession of his See; nay, and was acknowledged for lawful Bishop of *Marseilles*, for Metropolitan of the *Second Narbonne*, not only by the Bishops of *Gaul*, but likewise by those of *Africa*^f. He was still alive in 427. when he condemned the Monk *Leporius* for maintaining Christ to have been born Man only, but to

But continues to discharge the Functions of his Office.

His Steadiness in opposing the Encroachments of Rome.

^e Conc. p. *ibid.* 1574.

^f Du Pin, t. 3. p. 827.

have deserved, by his good Works, to become God s. The Encomiums bestowed on him by the Council of *Turin*, by St. *Jerom*, and *Tiro Prosper*, as I have observed above, are a sufficient Confutation of all the Calumnies uttered against him by *Zosimus* and the rest of his Enemies.

Zosimus
dies.

The last Letters of *Zosimus*, that is, his Letters to *Patroclus*, and the People of *Marseilles*, are dated the 5th of *March* 418. and he died in the Latter-end of the same Year, on the 26th of *December*, says *Baronius* ^b, upon the Authority, we may suppose, of some antient Pontifical (A).

His Charac-
ter.

The Distemper which he died of lasted a long time, and was attended with such violent Fits, that he was often thought to be dead before he died. It was during his Illness that he writ his last Letters; and yet they are no less remarkable than the rest for that Fire and Vivacity, that Strength of Expression, and even that Elegance and Purity of Diction, that were peculiar to him. He was a Man of great Address in the Management of Affairs; well knew how to turn every thing to his Advantage; and in the several Disputes which he engaged in, he forgot nothing that could any-ways distress those who opposed him. He was apt to engage too rashly, giving an intire Credit to those who, by a servile Submission, flattered his Ambition; and when he had once engaged in a Cause, as he was of a haughty and imperious Temper, impatient of Controul, passionate, headstrong, full of, and elated with, the Dignity of the *Apostolic See*, it required the greatest Art and Address in his Brethren to bring him into their Measures, and with-hold him from raising fatal Divisions in the Church. His whole Conduct and Behaviour towards them, the haughty and peremptory Style, which he assumed in writing to them, sufficiently shew that he looked upon them as infinitely below him, as bound to yield a blind Obedience to all his Commands, and submit, without Reply, to all his Decisions: and it is not to be doubted but, had he lived

^a Cassian. incar. l. 1. c. 4.

^b Bar. ad ann. 418. n. 72.

(A) He is said to have been buried near the Body of St. *Laurence*, on the *Tiburtine Way*, on the 25th or 26th of *December*, according to *Anastasius* the *Bibliothecarian* (1); but on the 27th, according to an antient Pontifical, which agrees better with the

Letters of *Symmachus* concerning the Election of his Successor *Boniface*: so that he may have governed One Year Nine Months and Eight or Nine Days, which is the Time that *Prosper* allows him (2).

(1) Anast. c. 42.

(2) Vide Pontaci not. in chron. Prosp. p. 777.

longer,

longer, and not met with the vigorous Opposition which he did from the Bishop of *Marfeilles*, he would have made great Progress toward reducing his *Fellow-Ministers* and *Fellow-Labourers*, as they are styled by *St. Cyprian*, to that State of Dependence, not to say Slavery, which in the End they have been reduced to by his Successors. He was the first who made use of the Expression, *for so it has pleased the Apostolic See*¹; an Expression which his Successors have all adopted, as the Language of the highest Authority, and such as exempted them from giving any Account either of their Actions, or of the Motives, that prompted them so to act. But, to paint *Zosimus* to the Life, we want no other Colours than those, which the *African* Bishops, who were but too well acquainted with him, have furnished us with in the Letter which they writ to his Successor *Boniface*. *We hope, say they, that since it has pleased the Almighty to raise you to the Throne of the Roman Church, we shall no longer feel the Effects of that worldly Pride and Arrogance, which ought never to have found room in the Church of Christ*^m. In the same Letter they complain of their having been made to endure such things as it was almost impossible for them to endure, which however they were willing to forget. Hard indeed and tyrannical must the Treatment have been, which they met with at the Hands of *Zosimus*, since it could extort from so many venerable Prelates a Complaint of this Nature, and that in a Letter to his immediate Successor. *Zosimus* however has been fainted, and is now worshipped by the Church of *Rome* as a great Saint, not so much in regard of his own Merits, as by a Blunder of *Baronius* in revising and correcting the *Roman Martyrology*. The Case is pretty singular, and may not be thought quite unworthy of a Place here, by reason of the Consequences, which every Protestant Reader may draw from it. In the *Martyrology* of *Bede* was marked, *St. Zosimus Martyr, who suffered for the Confession of the Faith*. This Martyr an ignorant Transcriber mistook for the Pope of the same Name, and concerned to find so little said of so great a Saint, set down all he knew of him. This Copy *Baronius* perused, and reading there what the Transcriber had added of his own, concluded the Saint mentioned in that Place to be Pope *Zosimus*, and accordingly, upon the supposed Authority of *Bede*, allotted him a Place among the other Saints in the *Roman Martyrology*. As for his being said to have suffered Martyrdom for the Confession of the Faith, *Baronius* ascribed that to the Ignorance of

*Zosimus
fainted by a
Mistake of
Baronius.*

¹ Conc. t. 2. p. 1567.

^m Conc. t. 2. p. 1141.

the Transcriber, making but one Saint out of two, though they lived at so great a Distance of Time from each other; for the Martyr lived in the earliest Times, and is mentioned by St. *Polycarp*, who flourished Two hundred Years and upwards before the Pontificate of *Zosimus*. To this double Blunder of the Transcriber and *Baronius* is *Zosimus* indebted for the Worship and Honours that are publicly paid him in the Church of *Rome*. Indeed that Church is not more grossly deluded in paying an idolatrous Worship to Saints, upon the Authority of her *Infallible Guide*, than in the Objects to whom that Worship is paid (A).

HONORIUS,

B O N I F A C E,

THEODOSIUS
the younger.*Forty-first* B I S H O P of Rome.

Year of
Christ 419.
Schism in the
Church of
Rome.

Boniface and
Eulalius both
chosen.

ZOSIMUS being dead, great Disturbances arose about the Election of his Successor. *Eulalius*, whom Authors distinguish with the Title of Archdeacon, shutting himself up in the *Lateran* with Part of the People, and some Presbyters and Deacons, was there chosen by them in the room of *Zosimus*. At the same time a great Number of the People, many Presbyters, and some Bishops, assembling in the Church of St. *Theodora*, named the Presbyter *Boniface* to the vacant See. Both were ordained the same Day they were chosen; *Boniface*, by Nine Bishops, and in the Presence of Seventy Presbyters; *Eulalius*, by Three Bishops only, and in the Presence of a very small Number of Presbyters; but the Bishop of *Ostia* was one of the Three; and he claimed, from a Custom which had long obtained, the Right of ordaining the Bishop of *Rome*. *Symmachus*, Governor of the City, did all

(A) *Bollandus*, to saint *Zosimus* in a more honourable Way, supposes him to have once had a Place in the Martyrology of St. *Jerom*; and complains of those who have taken the Liberty to strike out his Name. One would think he had found his Name in some Copy of that Martyrology, or at least heard of it; but he ingenuously owns, that he never found it there himself, nor

heard of any who did; adding, that nevertheless he is fully persuaded it was once there, and that he cannot think otherwise; and it is upon his *not being able to think otherwise* that he founds his Supposition, his Complaints, and the Saintship of *Zosimus* (1); which is allowing them to have no Foundation at all.

(1) Boll. conat. ad chronol. Pont. p. 61, 62.

that

that lay in his Power to prevent this double Election; but, not succeeding therein, he immediately dispatched an Express to the Emperor *Honorius*, then at *Ravenna*, with a Letter dated the 29th of *December* 418. acquainting him with what had passed. But his Account was not impartial: he represented *Eulalius* as lawfully chosen, and his Competitor as an Usurper. *Honorius* therefore, by a Rescript dated the 2d of *January* 419. ordered him to persuade *Boniface* to retire from *Rome*, to use Force, if Persuasions did not prevail, and to apprehend and punish the Ringleaders of the Sedition, if any should be raised on that Occasion. With this Rescript the Emperor dispatched *Aphrodifius* a Tribune and Notary; and *Symmachus*, having received it on the 6th of *January*, sent early next Morning his *Primiscripius*, or first Secretary, with an Order for *Boniface* to attend him, and hear what he had to impart to him in the Emperor's Name, letting him know, in the mean time, that he must not take upon him to exercise any Episcopal Functions; for such was the Will and Pleasure of the Emperor. This Order *Boniface* received while he was holding an Assembly in the Church of *St. Paul* without the Walls, but paid no Regard to it; nay, those who attended him, falling on the Secretary, who brought it, treated him very roughly, which *Symmachus* no sooner knew than he caused the Gates of the City to be shut, and kept *Boniface* out. In the mean time *Eulalius*, improving to his Advantage the Absence of his Competitor, repaired to the Church of *St. Peter*, took Possession of it amidst the loud Acclamations of his Partisans, and exercised there all Episcopal Functions.

The Governor of Rome and the Emperor favour Eulalius,

who takes Possession of the Church of St. Peter.

The avowed Partiality of *Symmachus* for *Eulalius* left no room to doubt but he had misinformed the Emperor. The Bishops therefore, with the Presbyters and People, who had chosen *Boniface*, thought it their Duty to transmit to him a candid and impartial Account of the late Transactions: and this they did accordingly, intreating the Emperor at the same time to revoke his former Order, and to summon both *Eulalius* and *Boniface* to Court, in order to try their Cause there. Their Request appeared just; and *Honorius*, in Compliance with it, sent an Order to *Symmachus*, dated the 13th of *January* 419. commanding him to suspend the Execution of his former Order, and to notify to the Two Competitors, that they, and those who ordained them, must repair to *Ravenna*, on Pain to him who should fail to appear there on the 8th of the ensuing *February*, of having his Election declared null. Several Bishops were summoned to attend at the same

The Friends of Boniface write to the Emperor,

who summons a Council to decide the Controversy.

time,

A more full
Council sum-
moned.

time, *Honorius* thinking it proper that a Dispute of that Nature should be decided by none but Bishops. However, to remove all Suspicion of Partiality on his Side, he would not allow those to sit as Judges, who had been any-ways concerned in the Election or Ordination of either of the Competitors. The Bishops met, but not being able to agree among themselves, *Honorius* thought the Affair of such Importance, that he put it off to the 13th of *June*, with a Design to have it decided then in a full Council. He writ accordingly not only to the Bishops of *Italy*, but to those too of *Gaul* and *Africa*, inviting them to the Council, and acquainting them with the Time and Place of its meeting. In the mean while he strictly enjoined both *Boniface* and *Eulalius* to keep at a Distance from the City, lest their Presence should occasion Disturbances there. But as *Easter* approached, he appointed *Achilleus* Bishop of *Spoleti*, who was of neither Party, to perform the Episcopal Functions at *Rome* during that Solemnity.

Eulalius dis-
obeys the Em-
peror, and is
driven from
Rome.

This *Eulalius* could not brook; and therefore returning to *Rome*, in open Defiance of the Emperor's Orders, he assembled the People, seized on the *Lateran*, and shutting the Doors against *Achilleus*, performed in that Basilic the Episcopal Functions usual at *Easter*. The Emperor, being acquainted by *Symmachus* with what had passed, was so provoked at his Disobedience and Temerity, that, by a Rescript dated from *Ravenna* the 3d of *April*, and received at *Rome* on the 8th of the same Month, he commanded *Symmachus* to drive *Eulalius* from the City, and to put *Boniface* in Possession of the disputed See; which was accordingly done (A).

Boniface
indebted to
the Emperor
for his Dig-
nity.

Thus was an End put to the Schism; thus was *Boniface* placed on the *Roman* See, and vested with the Papal Dignity by the Clemency of the Emperor, as *Largus* Proconsul of *Africa* expresses it in his Letter to the Bishops of that Province; and not by the Authority of a Council consisting of Two hundred and Fifty-two Bishops, which some have brought down from the Clouds, without even letting us know where or when they assembled.

All we know of *Boniface* before his Election is, that he was the Son of one *Jucundus* a Presbyter, was stricken in Years, well versed in the Ecclesiastical Laws, of an unblemished Character; and, what

P Bar. ib. n. 37. 9 Vid. Bar. ib. n. 34. & Baillet. vies de saints, 25 Oâ. 1 Platina in Bon.

(A) The original Copies of the Letters present Schism, are lodged in the *Vatican* Library, and have been thence copied by the Emperor's Rescripts to *Symmachus*, *Baronius* (1). giving a full and distinct Account of the

(1) Bar. ad ann. 419. n. 1—42.

inhance

enhances his Merit, chosen against his Will. Thus say his Friends, in the Letter which they writ in his Behalf to the Emperor *Honorius* ^{s.} His first Care, after he found himself in the quiet Possession of his See, was to prevent for the future, so far as in him lay, the Cabals and Intrigues that might be formed at other Elections, as they had been at his, to the great Disturbance of the City, and Scandal of the Christian Religion. With this View he writ to the Emperor, intreating him to restrain, by some severe Law, the Ambition of those who, trusting more to their Intrigues than their Merit, aspired to a Dignity that was due to Merit alone (A).

Boniface applies to the Emperor for a Law to restrain the Ambition of the Candidates to the Papacy.

The Emperor, in Compliance with so just a Demand, enacted a Law, well calculated to prevent effectually the Evil complained of, and keep the Ambition of the Candidates to the Papacy within due Bounds. For by this Law, when Two Persons were chosen, neither was to hold the Dignity, but the People and Clergy were to proceed to a new Election. This is the first Instance, that occurs in History, of Princes intermeddling in the Election of the Pope; an Evil, says *F. Pagi*, which, from small Beginnings, grew to such a Height as to reflect great Shame and Disgrace on the *Roman Church* ^{t.} But it must be observed, that the original Evil was the Corruption, the Violence, and the many Disorders which the Clergy and People were guilty of in those Elections. It was this which, at the Request of the Pope himself, called on the Emperors to interpose their Authority, as the only adequate Remedy to such Abuses. The succeeding Emperors followed the Example of *Honorius*, and the *Gothic* as well as the *Lombard* Kings, the Example of the Emperors, as we shall see in the Sequel of the present History.

His Law for that Purpose.

Boniface was naturally a Lover of Peace, and an Enemy to all Strife and Contention. He did not claim, nor attempt to usurp, any new Power over his Collegues; but yet he would not part with any his Predecessors enjoyed, by what means soever they had acquired it; and those who attempted to curtail the usurped Jurisdiction of the Apostolic See, met with as vigorous an Opposition from him as they could have done either from *Innocent* or *Zosimus*. In short, he had not Ambition enough to enlarge his Authority, but thought himself in Conscience obliged to maintain the just Rights, as he styled and

Boniface free from Ambition.

^s Apud Bar. ann. 419. n. 8.

^t Pagi, crit. hist. in annal. Bar.

(A) This Letter bears Date the First of July 419.

Dispute be-
tween him
and the Bi-
shops of Illy-
ricum.

believed them, *of the See in which it had pleased Divine Providence to place him, though unworthy of so great an Honour.* His Steadiness in asserting these Claims appeared chiefly in the Dispute that arose between him and the Bishops of *Illyricum*, over whom *Damasus* had usurped, as I have related elsewhere ^u, and his Successors maintained a particular Power and Jurisdiction. The Transaction is thus related by the Writers of those Times. The See of *Patrae* in *Achaia*, one of the Provinces of *Illyricum*, being vacant, the Bishop of *Corinth*, Metropolitan of that Province, did all that lay in his Power to get *Perigenes*, a Presbyter of an exceptionable Character, chosen in the room of their deceased Bishop. But his Endeavours proving unsuccessful, he returned to *Corinth*, and died soon after. Upon his Death the People and Clergy of *Corinth*, to honour his Memory, and shew the Regard they had for one whom he had favoured, unanimously named *Perigenes* to succeed him. But as they apprehended some Opposition from the Bishops of the same Province, they writ to *Boniface*, begging him to confirm their Election with his Authority. *Boniface* referred them to *Rufus*, then Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and his Vicar in those Parts, declaring that, as for himself, he had nothing to object either against their Election, or the Person elected. *Rufus* notified to the Bishops of the Province, and the Metropolitans of the Diocese, the Approbation of *Boniface*, and his own; but it was not received by all in the same manner. The greater Part indeed agreed to the Ordination of the new Bishop; but some opposed it with great Warmth, prompted, most probably, by the Jealousy they entertained of the growing Power of the See of *Rome*: for, at their Request, a Law was published by the Emperor *Theodosius*, dated the 14th of *July* 421. commanding all Disputes, that should arise in the Diocese of *Illyricum*, to be finally determined by the Bishops of that Diocese, after they had consulted the Bishop of *Constantinople* ^w. This was taking those Provinces from the Bishop of *Rome*, and, in some Degree, subjecting them to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, or at least, opening a Door for such a Subjection. The Power of the Bishops of *Constantinople* was already grown very considerable, and their Ambition keeping Pace with that of the Bishops of *Rome*, neither let any Opportunity slip of extending the Jurisdiction of their own See at the Expence of the other. In the present

Law of
Theodosius
concerning
Disputes that
should arise
in Illyricum.

^u See p. 226, 227.

^w Cod. Theod. l. 45. de Episcop. l. 6.

Case the Bishop of *Constantinople* availing himself of the Favour of the Emperor, and the Disagreement that reigned among the *Illyrican* Bishops, summoned, without Loss of Time, a Council to meet at *Corinth*, and there to examine the Ordination of *Perigenes*, though he had been ordained, and his Ordination approved of both by *Rufus* and *Boniface*. This Step, quite unexpected, alarmed *Boniface*; he divested himself at once of his pacific Disposition, and, assuming the Air and Style of Authority, he writ Three Letters, all dated the same Day, *viz.* 11th of *March* 422. encouraging the Friends of the Apostolic See to maintain its Rights, and threatening those who dared to invade them. The first was to *Rufus* of *Thessalonica*, whom he animates not to suffer any Innovations, but vigorously to withstand those, who assumed an Authority that did not become them, and to which they had no kind of Title or Claim, meaning, no doubt, the Bishop of *Constantinople*. The Second Letter he writ to the Bishops of *Thessaly*, exhorting them to acknowledge the Authority of *Rufus*, and no other. The Third was addressed to the Bishops of *Macedon*, *Achaia*, *Thessaly*, *Epirus*, and *Dacia*, who had been summoned by the Bishop of *Constantinople* to assemble at *Corinth*, and there deliver their Opinion concerning the Ordination of *Perigenes*. In this Letter he complains, in the strongest Terms, of so bold and daring an Attempt, asking, in the Style of a Sovereign, *What Bishop shall presume to question an Ordination approved by us? What Bishop could take upon him to assemble a Council with that View and Intent?* Read, he adds, *read the Canons, and there you will find, that the See of Rome is the First, the See of Alexandria the Second, and that of Antioch the Third. These are the Three great Sees; these the Sees which the Fathers have distinguished above the rest, with ample Privileges, and extensive Jurisdiction.* Since he refers them to the Canons to shew, that these Three Sees are superior to the See of *Constantinople*, both in Dignity and Jurisdiction, it were to be wished he had, at the same time, acquainted them by what Canons his Predecessors had exercised over the Provinces of *Illyricum* the Jurisdiction which he now so zealously asserts. But that is more than it was in his Power to do. However, in the present Letter, he threatens with Excommunication such of the *Illyrican* Bishops as shall, in Defiance of his Orders, comply with the Summons which they have received, or presume to question the Ordination of *Perigenes*. What was the Issue of this Dispute is not recorded by any of the An-

*Three Letters
of Boniface.*

*He main-
tains, with
Authority,
his pretended
Rights.*

tients; but a modern Historian * informs us, that the Emperor *Honorius* interposing, at the Request of *Boniface*, in Behalf of the See of *Rome*, prevailed upon *Theodosius* to revoke his former Law, and enact another in its room, confirming to the Apostolic See all its ancient Privileges, and injoining the *Præfectus Prætorio* to see the latter Law put in Execution. The Historian quotes this Law from the Archives of the *Roman* Church. But as it is not to be found either in the *Theodosian* or the *Justinian* Code, its Authenticity may be justly suspected.

*He revokes
the Privi-
leges granted
by Zosimus
to the Church
of Arles.*

The same Year 422. *Boniface* gave a signal Instance of his Equity and Love of Justice, which redounds greatly to his Honour, and therefore ought not to be omitted. He was sensible, that his Predecessor *Zosimus*, abusing his Authority, had acted in the Affair of the *Gallican* Bishops, in a most partial and arbitrary manner; that the See of *Arles* had no just Title to the many Privileges, which he had been induced, by his Partiality for *Patroclus*, to heap on it, at the Expence of Two other Sees; and, consequently, that it was incumbent upon himself, now that he had the Power in his Hands, to rectify by a better Use of it, what his Predecessor had done amiss. The Love of Justice therefore prevailing in him over all other Considerations, he annulled, by a Letter addressed to *Hilarius* of *Narbonne*, whatever had been done by *Zosimus* in favour of the See of *Arles*, restored and confirmed to the Sees of *Narbonne* and *Vienne* all the Rights and Privileges, which they had been so unjustly divested of, and declaring all the Grants and Concessions made to the See of *Arles* repugnant to the Canons, strictly injoining the Bishop of *Narbonne* not to suffer his Brother of *Arles* to exercise, in virtue of them, any kind of Authority within the Limits of his Jurisdiction (A). The Conduct of *Boniface* was afterwards approved, and that of *Zosimus* justly condemned, by Pope *Leo the Great*, declaring in a Letter which he writ to the Bishops of the Province of *Vienne*, that the Privileges, which the Apostolic See had granted to *Patroclus*, were afterwards revoked by a more equitable Sentence.

*A remarkable
Instance
of his Mode-
ration.*

One of the many Artifices, employed by the Popes to aggrandize their See, was to raise Divisions among their Collegues, or to foment underhand those that others had raised. For in such Divisions they

* Fleury hist. eccles. l. 24. n. 31.

(A) This Letter is dated the 2d of February 422.

never stood neuter, but, taking Part in the Quarrel, nay, and making themselves Principals, they warmly declared in favour of one Party against the other, that, by supporting them, they might be in their Turn supported by them in all their Pretensions. To this worldly Wisdom, this wicked Policy, *Boniface* was an utter Stranger: for he did not lay hold of a very favourable Opportunity, which the Division, that reigned at this time among the Bishops of *Gaul*, offered him, to improve his Authority, and extend his Jurisdiction. The Metropolitan Dignity was disputed there by the Bishops of *Vienne*, of *Narbonne*, and of *Arles*, as I have observed above. During that Contest the Clergy of *Valence*, quarreling with their Bishop *Maximus*, charged him with several Crimes; but not caring to accuse him at the Tribunal of any of the Three Competitors (for that had been acknowledging, in one of the Three, the Metropolitan Jurisdiction then in Dispute), they arraigned him at *Rome*, and summoned him to plead his Cause there before *Boniface*. Most other Popes would have eagerly embraced such an Opportunity of enlarging their Power; nay, and founded upon this particular Case the general Right of judging, and finally determining, all Causes of the like Nature. But *Boniface* declared, in his Letter to *Patroclus*, and the other Bishops of the Seven Provinces of *Gaul*, that though *Maximus* had been accused at his Tribunal, though he had not appeared to clear himself from the Crimes laid to his Charge, and might thereupon be thought guilty, and be justly condemned; yet he would not take upon him to pronounce such a Sentence, because that Bishop *ought, according to the Canons, to be judged and condemned, or absolved, in his own Province*. An Instance of Moderation that reflects no small Honour on the Memory of *Boniface*; the rather as he had before his Eyes the recent Examples of *Innocent* and *Zosimus*, the Two most ambitious and arrogant Popes the Church had yet seen. He closes his Letter with exhorting the Bishops of the Seven Provinces to assemble against the First of *November*, that *Maximus* may be cleared, if innocent, or condemned, if guilty.

Boniface died on the 4th of *November* 422. having held the Chair *His Death*
3 Years, 9 Months, and some Days. He was buried in the Cœmetery of the Martyr St. *Felicitas*, on the *Salarian* Way; where he is said to have built an Oratory. He is worshiped by the Church of *Rome* among her Saints, an Honour which few of his Predecessors better deserved. But it is a Wonder that the last Instance I have given of
his

his Moderation, and Regard to the Canons against the Claims of his See, did not exclude him out of the Calendar. His Festival is kept on the 25th of *October*; and *Bede* quotes a Book of Miracles wrought by Pope *Boniface* ¹; but whether by the First Pope of that Name, or the Second, he does not inform us, though he seems to give an intire Credit to every idle Tale that Legend contained. And here I cannot help observing, by the way, that the less necessary Miracles became the more they were multiplied. In *Bede's* Time, and the Three preceding Centuries, Men were rather inclined to believe too much than too little; and yet in no other Time was there a greater Profusion of Miracles. From an antient Epitaph quoted by *Baronius* ², it appears that *Boniface* died very old; that he had served the Church from his tender Years; that by his engaging Behaviour he put an End to the Schism, and that he relieved *Rome* in the time of a Famine.

HONORIUS, **C E L E S T I N E**, THEODOSIUS II.
VALENTINIAN III.
Forty-second BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 422.
Celestine
chosen with-
out Opposi-
tion.

UPON the Demise of *Boniface*, *Celestine* was chosen in his room, without the least Disturbance or Opposition. *Eulalius* indeed, who was still alive, and led a retired Life in the neighbouring Province of *Campania*, was tempted by his Friends in *Rome* to try his Fortune a Second Time; but he did not chuse to quit his Solitude, and involve both himself and them in new Troubles. *Celestine* was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Priscus*, and a Deacon, if not a Presbyter, at the Time of his Election ³.

Antony, one
of St. Au-
stin's Dis-
ciples, ap-
pointed by his
Interest Bi-
shop of Fus-
sala.

He was scarce warm in the Chair, when he received a Letter from *St. Austin* on the following Occasion. As the small Town, or rather Village of *Fussala*, belonging to the Bishoprick of *Hippo*, the See of *St. Austin*, stood at a great Distance from that City, the good Bishop thought he could not better consult the spiritual Welfare of the Inhabitants, who had but very lately abandoned the Party of the *Donatists*, than by causing their Town to be erected into a separate Bishoprick,

¹ Bed. in collectan. in fin.
hist. Pel. l. 2. c. 10.

² Bar. ad ann. 423. n. 8, 9.

³ Vid. Noris.

and letting them have a Bishop of their own. This was indeed abridging both his own Jurisdiction and Revenues; but as he had the Good of the People more at Heart than either, he pursued his Scheme with Success, and prevailed upon his Collegues in *Numidia* to ordain a young Man named *Antony*, whom he had brought up from his Infancy, the first Bishop of the Place, though at that time only a Reader. This Promotion, *per saltum*, as it is styled, was strictly forbidden by the Popes in their Decretals; but to their Orders St. *Austin* paid no greater Regard than the other Bishops did, though he always spoke of them, and to them, with all the Respect that was due to the first Bishop in the West. St. *Austin* had soon Occasion to repent his transgressing those Regulations, which, it must be owned, are in themselves very wise: for *Antony*, who was but a Youth, and had been kept by St. *Austin* under great Restraint, no sooner found himself free from all Controul, than abandoning himself intirely to the Indulgence of his youthful Passions, he thereby scandalized the new Catholics to such a Degree, that they let St. *Austin* know the Conduct of their Bishop, unless he was quickly removed, would certainly drive them to the last Extremity; meaning, perhaps, that they should be forced either to put him to Death, or to join anew the *Donatists*, whom they had but lately forsaken. Such Menaces alarmed St. *Austin* no less than the Conduct of his favourite Disciple surprised him. A Council was immediately summoned at his Request by the Primate of *Numidia*; *Antony* was ordered to attend it, and the Inhabitants of *Fussala* invited to lay their Complaints before the Assembly. The Summons was complied with by all, and *Antony*, by a great Number of Witnesses, convicted of Rapine, Violence, and Extortion. But, because some capital Crimes laid to his Charge were not sufficiently proved, the Fathers of the Council, out of an unseasonable Compassion, contented themselves with only condemning him to restore to the Inhabitants of *Fussala* what he had with Violence taken from them. They were even inclined to leave him in the quiet Possession of his Church; but that being warmly opposed by the People, they deprived him of the Administration, and of all Jurisdiction; but as he still retained the Episcopal Dignity, they did not chuse to remove him to another City to live there even as a private Person, lest they should be thought to transgress the Rules of the Fathers forbidding Translations^c. None could think so who were the least acquainted with those Rules.

*Antony's
scandalous
Behaviour.*

He is deprived of the Administration, and all Jurisdiction, by a Council.

^c Aug. ep. 261. de civ. Dei, l. 22. c. 8.

He appeals to Rome.

Antony satisfied, pursuant to his Sentence, the Inhabitants of *Fussala*, whom he had wronged. But pretending that he had been unjustly deprived of his Bishoprick, he resolved to appeal to *Rome*. He was sensible that his appealing at this Juncture, when the Point of Appeals was warmly disputed, as I shall relate hereafter, was Merit enough to recommend him to the Favour of that See. However, not trusting to that alone, as *Boniface* was still alive, he first engaged in his Favour his own Primate, the Primate of *Numidia*, who having been excused on account of his great Age from assisting at the Council, was not well acquainted with what had passed there. Him therefore he easily persuaded, that he had been very ill used by the Council: *For had they thought me guilty*, said he, *of the Rapine and Extortions, that were laid to my Charge, they ought, and, without all doubt, would have deposed me: they have not deposed me; and, therefore did not, as is manifest, think me guilty. If I did not deserve to be degraded from my Dignity, I did not deserve to be driven from my See.* Thus he artfully turned the Mercy that had been shewn him against those who had shewn it; and, having by that means imposed upon the Primate, persuaded him to write a Letter in his Behalf to *Boniface*. With this Letter he repaired to *Rome*, but did not meet there with the Reception he expected: for all he could obtain of *Boniface* was a Letter to the Bishops of *Numidia*, requiring them to reinstate him in his See, *provided he had represented Matters as they truly were.* This conditional Request *Antony*, on his Return to *Africa*, improved, it seems, into an absolute Command: for he threatened the People of *Fussala* with a Visit from the Imperial Troops and Commissaries, if they did not receive him as their lawful Bishop, in Compliance with the Orders of the Apostolic See^d. In the mean time *Boniface* dying, and *Celestine* being chosen in his room, the People of *Fussala* apprehending, as St. *Austin* writes, greater Evils from a Catholic Bishop, after their Return to the Church, than they had done from a Catholic Emperor during their Separation, writ a most pathetic Letter to the new Pope, intreating him to pity their Condition, to curb *Antony* in his unchristian Attempts, and to redeem them, by his Authority, from the Calamities which they had Reason to apprehend from that Prelate's Cruelty and Ambition. In the same Letter they imputed all their Misfortunes to *Austin*, who had set over them such a Bishop. And this *Austin*

Prevails upon the Primate to write in his Behalf to Rome.

How received by Boniface.

The People of Fussala write against him to Celestine.

was so far from taking amiss, that he owned the Charge, and even backed their Request with a Letter of his own, conjuring *Celestine*, *Are seconded by St. Austin.* by the Memory of St. *Peter, who abhorred all Violence and Tyranny*, not to use either with the People of *Fussala*, who, he said, had but too much Reason not to submit tamely to the galling Yoke from which they had been so lately delivered. He adds, that if, in spite of all his Endeavours and Remonstrances, he should still have the Mortification to see the Church of *Fussala* plundered and tyrannically oppressed by one whom he had raised to that See, he should think himself obliged to atone for the Share which he had in his Crimes, by resigning his own ^e. *Celestine* was so affected with these Letters, *Celestine ac-* that he immediately acquiesced in the Sentence of the Council of *Numidia*; and the new Bishoprick of *Fussala* being suppressed, that *Numidia.* ^{Sentence of the Council of} the Town, with its District, was again subjected to the See of *Hippo*. From these Letters, that were written by the *Africans* on this Occasion, it appears, that the Bishops of *Rome* used, in those Days, to send some of their Ecclesiastics into *Africa*, to see the Sentences, which they had given, executed there; and that those Ecclesiastics came with Orders from the Court for the Civil Magistrates to assist them, where their Assistance should be required, or thought necessary.

The Schism formed by *Eulalius* was not, it seems, yet quite extinct in *Rome* in the Year 425. for I find a Law of that Year, dated *An End put to the Schism formed by Eulalius.* the 17th of *July*, and addressed to *Faustus* Prefect of the City, commanding all *Manichees*, Heretics, Schismatics, and Sects of every Denomination, to be driven out of *Rome*; but more especially those, who, separating themselves from the Communion of the *Venerable Pope*, kept alive a dangerous Schism. Over these *Faustus* is enjoined to keep a watchful Eye, to summon them to communicate with *Celestine*, and, if they did not comply with the Summons in Twenty Days, to banish them an Hundred Miles from *Rome* ^f. This Law was issued by *Placidia*, who, upon the Death of her Brother *Honorius*, which happened in the Month of *August* 423. and that of the Usurper *John*, killed in 425. governed the Western Empire, as Guardian to her Son *Valentinian* III. The Law she issued, probably put an End to the Schism; for no further Mention is made of it by any Historian.

^e Aug. *ibid.*^f Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 184.

Apiarius, a
Presbyter of
Sicca, appeals
to Rome.

Zosimus re-
stores him to
the Rank
from which
he had been
degraded.

To support
his Preten-
sions, endea-
vours to im-
pose upon the
African Bi-
shops the Ca-
nons of Sar-
dica for the
Canons of
Nice.

It was in the Time of *Celestine*, and the following Year 426. the Fourth of his Pontificate, that the Bishops of *Africa*, quite tired out with the daily Encroachments of the Bishops of *Rome*, and not able to brook the despotic and arbitrary Power which they had begun to exercise over them, took the no less laudable than necessary Resolution of breaking their Chains before they were thoroughly riveted, and asserting their antient Liberty, by effectually removing what had endangered it, the pernicious Abuse of appealing to *Rome*. The Incident, which gave Occasion to that Resolution was, the Appeal of a Presbyter of *Sicca*, named *Apiarius*, who, being convicted of many Crimes, and thereupon degraded and excommunicated by his own Bishop *Urbanus*, appealed to *Zosimus* then Bishop of *Rome*. *Zosimus*, who missed no Opportunity of acquiring new Power, or improving the Power which he had acquired, not only received the Appeal, but, without ever hearing the other Side, restored *Apiarius* both to his Rank, and the Communion of the Church. This was the boldest Attempt that had yet been made upon the Rights and Liberties of the *African* Churches; and therefore the Bishops in those Parts, all uniting in a Cause that was common to all, loudly complained of such an arbitrary Act, as an open Violation of the Canons of the Church; forbidding those, who had been excluded from the Communion by their own Bishop, to be admitted to it by any other. *Zosimus*, finding the *African* Bishops had taken the Alarm, and were determined to restrain his Power within the Limits prescribed to it by the Canons, and, on the other hand, being well apprised, that he could allege no Canons, that had ever been received by them, to countenance the Power which he claimed, and had exercised, thought it would be no great Crime to recur to Fraud on so urgent an Occasion. Agreeably to this Scheme, he caused Two Canons to be transcribed from the Council of *Sardica*; the one allowing Presbyters and Deacons, when rashly excommunicated by their own Bishops, to appeal to the neighbouring Bishops; and the other, authorizing the Appeal of all Bishops to the Bishop of *Rome*. Had the *Africans* received these Canons, he intended to have justified, by the former, his judging and absolving *Apiarius*, notwithstanding the Distance between *Rome* and *Numidia*; and, in virtue of the latter, to get the Canon revoked, which the *African* Bishops had lately made, for-

bidding, on Pain of Excommunication, Appeals *beyond Sea*; that is, to *Rome*. Nothing less than an intire Subjection of the *African* Churches to the See of *Rome* would satisfy the boundless Ambition of *Zosimus*; and such a Subjection would infallibly have ensued, had the Two above-mentioned Canons been received by the *African* Bishops in the Sense which *Zosimus* did, and seemed determined to make others, put upon them. But the main Point was, to persuade the Bishops of *Africa* to admit such Canons, especially at so critical a Juncture. The Council of *Sardica* had never been received there: nay, they were, it seems, at this very Time, utter Strangers both to that Council and its Canons; so that it was useless to quote them as such. Of this *Zosimus* was aware; and therefore, as he stuck at nothing that stood in the way of his Ambition, he resolved, by one of the most impudent and bare-faced Impostures recorded in History, to try whether he could not impose upon the Bishops of *Africa* the Canons of *Sardica* for the Canons of *Nice*. With this knavish View, ^{With this View he sends a solemn Embassy into Africa.} and to render the Imposture more solemn, and less suspected, he dispatched into *Africa* Three Legates, viz. *Faustus* Bishop of *Potentia* in *Picenum*, and Two *Roman* Presbyters, *Philippus* and *Afellus*. Their Instructions, contained in a Letter addressed to themselves, were, to require of the *African* Bishops a strict Observance of the Two above-mentioned Canons of *Nice*; to complain of their repairing so often to Court; and to desire them not to communicate with *Urbanus* of *Sicca*, who had deposed *Apiarius*, or even to send him to *Rome*, if he refused to correct what he had done amiss ^b; that is, we may suppose, if he did not restore *Apiarius* to his Rank, and the Communion of the Church.

With these Instructions the Legates set out for *Africa*, where they no sooner arrived, than a Council was convened, at which assisted, among the rest, *Alypius* Bishop of *Tagaste*, St. *Austin's* great Friend, and *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*. When the Legates first appeared before the Council, the Bishops desired them to lay their Instructions before the Assembly; which they were at first unwilling to do, contenting themselves with declaring their Commission by Word of Mouth. But the *Africans* knowing whom they had to deal with, and thereupon pressing them to communicate their Instructions in Writing, they complied at last, and produced the Letter

^a Concil. t. 2. p. 1137—1144.

his scandalous Life, he was ordered, by the Council, to quit that City; but, at the same time, allowed to exercise the Functions of his Office in any other Place¹. This Medium the Council wisely chose between the Two opposite Sentences; that of *Urbanus* excommunicating and deposing him, and that of *Zosimus* restoring him to the Communion and the Priesthood. Such was the Issue of the Appeal of *Apianus*: and I leave the Reader to judge, whether *Baronius* should boast of it as he does. And now nothing remained, but to acquaint *Boniface* with the Acts and Resolutions of the Council; and this was done accordingly by a Letter, which they all signed, and delivered to the Legates. In that Letter they begged *Boniface* to procure, from the East, authentic Copies of the Canons of *Nice*, promising to observe the Canons in Dispute, till such Copies were procured; but this upon Condition, that if those Canons were not found to be genuine, they should recover their antient Privileges, and not be forced to *submit to a Yoke, which Ambition alone could impose*^m.

With this Letter the Three Legates set out from *Africa*, on their Return to *Rome*. Upon their Departure, the *African* Bishops writ, agreeably to the Resolution they had taken, to *Atticus* of *Constantinople* and *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, begging they would cause to be transcribed, and sent into *Africa*, the most authentic Copies they had of the Canons of *Nice*. With this Request the Two Bishops readily complied; and the same Year 419. the Messengers sent to *Alexandria* and *Constantinople* returned with the wished-for Copies, and very friendly and obliging Answers, which are still extantⁿ, from *Cyril* and *Atticus*, addressed *To Aurelius, to Valentine, and to all the Bishops of Africa assembled at Carthage*. As for the Bishop of *Antioch*, the *Africans* probably did not write to him; at least, they had no Answer from him (A). They immediately compared the Two Copies, sent them from the East, with their own, especially with that which *Cæcilianus* of *Carthage* had brought with him from *Nice*, where he had assisted at the Council, and found them agree in every Particular, without any Trace of the Canons that *Zosimus*

The African Bishops write into the East for authentic Copies of the Council of Nice.

The pretended Canons not found in those Copies, and the Dispute dropt by Boniface.

¹ Concil. t. 2. p. 1137—1145. ^m Ibid. p. 1137—1141. ⁿ Ibid. t. 2. p. 1144.

(A) It is very observable, that the *Alexandrian* Copy was originally sent from *Rome* by *Marcus* Bishop of that City, upon a Complaint made by the *Egyptian* Bishops,

that the *Arians* had burnt all the Copies of the Council of *Nice* that were then found in *Alexandria*.

had produced : upon which they dispatched the same Ecclesiastics with them to *Rome*, whom they had sent into the East. *Boniface*, who was an Enemy to all Fraud and Imposition, acquiesced ; the Dispute was dropped ; so that the Canon, which the *African* Bishops had lately made, forbidding Appeals to *Rome*, and *Zosimus* had thus fraudulently attempted to defeat, remained in its full Vigour ; and the Churches of *Africa* were suffered quietly to enjoy their antient Rights and Privileges, so long as *Boniface* lived. But in the Pontificate of his Successor *Celestine*, the Storm broke out anew.

It may not be improper here to observe, that *Zosimus*, though wholly bent on exalting his See, and straining every Prerogative to the highest Pitch, yet did not presume to exalt it above the Canons ; did not claim the disputed Power of receiving Appeals, of judging, deciding, &c. independently of the Canons. And was not this owing to himself, but for the Canons, to be upon the Level with the other Bishops his Collegues ; at least in respect to this Point ? Is not the scandalous Method, which he took on this Occasion to extend his own Power, and curtail that of the *African* Bishops, a Demonstration of his deriving his Claim from the Canons alone ? Could there ever offer a better Opportunity, could there ever occur a more urgent Necessity, of asserting a *Divine Right* ? As *Zosimus* therefore never asserted, nor even mentioned, such a Right, we may well conclude, that he either had no Notion of it, or did not think it sufficiently grounded to be of any Use in the present Dispute. And yet this *Divine Right* of receiving Appeals from all Parts of the World, of constituting, confirming, judging, censuring, suspending, deposing, removing, restoring Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastics, is now held, as an Article of Faith, by all true *Roman* Catholics ; insomuch that to dispute such an Article, would be no less dangerous, in Countries where the Inquisition prevails, than to dispute any Article of the *Apostolic* or *Nicene* Creed. It is true, *Innocent* the First, as the Advocates for the See of *Rome* observe, had claimed, by *Divine Right*, the Power of finally deciding all Controversies. But he himself seems to have been sensible, that he had gone too far. For what else could have induced him to restrain that Claim, as soon as he had set it up, to *Matters of Faith alone* ? Had *Zosimus* thought the general Claim capable of being maintained, he need not have recurred, as he did,

• See p. 342.

to Fraud and Imposture. The Pretensions of *Innocent*, in their utmost Extent, were indeed renewed, in Process of Time, by his Successors; but not till the intolerable Abuse, which they made of the Power granted them by the Canons of *Sardica*, on which they founded all their Usurpations, obliged other Councils to revoke those Canons; and then it was, that, no other Means being left of maintaining their ill-gotten Power, they revived the Claim of *Innocent*, and, challenging no longer by the Canons, but by *Divine Right*, the Prerogative of receiving Appeals, they put it out of the Power of all future Councils to abridge or restrain it.

Whether Zosimus ignorantly mistook the Canons of Sardica for those of Nice.

The Three Cardinals *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, and *Noris*, thinking the Imputation of Ignorance less injurious to the Memory of *Zosimus*, less derogatory to the Dignity of the Apostolic See, than that of Fraud and Imposture, suppose him to have ignorantly mistaken the Canons of *Sardica* for the Canons of *Nice*; which is supposing, that in the whole Archives of the *Roman* Church there was not a single genuine Copy of the Council of *Nice*, or that *Zosimus* had never perused it; and to suppose either is highly absurd. Besides, the whole Conduct of the Legate, the Pains he took to divert the *African* Bishops from consulting other Copies, and, when he could not prevail, his recurring to *unwritten* Canons; and, as that too proved ineffectual, his striving by all possible means to persuade the *Africans* to leave to the Pope the Care of examining other Copies, and to acquiesce, without any further Inquiry, in what should thereupon be determined by him, plainly shews, that the Legate was privy to the Fraud, and apprehended a Detection.

Apiarius excommunicated anew. He appeals again to Rome, and is restored by Celestine, and sent back attended by the Legate Faustinus.

Apiarius, being obliged to quit *Sicca*, as I have related above, retired to *Tabraca*, another City of *Numidia*, and led there so scandalous a Life, that he was excommunicated anew. Hereupon he appealed again to *Rome*, and *Celestine*, which is very surprising, notwithstanding the vigorous Opposition which his Predecessors had, but very lately, met with from the *African* Bishops, in attempting to restore this very Presbyter, not only declared him innocent, and admitted him to his Communion, but sent him back into *Africa*, attended by the Legate *Faustinus*, who was ordered to see him reinstated. The *Africans* were but too well acquainted already with the Presumption and Arrogance of the Bishops of *Rome*; and yet such an insolent Act quite surprised them. For *Celestine* had neither examined the Crimes, which *Apiarius* was charged with, nor heard the

the Witnesses, nor even condescended to let them know, that he intended to judge him anew. He writ, indeed, Two Letters to them on this Occasion, but which seemed merely designed to insult them: for, by the First, he gave them Notice of the Arrival of *Apiarius* at *Rome*, which, he said, had given him great Joy; and by the Second, which was brought by *Faustinus*, he acquainted them, that he was overjoyed to have found him innocent. From this despotic and extraordinary way of acting, the *African* Bishops concluded, that *Celestine* was determined to keep no Measures with them, and that nothing less than an intire Subjection of the *African* Churches to the See of *Rome* would satisfy his Ambition. But they were resolved to maintain, at all Events, the Liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. A General Council was therefore assembled, and *Apiarius* summoned to attend. He obeyed the Summons, and appeared before the Council at the Time appointed, but in Company with *Faustinus*, shewing thereby, that he placed greater Confidence in him than in his own Innocence. *Faustinus* spoke first, and pressed, with great Warmth, the Fathers of the Assembly to re-admit *Apiarius* to their Communion, since he had been declared innocent by the Apostolic See, and admitted by *Celestine* to the Communion of the *Roman* Church. The Bishops replied, that in *Africa* *Apiarius* had been found guilty, and that in *Africa* his Innocence must be made to appear, before they could receive him again to their Communion. As they stuck to this Point, *Faustinus* undertook his Cause; but, instead of proving, as he had promised to do, or even attempting to prove his Innocence, he inveighed, from the Beginning of his Speech to the End, and in very harsh and opprobrious Language, against the Council, and all the Members, who composed it. *Apiarius* was sensible, that the Speech of *Faustinus*, instead of reconciling the *African* Bishops to him, had incensed them more than ever against him; and therefore thinking it adviseable to take the Cause into his own Hands, he stood up as soon as the other had done; and, with a Modesty capable, as he thought, of atoning for the Insolence of *Faustinus*, endeavoured to clear himself from the Crimes that had been laid to his Charge. When he had spoken, the Witnesses against him were heard; and the Tryal lasted Three whole Days, *Apiarius* striving, with great Art and Subtilty, to invalidate the Depositions, and *Faustinus* prompting him when he was at a Stand. He might, perhaps, have escaped Condemnation, partly by his own Craft and Address, partly

A General Council assembled. Apiarius appears before it, with Faustinus.

The Legate's insolent Conduct.

Apiarius pleads his own Cause.

Faustinus assists him.

Apiarius,
struck with
sudden Re-
morse, owns
the Crimes
laid to his
Charge.

by the powerful Protection of the Bishop of *Rome*, had he been able to withstand the Stings of his own Conscience. But, on the Fourth Day, when *Faustinus* began to triumph as sure of Victory, *Apiarius*, struck with sudden Remorse, damped at once all his Joy, by voluntarily owning, to the great Surprize of all present, and the unspeakable Confusion of *Faustinus*, every Crime with which he had been charged. Those Crimes the Fathers have thought fit to wrap in Oblivion; and indeed it was not proper that Posterity should know them; since they were *heinous, incredible, such as ought not to be mentioned, and drew Sighs and Tears from the whole Assembly* *p.* And this is the Man whom Two Popes, both now worshiped as Saints in the Church of *Rome*, absolved as innocent; and, as innocent, would have supported with Force and Violence, had not Providence almost miraculously interposed, to prevent the Evils that would have ensued. They could not but know, that *Apiarius* was guilty; at least they did not know, that he was innocent. But as he had been declared guilty in *Africa*, their declaring him innocent, whether he was so or not, gave them an Opportunity of renewing the Attempts of the Apostolic See on the Liberties of the *African* Churches; and it was, no doubt, with this View that they absolved and restored him. But, as he was not hardened enough in Iniquity for their Purpose, he owned himself guilty, in spite of their Judgment declaring him innocent, and thereby defeated their Schemes for the present. For the *Africans*, now sensible that there was no Wickedness which the Bishops of *Rome* would not countenance, in order to establish their Power in *Africa*, to the utter Subversion of all Ecclesiastical Order and Discipline there, thought themselves bound, as they tendered the Welfare, Peace, and Tranquillity of the Churches committed to their Care, to act with that Vigour and Steadiness, which so urgent an Occasion seemed to require. Accordingly they first absolutely cut off *Apiarius* from the Communion of the Church; then renewed, in stronger Terms than ever, the Canon, which had given so great Offence at *Rome*, prohibiting, on Pain of Excommunication, Appeals *beyond Sea*, under any Pretence whatsoever; and this Prohibition they extended to Ecclesiastics of all Conditions and Ranks. *Faustinus* blustered, vapoured, threatened; but all in vain. The Bishops not only signed, all to a Man, the above-mentioned Canon, but writ a Synodal Letter to *Celestine*, acquainting him with what had

The African
Bishops re-
new the Ca-
non, forbid-
ding Appeals
to Rome.

passed in the Case of *Apiarius*, and earnestly intreating him not to give Ear for the future to those, who should have recourse to him from *Africa*, nor receive to his Communion such as they had excluded from theirs: *For we must let your Venerableness* (Venerabilitas tua) *know, say they, that it has been so established by the Council of Nice. And though mention is there made of Clerks only, and Laymen; yet there is no room to doubt but it was their Intention, that such a Regulation should extend to Bishops too; and it would be a great Irregularity, should your Holiness* (a Title then common to all Bishops) *over-hastily and unduly admit to your Communion Bishops, who have been excommunicated in their own Provinces. Your Holiness therefore must not receive the Presbyters, and other Clerks, who, to avoid the Punishment, which they deserve, recur to you; the rather as we know of no Constitutions thus derogatory to the Authority of our Churches; and the Council of Nice has subjected the Bishops themselves to the Judgment of their Metropolitan. The Fathers of that Council have decreed, with great Wisdom and Equity, that all Disputes should be finally determined in the Places where they began, being sensible, that the Grace of the Holy Spirit, necessary for judging rightly, would not be wanting in any Province; especially as every Man, who thinks himself injured, may apply for Redress, if he pleases, to the Synod of his own Province, or to a national Council. Would it not be Presumption in any of us to suppose or imagine, that God will inspire a particular Person with the Spirit of Justice, and refuse it to many Bishops assembled in Council? And how can a Judgment, given out of the Country, and beyond Sea, be right, where the necessary Witnesses cannot be present, by reason of their Sex, of their Age, or of some other Impediment? As for your sending Legates, we find no such Ordinance in any Council, nor in the Writings of the Fathers. As for what you have sent us by our Colleague Faustinus, as a Canon of the Council of Nice, we must let you know, that no such Canon is to be found in the genuine and uncorrupt Copies of that Council, which have been transcribed and sent us by our Fellow-Bishop Cyril of Alexandria, and the Reverend Atticus of Constantinople. Those Copies we sent to Boniface, your Predecessor of worthy Memory. We therefore earnestly beg you would send no more Legates, nor Ecclesiastics, to execute your Judgments here, lest you should seem to introduce worldly Pride and Arrogance (typhum sæculi) into the Church of Christ. They conclude with in-*

*Their Letter
to Celestine.*

treating him not to suffer *Faustinus* to continue any longer among them. *Celestine*, finding the Spirit with which they acted, and sensible that it would be useless to employ Force at this Juncture, thought it advisable to acquiesce for the present, and wait till a more favourable Opportunity should offer for him, or his Successors, to renew the Attempt (A).

Celestine
declares
Translations
lawful.

The following Year 427. *Sisinius* Bishop of *Constantinople* being dead, the Bishops in those Parts were for appointing *Proculus* in his room. But, as *Proculus* had been ordained before, though never installed Bishop of *Cyzicus*, they were under some Apprehension, lest his Promotion to the See of *Constantinople* should be deemed a Breach of the *Canons*, forbidding Translations. But *Celestine*, whom they consulted on this Occasion, delivered them from that Apprehension, declaring, in a Letter, which he writ at this time to *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *John* of *Antioch*, and *Rufus* of *Theffalonica*, that they might safely place on one See a Bishop named to another, nay, and a Bishop who actually governed another; that is, he declared Translations lawful (B).

The

* Concil. t. 2. p. 1148, 1149.

* Socr. l. 7. c. 29.

(A) *Schellstrate* would make us believe, that *Gregory the Great* prevailed upon the *African* Bishops to revoke the Canon forbidding the Presbyters and inferior Clergy to appeal to *Rome* (1); and *Davidius*, That the *Africans* changed their Minds with respect to the Appeals of Bishops, as soon as they were informed, that such Appeals had been allowed, and approved of, by the Council of *Sardica* (2). But neither alleges any solid Reason, or even Conjecture, to prove Facts of such Importance; nay, what *Davidius* advances is certainly false, since the *Canons*, forbidding all Appeals to *Rome*, made at this time, were still quoted among the other *Canons* of the *African Collection* in 825. and confirmed by a Council held at *Carthage* that Year (3). Some pretend that *Celestine* separated himself on this Occasion from the *African* Bishops, and that this Separation continued between their Churches, and that of *Rome*, till the Beginning of the VIIth Century, when *Eulalius* of *Carthage*, and his Collegues, desirous of putting an

End to the Schism, revoked all the *Canons* that had been made in 426. derogatory to the Rights of the *Roman* See (4). This they advance upon the Authority of a Piece commonly ascribed to Pope *Boniface* II. But that Piece is so evidently supposititious, that *Baronius* himself is forced to give it up.

(B) Against Translations there may be Reasons in Policy; but there can be none in Conscience; and none that are at all to the Purpose, have been alleged either by the Councils, or Fathers, though the former have exerted all their Authority to prevent them, and the latter all their Oratory to make them appear criminal. The Councils of *Arles*, of *Nice*, of *Alexandria*, of *Sardica*, of *Chalcedon*, of *Antioch*, forbid them on the severest Penalties the Church could inflict. The Council of *Sardica* by its First Canon deprived such Bishops, as should change their Churches, even of the Lay-Communion; and because some pleaded, or at least the Council apprehended they might plead, the Desire and Request

(1) Schel. Ecclef. Afric. p. 50.

(2) Dav. jugemens Canoniques des Evêques,

p. 663, 664.

(3) Concil. t. 4. p. 1636.

(4) Van Espen. in Can. p. 216.

The same Year *Celestine* writ to *Perigenes* of *Corinth*, *Donatus* His Letter to of *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*, and *Basil* of *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, all Three ^{the Metro-} ~~Metropolitans of~~ ^{Illyricum.}

of the People ; to leave no room for such an Excuse, the Council by its Second Canon deprived those, who should allege it, of the Lay-Communion, even at the Point of Death (1). The Council of *Alexandria*, under St. *Athanasius*, in their Epistle to all the Catholic Bishops, speak thus of *Eusebius*, who had been translated from *Berytus* to *Nicomedia* : *Eusebius did not reflect on the Admonition of the Apostle, Art thou bound to a Wife? Do not seek to be loosed. For if it be said of a Woman, how much more of a Church? To which if one is tied, he ought not to seek another; that he may not be likewise found an Adulterer, according to the Scripture* (2). What Analogy between a Wife, and a Bishoprick? The Bishops of that Assembly were even of Opinion, that *Eusebius*, by abandoning his former Church had annulled his Episcopacy. In the Synod under *Mennas* it was laid to the Charge of *Anthimus*, that being Bishop of *Trebisond*, he had adulterously seized on the See of *Constantinople* (3). In the same Strain have the Fathers declaimed against Translations, whenever an Opportunity offered of bringing in that favourite Topic ; for the Canons and Decisions of the Councils were only the private Opinions of the major Part of the Bishops, who composed them. They generally inveigh against that *adulterous Traffick*, as if they supposed a Bishop to be married to the Church, which he was ordained to serve, or tied to it by Bonds no less indissoluble than a Husband to his Wife : And it was upon that Supposition, that they charged with Adultery those, who passed from one Church to another. But that Supposition none of them have been able to make good either from Scripture or Reason. As for the Command of the Apostle in his Letter to *Timothy*, *A Bishop must be the Husband of one Wife*, which some of them have interpreted as levelled against Translations ; the far greater Part both of the Fathers and Councils have in that Passage understood the Word *Wife*,

not in a metaphorical, but a natural Sense, and thereupon excluded from the Episcopal Dignity such as had been twice married. But allowing St. *Paul* to have meant a Church by the Word *Wife*, the most obvious and natural Interpretation we can give to his Words, is, that he there forbids Pluralities of Bishopricks, which were once very common in the Church of *Rome*.

But whatever Reasons the Fathers and Councils may have alleged, or could allege, against Translations, they have themselves defeated them all by the contrary Practice. For some of the greatest Saints, and Lights of the Church, have been either translated, or approved and promoted the Translations of others. The famous *Methodius*, who suffered under *Dioclesian* in the Year 311. or 312. passed from the Sea of *Olympus* in *Lycia* to that of *Tyre* (4). *Eustathius*, who is supposed to have presided at the Council of *Nice*, was translated from *Berea* to *Antioch*, that is, from a small See to the second in the East (5) ; nay, *Sozomen* ascribes this Translation to the Council of *Nice* itself (6). *Syderius*, Bishop of *Erythra* in *Libya*, was translated by *Athanasius* to *Ptolemais*, the Metropolis of the whole *Pentapolis* (7). *Euphronius* Bishop of *Colonia*, a small Town on the Borders of *Armenia*, was by a Synod, consisting of all the Orthodox Bishops of that Province, translated to the Metropolitan See of *Nicopolis* ; that Translation was highly applauded by St. *Basil*, who thought it owing not to human Prudence, but to a particular Inspiration of the Holy Ghost (8) ; the *Arians* being very powerful in that City, and no Man more fit to make head against them than *Euphronius*. The Inhabitants of *Colonia* were very unwilling to part with their Bishop ; and the Ecclesiastics there even threatened to join the *Arian* Party, if *Euphronius* was taken from them (9). But they were in the End prevailed upon by St. *Basil* to acquiesce in the Will of God, who, said he, had inspired the Pre-

(1) Concil. t. 2. p. 628. (2) Syn. Alex. apud Athan. apol. 2. (3) Concil. sub Menn. p. 9. (4) Hier. vir. ill. c. 83. Socr. l. 6. c. 13. (5) Theod. l. 1. c. 6. Theoph. Eutych. & alii. (6) Soz. l. 1. c. 2. (7) Synes. ep. 67. (8) Basil. ep. 292. (9) Id. ibid.

Metropolitans of *Illyricum*, recommending to them an intire Submission to the See of *Rome*, and to that of *Theſſalonica*; *Rufus*, who preſided there, having been appointed by him to determine, in his Name, all Diſputes that might ariſe among them. He lets them know, that, in virtue of the Submission, which they owed to the

lates with ſuch a Reſolution (10). From theſe (and many other Inſtances might be alleged) it is manifeſt, that the Fathers ſpoke like mere Declaimers, when they compared a Biſhop, who left one Church, and took another, to a Huſband, who abandoned his Wife, and married another Woman. But indeed they only inveighed thus, generally ſpeaking, againſt Tranſlations, when the Perſons tranſlated were of the Party, which they oppoſed; it was then Adultery, it was forfeiting the Epiſcopal Dignity, to paſs from one Church to another. But when they apprehended, that ſuch Changes could any-ways promote the Cauſe which they had eſpouſed and maintained, thoſe Changes were thereby ſanctified, and owing to a particular Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt.

Pope *Gelaſius II.* excuſed Tranſlations by the Example of *St. Peter*. *Who dares to maintain*, ſays he, *that St. Peter, the Prince of the Apoſtles, was to blame, for changing the See of Antioch for that of Rome* (11)? And who dares to maintain, that any Biſhop is to blame for doing what the Prince of the Apoſtles had done before him? But were there no other Inſtances, beſides that of *St. Peter*, to give a Sanction to Tranſlations, I ſhould readily grant them never to have been allowed in the Church. For *St. Peter* never was Biſhop of *Rome*, as I have ſhewn already (12); and ſome of the Reaſons, proving him never to have been Biſhop of *Rome*, make equally againſt his pretended Epiſcopacy of *Antioch*. Moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers indeed ſuppoſe him to have been Biſhop of *Antioch*; but *St. Luke* is quite ſilent on that Head, though within the Compaſs of his Hiſtory, as *Jerom* obſerved (13); and his Silence ought to be of more Weight, than the Authority of Writers, who lived ſome Ages after. *Origen*, who flouriſhed in the Third Century,

was the firſt who mentioned *St. Peter's See of Antioch*, ſaying, It was held by *Ignatius* after him (14). *Origen* was copied by *Eusebius*, and *Eusebius* by thoſe, who came after him.

On Tranſlations a modern Writer of the Court of *Rome* reaſons thus: “ Tranſlations have been ſeverely cenſured by the Fathers, and often condemned both by the Popes and the Councils. But neither can the Councils tie the Hands of the Popes, nor can one Pope tie the Hands of another. The Power of diſpenſing with all canonical Impediments the Popes hold by Divine Right; which therefore can only be reſtrained by divine Authority. However, Tranſlations ought not to be allowed, but on moſt urgent Occaſions; and it is in order to prevent them, that the Popes have adopted the wiſe Regulations of ſome well-governed Republics, where certain Goods are not prohibited, but loaded with ſuch Cuſtoms as are next to a Prohibition (15).” The Canons were made for the Good of the Church, and the People; and therefore cannot be binding when they oppoſe either. Hence it follows, that there being in ſuch Caſes no Room left for a Diſpenſation, nothing ought in Juſtice to be exacted for it. And yet, let the Occaſion be ever ſo urgent, a very conſiderable Sum muſt be paid into the Apoſtolic Chamber for the pretended Diſpenſation. If the Occaſion is not urgent, they allow the Canons to be binding; and what can induce the Popes to diſpenſe with them, but that, which one of them taxed thoſe Biſhops with, who ſeek Tranſlations, *Avarice, filthy Lucre, and an ungodly Deſire of greater Wealth* (16)? as if the Canons had been made with no other View but to give the Popes an Opportunity of filling their Coſſers by granting Leave to tranſgreſs them.

(10) Id. ibid. & ep. 290. 293.

(13) Hier. in Gal. ii. Romana.

(14) Orig. in Luc. hom. 6.

(16) Anaſt. ep. 2.

(11) Gelaſ. II. ep. 1.

(12) See above, p. 5.

(15) Contius de Curia

See of *Theſſalonica*, and he required of them, they were to ordain no Biſhops, aſſemble no Councils, without the Knowledge and Conſent of *Rufus*; which was reſtraining to the See of *Theſſalonica*, that is, engroſſing to himſelf (for the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* acted only as his Vicar), the Privileges, which the Council of *Nice* had granted to all Metropolitans. It is obſervable, that in this very Letter *Celeſtine* affects an intire Obedience to the Canons of the Church. *We ought*, ſays he, *to ſubject our Will to the Rules, and not the Rules to our Will; we ought to conform to the Canons, and ſtrictly obſerve what they preſcribe* *. But he did not govern himſelf by this Maxim upon other Occaſions.

The following Year 428. he wrote a long Letter to the Biſhops of the Provinces of *Vienne* and *Narbonne*, againſt ſeveral Abuses that prevailed in thoſe Parts. This Letter he begins quite in the Style of a modern Pope: *As I am*, ſays he, *appointed by God to watch over his Church, it is incumbent upon me every-where to root out evil Practices, and introduce good ones in their room; for my Paſtoral Vigilance is reſtrained by no Bounds, but extends to all Places, where Chriſt is known and adored*. Thus, under the Name of *Paſtoral Vigilance* he extends, at once, his Authority and Jurisdiction over all the Churches of the Chriſtian World. The firſt Abuse he complains of was a particular Dreſs aſſumed by ſome Biſhops, wearing, in Imitation of the Monks, a Cloke and Girdle. With this Novelty *Celeſtine* finds great Fault, and exhorts the Biſhops to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the People by their Doctrine, and not by their Garments, by the Sanctity of their Manners, and not by the Mode of their Dreſs, by the internal Purity of their Souls, and not by the external Attire of their Bodies. What a large Field would the ſo many different and ridiculous Habits of the Monks and Friars, the coſtly Attire of Biſhops and Cardinals, and, above all, the gorgeous and ſtately Apparel of *Celeſtine's* own Succeſſors, have opened for his Zeal, had he lived in our Days! He pleaſantly adds, that if they underſtood, in a literal Senſe, the Words of our Saviour, *Let your Loins be girded about* †, they ought to interpret other Paſſages after the ſame manner, and never appear without Lamps and Staves in their Hands. And was not this condemning, at leaſt ridiculing, the Monkish Habits, an eſſential Part of

* Coll. Rom. per Holſten. p. 85 —87.

† Luke xii. 25.

which is the Girdle (A)? The other Abuses, which *Celestine* wanted to have redressed, have nothing new in them, or that has not been mentioned before in this History; and therefore I omit repeating them here.

*The Pelagian
Doctrine pre-
vails in Bri-
tain.*

About this time the *Pelagian* Doctrine began to prevail, almost universally, in *Britain*, being preached here either by the Natives, who had adhered to their Countryman *Pelagius* abroad, and were returned home, or by others, who, finding themselves, in virtue of the Imperial Laws, every-where persecuted on the Continent, had fled to this Island for Shelter. The leading Man of the Party here was one *Agricola*, the Son of a *British* Bishop named *Severianus* ^a. But that *Severianus* himself, or any of his Collegues, countenanced their Doctrine, is not vouched by any of the Antients. *Fastidius* indeed, a *British* Writer, who flourished at this time, betrays, in his Writings, a strong Bias to the *Pelagian* Tenets. But it may be justly questioned whether he was a Bishop. For in the Treatise which he wrote on the Duties of a Christian Life, he makes Excuses for taking upon him to instruct others; which a Bishop would hardly have done, that being his Province and Duty (B). However, if the *British* Bishops did not countenance the *Pelagian* Doctrine, neither did they oppose it, at least with the Vigour they might; else it had never made, in so short a time, the Progress it did. The Catholics, having no Prospect of Relief from their own Pastors, had recourse to those of *Gaul*;

*The Britons
recur to the*

^a Prosp. chr.

(A) From this Passage it is manifest, that in those Days the Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics, were not yet distinguished by their Dress from the Laity, at least when they were not actually discharging the Functions of their Office. Whether they used even then any particular Dress or Attire, may be justly questioned. *Dionysius Exiguus* thinks they did not (1); and *F. Sirmond* is of the same Opinion. For, according to *Sirmond*, the Ecclesiastics used no other Dress in the Church, but that which they wore daily out of the Church. However, as they reserved the best Habits they had for the Sacred Functions, and used them on no other Occasion, when Modes in Dress began to alter, the Fashion changed before they were worn out. Thus, by Degrees, the Dress, which they used in the Church, va-

ried from their common Dress, as well as from that of the People; the new Habits for the Service of the Church being made after the Mode of the antient, in which they were accustomed to perform their Functions. *Anastasius*, *Platina*, and *Baronius*, give us particular Accounts, I may say, the History of every Part of the Mass-Priest's Dress, instituted, according to them, and used long before this time.

(B) Besides, the *Benedictines*, in their Edition of the Works of St. *Austin*, assure us, that, in a very antient Manuscript Copy of *Gennadius*, *Fastidius* is not styled Bishop, the Word *Bishop* being added to the original Copy in a much fresher Hand. And yet most of our modern Writers not only suppose him to have been Bishop, but Bishop of *London* (2).

(1) Biblioth. Jur. Can. per Justel. t. 1. p. 210. (2) Vid. Miræum in not. ad Gennad.

who,

who, being affected with their Complaints, immediately summoned a Gallican Bi-
 great Council, and chose, with one Voice, St. *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and St. *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes*, to pass over into *Britain*, ^{shops, who} ~~of~~ ^{send Germa-}
 and there maintain the Catholic Cause ^{nus and Lu-} ~~b.~~ ^{pus into Bri-} Thus *Constantius*, a Pres-
 byter of *Lyons*, who lived in this Century, and after him *Bede*. But
Prosper, who flourished likewise in this Century, writes, that the
 Two Prelates were sent into *Britain* by *Celestine* ^{c.} The Gallican Bi-
 shops, perhaps, acquainted the Pope with the Choice they had made,
 and he approved it; which was enough for *Prosper*, a notorious Flat-
 terer of the Popes, to ascribe the Whole to *Celestine*. The Two ^{Their Jour-}
 Missionaries set out for *Britain* in the Latter-end of the Year 429. and, ^{ney.}
 passing through *Paris*, had an Interview there with the famous St.
Genevieve, who, at the Persuasion of St. *Germanus*, to whom her
 future Sanctity was revealed, promised to consecrate her Virginity to
Jesus Christ. From *Paris* they pursued their Journey to the Sea-side,
 and embarked; but were very near being cast away by a Storm, be-
 fore they reached the *British* Coast. This Storm the Author supposes to
 have been raised by the Devil; but we may more reasonably suppose it
 to have been raised by himself, that he might have an Opportunity of
 displaying the Power of his Imagination in describing it, and make
 room for the Miracle by which it was laid. For St. *Germanus*, who ^{Miracles}
 had slept the whole time, being awaked by the Mariners just as the ^{wrought by}
 Vessel was on the point of sinking, first reprimanded the Sea, as *Nep-* ^{them on the}
tune did of old the Winds, for attempting to defeat their pious Un- ^{Sea, and}
 dertaking; and then pouring into it a few Drops of Oil, asswaged at ^{after their}
 once the Fury of the Waves, and miraculously restored the wished for ^{Landing.}
 Calm. Upon their Landing, the People flocked to them from all Parts;
 and, being convinced of the Truth which they preached, by the Mi-
 racles which they wrought, abjured daily by Thousands the *Pelagian*
 Doctrine, which they had so rashly embraced. But their Teachers and
 Leaders kept out of the Way: They were unwilling to enter the Lists
 with Men, whom Heaven had endowed with such miraculous Powers.
 However, as the Whole of their Cause was now at stake, they agreed,
 at last, to meet the Two Prelates, and met them accordingly. But
 this Meeting proved fatal to the *Pelagian* Cause; for the *Pelagians*
 declining to undertake the Cure of a blind Girl that was presented to
 them, St. *Germanus*, by applying to her Eyes some Reliques, which

^b Constant. l. i. c. 19. apud Surium, l. 4.

^c Prosp. chron.

*The whole
Island re-
claimed.*

he always carried about with him, cured her at once of her Blindness, and with her the whole Island^d. But these Miracles were soon forgotten: According to the same Author, the *Pelagian* Heresy took root again, and new Miracles were wanted to check its Growth.

*Germanus
returns
anew, and
utterly roots
out the Pela-
gian Heresy.*

Germanus therefore, in the Year 447. returned to *Britain*; exerted here anew his wonder-working Power, confounded his Antagonists, and, not leaving behind him the least Shoot of so poisonous a Weed, returned in Triumph to *Gaul*^e. In his second Journey into *Britain* he is said to have been attended by St. *Severus*, Bishops of *Treves*.

*Beginning of
the Dispute
between Ne-
storius and
St. Cyril.*

The following Year, 430. is one of the most remarkable Years in the Annals of the Church. For it was in that Year that the famous Dispute began between *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and St. *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which rent the whole Church into Two oppositè and irreconcilable Factions. What gave Occasion to that Dispute was, the Title of *Mother of God*, which began at this time to be commonly given to the Virgin *Mary*. Such a Title *Nestorius* thought very improper, derogatory to the Majesty of the Eternal Creator, and only calculated to lead the Unwary into gross Mistakes concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation, and the Nature of Christ. For he argued, that it could not be said, without a kind of Blasphemy, that *God was born of a Woman*, that *God had suffered*, that *God had died*, nor, consequently, that *the Virgin Mary was the Mother of God*. We must not imagine, said he, that *God, or the Word, was born of the Virgin Mary*; but we ought to believe, that *God, or the Word, was united to him, who was born of the Virgin Mary*^f. The Title of *Mother of Christ* was that which he thought should be given to the Virgin, as containing all that was meant by the other, without the Impropriety and Offence of the Expression, and without Danger of confounding the Divine Nature of Christ with the Human. This Doctrine was received, and maintained with great Warmth by some, both Ecclesiastics and Laymen, and with no less Warmth opposed by others. The latter thought it was calling in question the Divinity of Christ, and degrading the Virgin *Mary*, to rob her of the glorious Title of the *Mother of God*; and her Glory was now become one of their highest Concerns.

*The Chara-
cters of Cy-
ril and Ne-
storius.*

At the Head of these was St. *Cyril*, a Man of a most haughty and imperious Temper, impatient of Contradiction, obstinately wedded to his own Opinion, passionate, revengeful, and more eagerly bent,

^d Constant. ubi supra.

^e Constant. vit. S. Ger. l. 2. c. 1. apud Sur. t. 3. 30. Julii.

^f Concil. t. 3. p. 1124. Cyr. ep. 38. Petav. dog. theolog. t. 4. l. 1. c. 7.

at least in the present Dispute, upon conquering his Adversary, than discovering the Truth. In some of these Qualities he was well matched by *Nestorius*; but the latter was not so eager for Victory, so tenacious of his own Opinion, or rather of his own Terms (for the whole Dispute was about Terms), as not to be ready to explain them; which had he been allowed to do, an End had been put at once to the Quarrel. But *Cyril* would hearken to no Explanations. He peremptorily required *Nestorius* to acknowledge and confess the Virgin *Mary* to be the *Mother of God*, without any Distinction or Explanation; and because he would not comply, he defamed him all over the East, as a Reviver of the Heresy of *Paul of Samosata*, denying the real Union between the Human and the Divine Nature in the Person of Christ; stirred up the People of *Constantinople*, his own Flock, against him, and spared no Pains to discredit him with the Emperor, and other great Persons at Court. For he writ Three Letters to Court; one to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to his Wife *Eudoxia*, and to his Sister *Pulcheria*; another to the *Queen's Virgins, and Brides of Christ*, that is, to *Pulcheria* and her Sisters; and a third to the *Empresses*, that is, to *Eudoxia* and *Pulcheria*. The Purport of these Letters was to prove, that the Virgin *Mary* was, and ought to be styled, the *Mother of God*; that to dispute such a Title was rank Heresy; and that whoever disputed it was unworthy of the Protection of the Imperial Family.

Nestorius, being now sensible, that *Cyril* was determined to keep no Measures with him, resolved, in his Turn, to keep none with one, who had given him so great Provocation. He therefore assembled a Council at *Constantinople*, and there, with the unanimous Consent of the Bishops who composed it, he solemnly excommunicated the Laymen, and deposed the Ecclesiastics, who rejected his Doctrine. He did not stop here; but caused several Ecclesiastics, Monks, and Laymen, the Friends of *Cyril*, to be apprehended, to be dragged to the public Prison, and to be there whipt very severely, as Disturbers of the public Peace, and Sowers of Heresy and Sedition. What chiefly provoked him, was a Paper posted up in a public Place of the City, declaring him a Heretic, and guilty of the Heresy formerly held by *Paul of Samosata*, denying a true Union between the Word and the Humanity in the Person of Christ; which was one of the many Calumnies broached against him by *Cyril* to blacken his Reputation.

8 Concil. t. 3. p. 327.

Nestorius
strives to
gain Cele-
stine and the
Western Bi-
shops.

Thus were the Christians in the East divided into two opposite Parties, irreconcilably incensed against each other, and reviling each other with all the opprobrious Names Malice and Rage could suggest. But *Cyril's* Party was by far the most numerous and powerful. *Nestorius* therefore, having strove in vain to strengthen his Party in the East, resolved in the End to try the West, being well apprised, that the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Western Bishops, would be abundantly sufficient to turn the Scale. He therefore writ a long Letter to *Celestine*, acquainting him with what had passed in the East, and explaining, without the least Disguise or Equivocation, the Doctrine he held; nay, he sent him all the Homilies, which he had preached on that Subject. In this Letter he owns his irreconcilable Aversion to the Words *Mother of God*, as raising Ideas, especially in the Minds of the Vulgar, inconsistent with the Majesty of the Supreme Being. He adds, that by disputing the Title of *Mother of God*, he only meant, that the Word was not born of the Virgin *Mary*¹.

Cyril writes to Celestine, and sends him the Homilies of Nestorius, with his own Comments upon them.

St. *Cyril*, being informed that *Nestorius* had written to *Celestine*, summoned a Council at *Alexandria*; and, by their Advice, writ the famous Letter to *Celestine*, which has reached our Times. In that Letter he acquaints him with the State of Affairs in the East, and the Disturbances raised there by *Nestorius*, as if himself had been no ways concerned in them; tells him that it is absolutely necessary that all the Bishops of the Church should unite as one Man against that Prelate; that the Bishops in the East are well disposed to join in the common Cause; and that they only waited to know from him, whether they were to communicate with *Nestorius*, or openly renounce his Communion. At the same time *Cyril* sent to *Rome* the Homilies of *Nestorius*, the Letters which he had written to him, his Answers, and with them a Writing containing the Sentiments of the Fathers concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation. For the Gospel, the *Testimony of Christ*, was already laid aside, and the Testimony of Men taken, in most Disputes, for the Rule and Standard of the Christian Belief. The *Roman Catholics* have no Reason to boast, as they do, of the Recourse had by St. *Cyril* on this Occasion to the Pope. For *Posidonius*, one of *Cyril's* Deacons, who was dispatched with the above-mentioned Papers to *Rome*, was directed, in his private Instructions, not to deliver them, but to bring them back to *Alexandria*, if

The Popish Writers have no Occasion to boast of the Recourse had by Cyril to Celestine.

¹ Conc. t. 3. p. 349—356.

he found that *Nestorius* had not applied to *Celestine* ^m; so that if *Nestorius* had not recurred to the Pope, *Cyril* never would. *Posidonius* found, upon Inquiry, that *Nestorius* had written to *Celestine*; and therefore delivered to him, pursuant to his Instructions, all the Papers with which he was charged. *Cyril* writ in *Latin*, and even caused the Homilies of *Nestorius* to be translated into that Language, with his own Comments upon them; whereas *Nestorius* had sent them in the original *Greek*, and writ his Letters in the same Tongue; which had obliged *Celestine* to send them into *Gaul*, to be translated there by the famous *Cassian*, who was a Native of *Thrace*, and lived then at *Marseilles*, there being none, it seems, in *Rome* or *Italy*, sufficiently qualified for that Task. *Cyril* having thus got the Start of his Antagonist, though he writ the last, *Celestine* was, by his Writings, prejudiced to such a Degree against *Nestorius*, before he had heard what he had to offer in his Defence, that all he did or could offer afterwards availed him nothing. *Celestine* indeed perused all his Papers as soon as they were translated and sent back from *Gaul*, but perused them with the strong Prejudices which he had imbibed from the Writings of *Cyril*; so that he discovered in each Homily, nay, in every Line, *Heresies*, *Impieties*, and *Blasphemies*, not to be uttered or heard.

A Council was therefore assembled at *Rome*, to condemn, rather *Nestorius* than to examine, the *new Doctrine*. At this Council assisted most of the Western Bishops ⁿ; *Celestine* presided, the Homilies were read, and with them the Letters both of *Cyril* and *Nestorius*. *Celestine* made a long Speech, to prove not only by the Passages which *Cyril* had suggested to him out of the Fathers, but by others from St. *Hilarius*, from Pope *Damasus*, and from a Hymn which St. *Ambrose* had caused to be yearly sung by his People on *Christmas-Day*, that the *Virgin Mary was truly the Mother of God* ^o. When he had done, *Nestorius* was declared the Author of a *new and very dangerous Heresy*, *Cyril* was highly extolled for opposing it, his Doctrine was applauded by all as strictly orthodox, and Sentence of Deposition pronounced against such Ecclesiastics as should refuse to sign it.

Before the Council broke up *Celestine* writ to *Nestorius*, acquainting him with the Judgment of the Western Bishops upon this Dispute; and at the same time warning him, that if, in the Term of Ten Days

^m Concil. t. 3. p. 346. & concil. app. per Baluf. p. 45.

ⁿ Concil. t. 3. p. 379. Arnobii Junioris cum Serap. conflict. p. 548.

^o Mercat. t. 1. p. 71.

Celestine acquaints Nestorius with the Judgment of the Western Bishops.

after

Celestine appoints Cyril his Vicegerent.

after the Receipt of that Letter, he did not publicly condemn the Doctrine which he had hitherto taught. and teach the Doctrine which he had hitherto condemned, he should be deposed without any further Delay, and cut off from the Communion of the Church p. This Letter is dated the 11th of *August* of this Year 430. He writ several other Letters, all bearing the same Date, viz. one to *Cyril*, one to the Clergy, Monks, and People of *Constantinople*; one to each of the Bishops of the chief Sees, and one to the Church of *Antioch*. All these Letters were to the same Effect, viz. to acquaint those, to whom they were addressed, with the Sentence pronounced by the Council of *Rome* against *Nestorius*, and encourage them to be assisting in the Execution of it. His Letter to *Cyril* deserves particular Notice: for he there appoints him to act in the present Affair, that is, in excommunicating and deposing *Nestorius*, as his Vicegerent, in the Name, and with the Authority, of his See q. It must be observed here, that the Bishops of *Rome*, neither alone, nor jointly with the whole Body of the Western Bishops, had, or even claimed at this time, the Power of deposing the Bishop of *Constantinople*, or indeed any other Bishop in the East, without the Consent and Concurrence of the Eastern Bishops. This *Cyril* well knew; and therefore, lest *Celestine* should, on that Consideration, decline giving Judgment against *Nestorius*, he made him believe that the Eastern Bishops were all disposed to join against the pretended Herefiarch; that they waited only his Determination, and were ready to concur, to a Man, in executing the Judgment which he should give. This was making *Celestine* believe, that the Eastern Bishops had chosen him for their Judge in the present Dispute, and agreed to acquiesce in his Decision. It was upon this Presumption that *Celestine* pronounced the abovementioned Sentence against *Nestorius*, and appointed *Cyril* to act in his room, with the Authority which he falsely supposed to have been granted him on this Occasion. I say, *falsely*; for what *Cyril* writ to him was absolutely false, viz. that all the Bishops in the East were ready to join him against *Nestorius*, and concur in executing the Sentence which he should pronounce. Several Bishops had declared for *Nestorius*, and not one, that we know of, against him, at the time *Cyril* writ, besides *Cyril* himself, and the other *Egyptian* Bishops, who were intirely governed by him; nay, the Sentence pronounced at *Rome* was Matter

He is imposed upon by Cyril.

p Concil. t. 3. p. 374—376.

q Ibid. p. 349.

of great Surprize to all, but more especially to *John of Antioch*, and *Juvenal of Jerusalem*, who could not help censuring, with some Sharpness, the Western Bishops, as acting rashly in an Affair that required the most mature Deliberation. But *Cyril* was chiefly to blame, who, to engage the Western Bishops on his Side, and by their means compass the Ruin of his Antagonist, had represented the State of Affairs very differently from what it really was.

It was doubtless a very extraordinary Thing for a Bishop of *Alexandria* to accept the Commission of Vicegerent or Deputy to the Bishop of *Rome*; and *Celestine* would hardly have thought of offering him such a Commission, if he had not been sensible that, from the Heat of his Passion upon this Occasion, he would be willing to act in any Capacity, that would empower him to hurt his Antagonist. So ably did the Popes, from the earliest times, avail themselves of every Circumstance that could give them the Means to promote and extend their Jurisdiction!

The abovementioned Letters from *Celestine* were all sent to *Cyril*, who was to convey them to those they were addressed to; which he did accordingly, accompanying them with Letters of his own, all calculated to inflame his Collegues and the rest of the Clergy, as well as the Laity, against *Nestorius*, as an Enemy to the Mother of God and the Catholic Church. As for the Letter to *Nestorius* himself, he dispatched Four Bishops with it to *Constantinople*, who chose to deliver it to him while he was assisting at Divine Service, in the great Church, with his Clergy, and many Persons of Distinction belonging to the Court. His View in this was to render their Legation the more solemn, and thereby alarm the Populace, who hitherto had taken no Part in the Quarrel. With *Celestine's* Letter they delivered to him one from *Cyril*, peremptorily requiring him to retract his Errors, to confirm his Retraction with a solemn Oath, and publicly to anathematize Twelve Propositions contained in the Letter, and extracted out of his Works. *Cyril* let him know, that if he did not comply with his Demand, before the time prefixed by *Celestine* was expired, he would take care to have the Sentence of the Western Bishops executed with the utmost Rigour and Severity. *Nestorius* received the Letters, and desired the Legates to meet him the next Day at his own House; but when they came, he did not admit them; nor did he return any Answer either to *Celestine* or *Cyril*. However, in a Sermon which he preached Six Days after, that is on *Saturday* the 13th of *December*, he declared,

*Cyril sends
Celestine's
Letter to
Nestorius;*

*and requires
him to retract
his pretended
Errors on
pain of being
deposed.*

Nestorius
inclined to
yield for the
sake of Peace.

declared, that, to maintain the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, to put an End to the present Dispute, which might be attended with greater Evils than his Enemies seemed to be aware of, he was ready to grant the Title of *Mother of God* to the Virgin *Mary*, *provided nothing else was thereby meant*; but that *the Man born of her was united to the Divinity*¹. This Sermon, and another which he preached the next Day, the 14th of *December*, on the same Subject, he sent to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, one of the most eminent Prelates both for Piety and Learning at that time in the Church. *John* perused them with great Attention, and finding nothing in them that was not, in his Opinion, intirely agreeable to the Catholic Doctrine, he concluded the present Dispute to be happily ended. But *Cyril* was not yet satisfied; he peremptorily required *Nestorius* to anathematize the Twelve Propositions which I have mentioned above; and to anathematize them was, in the Opinion of the Bishop of *Antioch*, and of almost all the Bishops of his Patriarchate, anathematizing the Doctrine

The Doctrine
of Cyril
judged im-
pious by the
Orientals.

of the Church, and approving that of the *Apollinarists*, which had been condemned by the Church. For *Cyril*, in combating the Distinction maintained by *Nestorius* between the Two Natures in Christ, seemed to have run headlong into the opposite Doctrine confounding the Two Natures; insomuch that *John* of *Antioch* thought himself not only obliged to warn his Collegues in the East, by a circular Letter, against such *impious Doctrines*, but to cause them to be confuted in Writing, by Two of the most learned Prelates of his Patriarchate². They were answered by *Cyril*, incapable of yielding, or ever giving up a Cause, which he had once undertaken to defend. Thus a new Quarrel broke out between *Cyril* and the Bishops of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, of which it is foreign to my Purpose to give here an Account.

An Oecume-
nical Council
summoned by
the Emperor
to meet at
Ephesus.

Nestorius, foreseeing the Storm that the Dispute between him and *Cyril* was likely to raise in the Church, had, in order to prevent it, applied to the Emperor *Theodosius* for the assembling an Oecumenical Council, even before he received the Letters of *Celestine* and *Cyril*, which I have mentioned above; and, upon his Application, the Emperor had summoned a Council to meet at *Ephesus* by *Whitsuntide* of the following Year 431. The Letter, which *Theodosius* writ on that Occasion, was dated the 19th of *November* 430. and addressed to all

¹ Concil. t. 3. p. 395—410. Socr. l. 7. c. 34.
bocrat. c. 4.

² Concil. t. 3. p. 1150. Li-

the Metropolitans, who were thereby enjoined to attend at the Place and Time appointed, and bring with them such of their Suffragans as might be well spared from the Service of the Churches in their respective Provinces. Besides the circular Letter to all Metropolitans in common, *Theodosius* writ to *Cyril* in particular, to let him know ^{His Letter to Cyril.} that he looked upon him as the sole Author of the present Disturbances, and therefore expected that he would not fail to attend the Council at the time appointed; that from him he would admit of no Excuse; that his punctual Compliance with the present Order was the only means of regaining his Favour, and inclining him to think that it was not any private Pique, or Animosity, but a Persuasion that he was defending the Truth, which had prompted him to act, as he had hitherto done, so contrary to all the Rules of Modesty and Discretion. In the same Letter he reproaches *Cyril*, and in the sharpest Terms, with Pride, Arrogance, and Presumption; and even charges him with having attempted to sow Divisions in the Imperial Family. But this Charge was groundless, having no other Foundation, but *Cyril's* having written apart to *Pulcheria* and her Sisters, which the Emperor supposed to have been done with a Design to raise a Misunderstanding between him and them †.

The Council met at the Time and Place appointed, pursuant to the Emperor's Orders. But every thing was transacted in that Assembly ^{Irregular Proceedings of the Council.} so contrary to all the Rules of Justice, and even of Decency, with so much Prejudice and Animosity, that they seemed to be all actuated by the Spirit of *Cyril*, and to have met with no other View than to gratify his private Passion and Revenge. *Cyril* presided, who was the Party concerned, and the avowed Enemy of *Nestorius*. They began their Sessions before the Arrival of *John* of *Antioch*, and the Bishops of that Patriarchate, who were supposed to favour *Nestorius*, though they had certain Intelligence of their being within a few Days Journey of *Ephesus*; nay, they would not even wait for the Pope's Legates, and a good Number of Bishops who were coming from *Italy*, and the Island of *Sicily*. *Nestorius*, and Count *Candidianus*, whom the Emperor had sent to assist at the Council in his Name, earnestly begged them to put off the Sessions only for Four Days longer, assuring them that *John* and his Suffragans would reach *Ephesus* within that Time. But all in vain: they were determined to condemn *Nestorius*, right or wrong; and therefore could by no means be prevailed upon.

† Liberat. c. 4. Concil. t. 3. p. 434.

to wait the Arrival of those who, they apprehended, would oppose, and perhaps might intirely defeat the End for which alone they seemed to believe they had been assembled. *Nestorius* was summoned to appear the very next Day, and clear himself before the Council of the impious Doctrine with which he was charged. He refused to comply till the Orientals, that is, those of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, were arrived; and, upon that Refusal, the Council met very early next Morning, read all his Letters and Homilies, condemned the Doctrine they contained, approved the Doctrine of *Cyril*, whose Letters were likewise read; and closed this very remarkable Session with pronouncing Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication against *Nes-*

The Sentence they pronounced against Nestorius. *torius* in the following Terms; *Our Lord Jesus Christ, against whom the most wicked Nestorius has leveled his Blasphemies, declares him, by the Mouth of this Council, deprived of the Episcopal Dignity, and cut off from the Communion of the Episcopal Order* ^u. This

Sentence was signed by all the Bishops who were present, pasted up in the most public Places of *Ephesus*, and notified to all the Inhabitants by the Criers of the City. It was no sooner known than the whole City resounded with loud Shouts of Joy, the Streets were illuminated, and the People, crowding to the Church where the Council was held, attended the Bishops, with lighted Torches in their Hands, and great Acclamations, to their respective Habitations, the Women walking before them, and burning Perfumes ^w. It had been as dangerous for *Nestorius* to shew himself in *Ephesus*, at this Juncture, as it was formerly for *St. Paul*, the *Ephesians* being no less devoted now to the Virgin *Mary* than they were in the Apostle's Time to their great *Diana*, and their Superstition no less mischievous, though the Object was changed. The Virgin *Mary* was the Patroness of *Ephesus*, the *Ephesians* believing then that they possessed her Body. But it is now believed by the Church of *Rome*, that she was taken up Soul and Body into Heaven, and the Festival of her *Assumption* is kept with great Solemnity on the 15th of *August*, being preceded by a Vigil or Fast.

In what terms they acquainted Nestorius with the Sentence pronounced against him. The Council took care to acquaint *Nestorius* with the Sentence which they had pronounced against him; and the Note, which they wrote to him on that Occasion, shews but too plainly that they were swayed in all they did by Passion alone. For the Note was thus directed; *To Nestorius a second Judas* ^x.

^u Concil. ibid. p. 534.

^w Concil. ibid. p. 534—547.

^x Concil. t. 1. p. 560.

Such is the Account which the Antients give us of the First Oecumenical Council of *Ephesus*, one of the Four, which *Gregory the Great* received with as much Veneration as the Four Gospels ¹. But notwithstanding his Authority, we may, perhaps, with more Truth, apply to this Council than to any other what *Nazianzen* writ of the Councils of his Time, viz. that *he had never seen an Assembly of Bishops that ended well; that, by assembling, they had always heightened rather than cured the Evil; that in such Assemblies, Passion, Jealousy, Prejudice, Envy, the Desire of Victory generally prevailed; and that those who took upon them to judge others, were, generally speaking, swayed by some private Grudge, their Zeal being owing more to the Ill-will which they bore to the Criminals, than the Aversion which they had to their Crimes* ². As to the present Assembly, it may be justly questioned whether it deserves the Name of a Council, or ought not rather to be styled a seditious and tumultuary Conventicle of Men, assembled with no other View but to revenge the private Quarrel of their Head and Leader. For they met against the Will of the Imperial Commissioner Count *Candidianus*, who represented the Person of the Emperor; nay, upon his acquainting them, that it was the Will of the Emperor they should wait the Arrival of the Oriental and Western Bishops, they drove him by Force out of the Assembly. *Candidianus*, seeing the Emperor's Orders thus trampled under foot by the riotous Bishops, entered a Protest against their Proceedings, and declared them null. This Protest was addressed, *To Cyril, and the Bishops assembled with him* ³. *Nestorius* likewise, Seven Bishops who were assembled with him, and Sixty-eight more, all protested against the Meeting of the Council till the Arrival of the Orientals: so that Seventy-six Bishops, who were then actually in *Ephesus*, protested against, and absented themselves from the Council. As therefore neither the Orientals, nor the Western Bishops, were yet come, the Assembly was composed only of *Egyptians* and *Asiatics*, who were intirely devoted to *Cyril*. But how irregular soever their Meeting was, their Method of acting, after they met, was no less irregular. *Cyril*, who was the Party concerned, and the avowed Enemy of *Nestorius*, received the Depositions against him, examined the Witnesses, gave what Explication he pleased to his Words, and delivered his Opinion the first; which was acting in open Con-

The Council of Ephesus unworthy of that Name.

Is protested against by the Imperial Commissioner and Seventy-six Bishops.

They act contrary to all Rules of Justice and Religion.

¹ Greg. l. 1. ep. 24.

² Naz. ep. 55.

³ Concil. ibid. p. 702.

tradition to the known Laws of Justice and Religion. In the first Session, several Things were transacted, that might have given full Employment for several Sessions. How could they examine, in so short a time, the Twelve Propositions which *Cyril* required *Nestorius* to anathematize, Propositions that were capable of so many different Interpretations, that were afterwards so differently interpreted, and occasioned endless Quarrels and Disputes, some admitting them as Catholic, and rejecting the opposite Propositions as heretical; others admitting the opposite Propositions as Catholic, and rejecting them as heretical, without being able to agree in any thing else but in anathematizing and cursing each other? How could they compare the many Passages out of the Homilies of *Nestorius*, with the different Contexts, in order to find out his true Meaning? To examine so many different Propositions, all relating to a Subject above our Comprehension, and in Terms hardly intelligible to the most speculative Understanding; to declare which were Heterodox, and which Orthodox, which were agreeable, and which disagreeable, to the Doctrine of the Fathers (for the Scripture was out of the Question), and all this in a few Hours, was, it must be owned, a most wondrous Performance. But the Orientals were at hand: *John of Antioch* was a Man of great Credit; it was apprehended, that the many Bishops, who were then in *Ephesus*, and had absented themselves from the Council, might join him, and he *Nestorius*. Dispatch was therefore to be used, and the Business of many Sessions transacted in one, that *Cyril* might have his full Revenge before their Arrival.

The Conduct of Cyril sharply censured by his greatest Friends.

It was in this Light that the Conduct of *Cyril* and the other Bishops appeared to St. *Isidore of Pelusium*, a Prelate of great Learning and Sagacity, and one who professed a particular Friendship for *Cyril*. For, being informed of what had passed at *Ephesus*, he was so shocked at the Conduct of his Friend, that he could not help censuring it with great Severity. *Your Conduct*, said he, in a private Letter to him, *and the Tragedy which you have lately acted at Ephesus, are Matter of great Surprise to some, and Diversion to others. It is publicly said, that you sought only to be revenged on your Enemies, and that you have therein imitated your Uncle Theophilus; and, indeed, though the Persons accused may be different, the Conduct of the Accusers is the same. You had better have continued quiet, than revenged your private Injuries at the Expence of the public Peace, and Tranquillity of the Church, by sowing Dissensions among her Members,*

bers, under the Colour of Piety and Religion^a. *Theophilus*, whom *Istodore* mentions in his Letter, was Bishop of *Alexandria*, Uncle to *Cyril*, and at the Head of the Faction that deposed *Chrysostom* ^b.

Five Days after the Deposition of *Nestorius*, *John* of *Antioch* and the Orientals arrived; and great was their Surprise, when they were informed by Count *Candidianus*, who came to wait on them, of what had passed. *John* had always advised *Nestorius* to allow the Title of *Mother of God* to the Virgin *Mary*, for the sake of Peace; but could not think him an Heretic for disputing it. But, as to the Doctrine of *Cyril*, he looked upon it as rank *Apollinarism*; and, as such, had caused it to be confuted. No wonder, therefore, if, upon hearing that the Doctrine of *Cyril* had been declared Catholic, that the Doctrine of *Nestorius* had been condemned as Heretical, and he excommunicated and deposed for holding it, he insisted, as he did, upon their agreeing to have those Points examined anew, and more maturely, before he would assist at the Council. This Demand he thought the more reasonable, as *Cyril* had assured him, by a Letter dated but Two Days before the Meeting of the Council, that they should not meet till his Arrival. But *Cyril*, as we may well imagine, would by no means consent to it; which so provoked *John*, that, after several expostulatory Letters between him and *Cyril*, he assembled, at last, his Orientals apart, and, with them, such as adhered to him, about Fifty in all. In this new Council, the Proceedings of the other were examined; and, being found repugnant to the Canons, and owing merely to Rancour and Passion, they were, by the whole Assembly, with one Voice, declared null. The Orientals did not stop here; but, after a strict Examination of the Doctrine of *Cyril*, they declared it Heretical; and, in virtue of that Declaration, pronounced Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition against him, against *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, a zealous Stickler for his Doctrine, and against all the Bishops who should communicate with either, till they had publicly retracted their Errors. The Blow was soon returned by *Cyril*, and those who sided with him; the Orientals were all declared *Nestorians*, and, with *Nestorius*, deposed, excommunicated, anathematized. War being thus declared between the Two Councils, Expresses were immediately dispatched, by both, to the Emperor, and their Friends at Court; for they were both sensible, that the Doctrine of those, who had most Friends there, would, in the End, prove the most Orthodox. The Emperor read,

The Orientals arrive.

They insist upon the Points that had been so hastily decided, to be examined anew.

Which being refused by Cyril, they assemble apart.

The Two Councils anathematize and excommunicate one another.

Both recur to the Emperor.

^a *Ibid.* Fel. l. 2. ep. 110.

^b See above, p. 294.

with

with great Attention, the Accounts transmitted to him by both Parties, and would have approved and confirmed the Proceedings of the Orientals, had he not been diverted from it, first by his Physician named *John*, and afterwards by *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea*, who happened to be then at Court. For the present *Theodosius* contented himself with approving the Deposition of *Nestorius*, of *Cyril*, and of *Memnon*, who, he said, well deserved such a Punishment, as being the chief Authors of the present Disturbances; *for, as to their Faith*, he added, *I believe they are all Three alike Orthodox*. Which was true; and more than both Councils had been able to find out.

He approves the Deposition of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon.

The Emperor, having taken this Resolution, dispatched Count *John* to *Ephesus*, with Orders to drive the Three Incendiaries, *Nestorius*, *Cyril*, and *Memnon*, out of the City, and persuade the Bishops to assemble in One Council. Count *John*, soon after his Arrival, caused the Three Bishops to be arrested and confined; but could by no means bring about an Accommodation between the Two Parties; the Orientals obstinately refusing to communicate with the Friends of *Cyril*, till they had anathematized his Doctrine; and his Friends no less obstinately requiring the Orientals to anathematize the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, before they would communicate with them: so that *John* was obliged in the End, notwithstanding all the Pains he took, to acquaint the Emperor, that he had found the

All Three arrested by the Emperor's Order, who endeavours, in vain, to reconcile the Bishops.

He orders both Councils to send a certain Number of Deputies to Constantinople.

Minds of the Bishops so soured and exasperated against one another, that it was impossible ever to reconcile them. The Emperor, upon the Receipt of his Letter, dispatched an Order to both Councils, in-joining them to send a certain Number of Deputies, both the same Number, to *Constantinople*, where he proposed to have the Points in Dispute impartially examined. In Compliance with this Order, the Two Councils sent each Eight Deputies, who immediately set out, with proper Instructions, for *Constantinople*; but, arriving at *Chalcedon*, on the opposite Side of the *Bosporus*, they were stopped there, by an Order from the Emperor, it not being thought safe for the Orientals to enter *Constantinople*, the Monks, who were very numerous in that City, having prejudiced the Populace against them. They arrived at *Chalcedon* in the latter End of *August*; and, on the 4th of *September*, the Emperor came to the Palace of *Ruffinus*, in that Neighbourhood, and there heard both Parties, with great Patience. He was, at first, so favourable to the Orientals, that they thought themselves sure of Victory; and even writ to their Friends at *Ephesus*, desiring them

He hears them at Chalcedon.

Is, at first, favourable to the Orientals and Nestorius; but afterwards declares against them.

to thank him for the Kindness he had shewn them. But, to their great Surprize, the Face of Affairs changed at once. They had been already admitted Four times to the Emperor's Presence, and heard by him with much Kindness: but, in the Fifth Audience, which they thought would complete their Triumph, the Emperor, after receiving them with great Coolness, told them, abruptly, that they had better admit both *Memnon* and *Cyril* to their Communion, and abandon the Defence of *Nestorius*. They were thunderstruck with such a Proposal, and strongly remonstrated against it. But *Theodosius*, deaf to their Remonstrances, returned the next Day to *Constantinople*, carrying with him the Deputies of the adverse Party, in order to have a new Bishop ordained by them, in the room of *Nestorius*. Soon after his Return, he issued an Edict, declaring *Nestorius* justly deposed, reinstating *Cyril* and *Memnon* in their Sees, and giving all the other Bishops Leave to return to their respective Churches, they being all alike Orthodox^d. This was declaring the Council dissolved; and it was dissolved accordingly; but the Disturbances which it occasioned, were not composed till many Years after.

The sudden Change in the Emperor, with respect to the Orientals, *To what this* is ascribed by *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea*, to the Gold that *Cyril* *Change was* caused to be prodigally distributed, on this Occasion, among the Courtiers. For *Acacius* writes, that one of the Eunuchs of the Court, by Name *Scholasticus*, dying possessed of great Wealth, the Emperor found a Note among his Papers, acknowledging the Receipt of large Sums remitted to him by *Paul*, *Cyril's* Nephew, in *Cyril's* Name^e. It is true, we are not bound to give Credit to *Acacius*, as *Du Pin* observes. But in what other Manner can we account for so sudden a Change, for such an inconsistent Method of acting? The Emperor thinks both Parties equally Orthodox, and yet declares *Nestorius* justly deposed, and restores *Cyril* and *Memnon* to their Sees; and that soon after he had appeared more favourable to the Friends of *Nestorius* than to those of *Cyril*. To what else could this be owing, if it was not the Effect of Bribery?

The Pope's Legates, *viz.* *Arcadius*, *Projectus*, and *Philippus*, the two former Bishops, and the latter a Presbyter, did not arrive at *Ephesus* till some time after the Condemnation of *Nestorius*; but they signed the Judgment that had been given against him, being directed by *Celestine* to agree in all things with *Cyril*. *Cyril* presided

^d Concil. t. 3. p. 727—730. Cotel. Monum. Eccl. Græc. p. 41. ^e Lup. divers. ep. c. 41.

Cyril did not preside as the Pope's Legate. as Bishop of *Alexandria*, the first See after that of *Rome*. While he was absent, *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem* supplied his room; a plain Proof, that he did not preside as the Pope's Legate; for if he had, his room would not have been supplied by the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but by Them. Besides, if *Cyril* had been vested with the Character of the Pope's Legate, what Occasion had there been to send Three more? *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* both allow this Council to have been

The Council assembled without the Approbation of the Pope.

assembled by the Emperor; but with the previous Approbation, say they, and by the Advice of *Celestine*. That the Council was convened by the Emperor, is past all doubt, it being said, and repeated above twenty times in the Acts, that *they were assembled by the Will of the most religious Emperors*. But of *Celestine* not the least mention is ever made by any of the Fathers, not even by *Cyril*. The above-mentioned Writers found their Assertion on a Letter of *St. Austin*, and on the Acts of *St. Petronius*. But both these Pieces are now universally rejected as supposititious.

The whole Dispute about Words.

As to the Dispute, which occasioned the assembling of this Council, the contending Parties seem to have agreed in the Substance, and to have only quarreled about Words: at least the Emperor thought so, as I have observed above; and, what is more, *Nestorius* himself. For in the Letter which he writ to *Celestine*, acquainting him with the Resolution *Theodosius* had taken of assembling a Council, he only told him, that it was for some important Affairs of the Church; adding, that as to the Dispute between him and the Bishop of *Alexandria*, it was not a Matter of such mighty Moment, as to require the Decision of an Oecumenical Council. And truly both *Nestorius* and *Cyril*, so far as we can judge from their own Words, acknowledged One Person in Christ, and Two Natures, the Natures distinct, but inseparably united; which was the Catholic Belief. Now the Subject of the Dispute was, whether, in virtue of that Union between the Human and Divine Nature, the Properties of the former might, or might not, be ascribed to God, and those of the latter to Man. The Negative was maintained by *Nestorius*, and the Affirmative by *Cyril*; the one rejecting as blasphemous, and the other admitting as orthodox, the following Expressions; *God was born, God suffered, God died, Mary was the Mother of God*; which was plainly disputing about Words only, or Expressions. It is true, *Cyril* charged *Nestorius* with the Doctrine of *Paul of Samosata*, for rejecting them; and *Nestorius*, *Cyril* with that of *Apollinaris*, for admitting them; but neither owned the Tenets, that were by the other

other ascribed to him : So that *Cyril* was only a Heretic of *Nestorius* making, and *Nestorius* of *Cyril's*: *Nestorius* acknowledged a real Union between the Two Natures in Christ, and *Cyril* a real Distinction. But they did not, and, perhaps, when they were once warmed with disputing, would not, understand one another. *Nestorianism*, says a modern Roman Catholic Writer ^f, is but an imaginary Heresy. ^{ism an imaginary Heresy.} Had *Nestorius* and *St. Cyril* understood one another, they had agreed, and prevented the Scandal which their quarreling brought on the Church. But the Greeks have always been great Disputants ; and it was by them that most of the first Heresies were broached. The Subject of their Disputes was, generally speaking, some metaphysical Speculation ; and their Method of handling it arrant Chicanery. From equivocal Terms they drew false Inferences, and from Inferences passed to Injuries. Thus they became irreconcilable Enemies, and, forgetting Truth, sought only to hurt one another. Had they but coolly explained their Thoughts, they had found that in most Cases no room was left, on either Side, for the Imputation of Heresy.

In the present Dispute *Cyril*, the more to oppose, or rather to provoke, *Nestorius*, affected to use, on all Occasions, not only the Expressions, which I have mentioned above, but others that seem to involve a still more apparent Contradiction ; viz. *The Eternal was born in Time, the Impassible suffered, the Immortal died, Life died.* ^{Nestorius and Cyril agree in the Substance.} At these Expressions the Orientals were no less shocked than *Nestorius* ; and therefore separating themselves from the Communion of *Cyril*, whom they concluded to have fallen into the Errors of *Apollinaris*, they insisted upon his either condemning or explaining the Expressions he used, before they would admit him to their Communion, or any, who communicated with him. He chose the latter ; and then it appeared, that they had been all fighting the whole time in the Dark ; for by those Expressions *Cyril* meant no more, than that Christ, who was God, was born, suffered, and died ; that *Mary* was the Mother of Christ, who was God ; the very Doctrine and Expressions which *Nestorius* had been all along contending for, and *Cyril* had been combating with so much Warmth. But *Nestorius* was already deposed by the Faction of *Cyril*, and *Maximus* chosen and ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* in his room.

^f M. Simon, hist. crit. de la creance et des coutumes des Nations du Levant.

What meant by the Communication of Idioms. The Expressions of *Cyril* were approved by the Council of *Epheſus*, and have therefore been adopted by the Church of *Rome*. But her Schoolmen, well apprised of the Objections to which they are liable, to excuse them from Blasphemy, have been obliged to recur to what they call a *Communication of Idioms*, in virtue of which the Properties of both Natures, say they, may be ascribed to the *Hypoſtaſis* or Person, in whom both Natures were united. Thus we may say, according to them, *God was born, God ſuffered*, because the Person, who was God, *was born*, and *ſuffered*. Thus indeed they excuse the Expressions of *Cyril* from Blasphemy: But still it muſt be owned, that the Expressions used by *Nestorius*, *Chriſt was born, Chriſt ſuffered, Chriſt died*, were at least far more proper. For, after all, this *Communication of Idioms* is, in Fact, nothing else but a rhetorical Figure: So that *Cyril* ſpoke like an Orator, and *Nestorius* like a Philoſopher: The Expressions of the former were, in a ſtrict Senſe, falſe and blaſphemous; thoſe of the latter, in the ſtrictest Senſe, true and orthodox. Tropes and Figures ſerve only to diſguiſe the Truth, to lead Men into Errors, and therefore ought to be laid aſide by all who ſeriously inquire after Truth, or explain it to others. I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that if by a *Communication of Idioms* the Properties of the Human and Divine Nature may be aſcribed to the Person, in whom thoſe two Natures were united; the Properties of the Body and Soul might, by a like Communication, be aſcribed to the Person, in whom the Body and Soul are united: ſo that it might be ſaid, with as much Propriety, *Man is immortal, Man will never die*, because the Soul is immortal, and will never die, as *God was mortal, God died*, because the Humanity was mortal and died. The Caſe is parallel, and the *Communication of Idioms* muſt juſtify both Expressions, or neither.

A particular Reason for rejecting the Title of Mother of God. As to the Title of *Mother of God*, to which *Nestorius* had a more than ordinary Averſion, he ſeems to have rejected it on a particular Account; for the ſame Reason that induced *Clement XI.* to ſuppreſs the Title of *Grandmother of God*, which, in his time, began to be commonly given to St. *Anne*; viz. because *it was offenſive to pious Ears; piarum aurium offenſiva*. If the Virgin *Mary* was the Mother, St. *Anne* was, as properly ſpeaking, the Grandmother of God. Why then ſhould the Mother be robbed of ſo glorious a Title, while the Daughter is ſuffered to enjoy it? Why ſhould *Nestorius* be deemed a Heretic for denying it to the Daughter, rather than

than *Clement* for denying it to the Mother? The one was as offensive to the Ears of *Nestorius*, as the other could possibly be to the Ears of *Clement*. However, the former did not consult his Ears alone, but his Reason too, as has been shewn above; whereas the latter must have consulted his Ears only, there being no Shadow of Reason, why the one Title should be allowed, and not the other.

As for *Nestorius*, he received an Order from the Emperor, while the Council was still sitting, commanding him to quit *Ephesus*, and retire to the Monastery of St. *Euprepus* in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, where he had led a monastic Life before he was raised to the See of *Constantinople*. This Order he received with great Joy, having often declared, that he wished for nothing so much as to spend his Life in Solitude and Retirement, far from the Troubles that threatened the Church ^f. In the Letter, which he writ to *Antiochus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, by whom the Emperor's Order was communicated to him, he told him, that to be thus deposed, for standing up in Defence of the Orthodox Faith, was a greater Honour than he had ever presumed to aspire to, or hoped to attain. The only Favour he begged of *Antiochus* was, that he would employ his whole Interest at Court, in order to obtain public Letters of the Emperor, that might be read in all the Churches, condemning the Doctrine of *Cyril* ^g. The following Year 432. *Celestine* writ a very pressing Letter to *Theodosius*, dated the 15th of *March*, conjuring him, as he tendered the Purity of the Faith, to confine *Nestorius* to some uninhabited Place, where it might not be in his Power to infect others with his pestilential Doctrine; which was begging the Emperor to drive him out, like a wild Beast, from human Society, to perish in a Desert. He writ, at the same time, a circular Letter to the Bishops in those Parts, exhorting them to second him with all their Power and Interest at Court ^h. *Theodosius*, hearkening only to the Impulses of his own Good-nature, withstood all the Solicitations of *Nestorius*'s Enemies, for Four Years. But, in the End, being made to believe, that by shewing Mercy to such an obstinate Heretic, he rendered himself unworthy of Mercy; and that to treat him with Severity was the most effectual Means of drawing down the Blessings of Heaven upon himself, and the Empire; his Good-nature yielded, and he issued an Order, addressed to

The Fate of Nestorius.

He is ordered to return to his Monastery.

Is banished into Arabia, at the Request of Celestine, and the Bishops of his Party.

^f Evag. l. 1. c. 7. Concil. t. 3. p. 744. p. 1070, 1071.

^g Concil. app. p. 108.

^h Concil. l. 3.

His Books
forbidden,
and ordered
to be burnt.

Isidore, then the *Præfectus Prætorio*, injoining him to cause *Nestorius* to be conveyed to *Petra* in *Arabia*, to end his Days there, by way of Atonement for the Mischief he had done. With him were banished, to the same Place, Count *Irenæus*, his great Friend and Protector, and *Photius* a Presbyter of *Constantinople*, who had written in his Defence against *Cyril* ⁱ. The same Year the Emperor issued an Edict, dated the 30th of *July*, commanding the Disciples of *Nestorius* to be called *Simonians* (A); his Books to be every-where sought for, and publicly burnt; and all Persons, in whose Possession they were, to deliver them up to the Magistrates. By the same Edict the *Nestorians* were forbidden to hold any Assemblies in the Cities, Villages, or in the Fields, and the Places were confiscated, where such Assemblies should be held, as well as the Estates of those who should frequent them ^k. This Edict was published both in *Greek* and in *Latin*, that it might be understood by the Subjects of both Empires.

Is frequently
removed
from one
Place to another.

The Enemies of *Nestorius* were not yet satisfied; they thought his Confinement to *Petra* too mild a Punishment; and therefore before he had been long there, they prevailed upon the Emperor to remove him from *Petra* to *Oasis*, in the Desarts between *Egypt* and *Libya*, a Place to which the greatest Criminals were usually confined in those Days ^l. He was still in *Oasis*, when *Socrates* wrote, that is, in 439 ^m. but the Town being soon after surpris'd by the Barbarians, named *Blemmyes*, he was carried by them into Captivity, but set again at Liberty, and even informed by them, that the Town would, in a short time, be attacked anew by another Clan of Barbarians. Upon this Information he withdrew to the City of *Panopolis*, and immediately acquainted the Governor of *Thebais* with the Motives that had induced him to quit the Place, which he had been confined to by the Imperial Edict, intreating his Highness (*Celsitudinem tuam*) to notify them to the Emperor, and suffer him to con-

ⁱ Concil. ib. p. 1058, 1059. & ap. p. 884.
^l Socr. l. 7. c. 34.

^k Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 190. Concil. t. 3. p. 1200.
^m Idem ib.

(A) The Emperor ordered them to be so called, merely to render them odious; for there was not the least Affinity between the Heresy of *Simon* the Magician, and the Doctrine that was ascribed to *Nestorius*. In this *Theodosius* followed the Example of his Predecessor *Constantine*, who to dis-

grace the *Arians*, and prejudice the Populace against them, ordered them to be called *Porphyrians*. For when a Man was once declared a Heretic, all Means of rendering him infamous were deemed just and lawful. But neither Edict ever took place.

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tinue there till his Pleasure was known. But the Governor happened to be a zealous Catholic, or rather a true Courtier; and therefore, without waiting for the Emperor's Order, he sent a Band of Soldiers to convey, or rather to drag him to *Elephantine*, on the most distant Borders of his Government. This the Governor seems to have done on purpose to destroy him, and thereby ingratiate himself both with the Church, and the Court. For the Soldiers he employed on this Occasion, were not *Romans*, but *Barbarians*; and when they were got above half-way to *Elephantine*, they were enjoined, by a Counter-order from him, to bring their Prisoner back to *Panopolis* with all possible Expedition. As he was hurried on by the merciless ^{Treated with great Barbarity.} Barbarians, notwithstanding his old Age, the Weakness attending it, and the Hurts he received from a Fall, he arrived at *Panopolis*, quite spent, and so worn out with the Fatigues of that painful Journey, that no one thought he could outlive it many Days. But the Governor was impatient to hear the News of his Death; and therefore, before he could recruit his Strength, quite exhausted by this Journey, he obliged him to undertake another, ordering him to repair, without Delay, to a certain Place within the Territory of *Panopolis*. As he outlived this Journey too, the Governor, bent on having the Merit and Glory of destroying the pretended Heresiarch, ordered him immediately to undertake a Fourth; and this put an End to all his Troubles. For Nature sinking under the Fatigues he was forced to undergo, without Intermission or Respite, his Strength quite failed him, ^{His Death.} and he died ^k (A).

Such were the Sufferings, such was the End, of the famous *Nestorius*; and both reflect no small Disgrace on the Ecclesiastics of those ^{Nestorius himself a cruel Persecutor.} Times, especially on *Celestine* and *Cyril*; for by them this cruel Persecution was raised, and by them it was carried on; the Laymen being only the Ministers of their Cruelty and Revenge. Such a Treat-

^k Evagr. l. i. c. 7.

(A) An anonymous Writer, quoted by *Evagrius* (1), relates, that before *Nestorius* died, his Tongue was devoured by Vermin, which he interprets as a Punishment justly inflicted on him for the Blasphemies he supposes him to have uttered. This Account *Evagrius* seems not to have credited;

but *Theodorus* the Reader, *Theophanes*, and *Theodoret*, have taken it upon the Word of the anonymous Writer, by whom it was probably invented to render the Name of the pretended *Heresiarch* odious to Posterity.

(1) Evag. l. i. c. 7.

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ment was quite undeserved by *Nestorius*, with respect to his Doctrine, as I have shewn already, but was not so, it must be owned, in another respect: for he was himself a most furious Persecutor of all those, who had the Misfortune to be stigmatized with the Name of Heretics; and it is not to be doubted, but *Cyril* would have met with the same Treatment at his Hands, had his Party prevailed, as he did at *Cyril's*. In the Sermon, which he preached on the very Day of his Ordination, he thus addressed the Emperor, who was present: *Make the Orthodox Faith, O mighty Prince, reign alone on the Earth; and I will make you reign in Heaven. Lend me your Assistance to exterminate the Heretics, and I will lend you mine to exterminate the Persians*¹. This was proclaiming War against all who dissented from him; and the War, thus proclaimed, he began without Loss of Time, and pursued with the utmost Fury, causing the Imperial Laws against Heretics to be vigorously executed, and stirring up the Mob, not only in *Constantinople*, but in the neighbouring Provinces, against Dissenters of all Denominations. This occasioned an universal Confusion, and, in some Places, a great deal of Bloodshed; insomuch that the Emperor was obliged to interpose his Authority, and protect, to a certain Degree, as Friends to the State, those whom the Bishop was for exterminating as Enemies to the Church. I will not presume to interpret the Severity that was practised upon him, as a Judgment from Heaven for the Severity which he had practised upon others; agreeably to those Words of our Saviour, *With what Measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you*^m; but I cannot help looking upon the Treatment he met with, however severe, as a just and well-deserved Retaliation; and upon him as a Man altogether unworthy of our Compassion.

*The Doctrine of the Janse-
nists approv-
ed by Cele-
stine.*

But to return to *Celestine*: In the Year 431. he writ to the *Gallican* Bishops, exhorting them to stand up in Defence of the Doctrine of *St. Austin*, and to silence, with their Authority, all who opposed it: for it was opposed by many, among the rest, by the famous *Cassian*, as utterly inconsistent with Merit and Freewill. To this Letter are commonly annexed Nine Articles concerning Grace and Freewill; and, in these Articles styled there, *The Authorities of the Bishops of the Holy Apostolic See*, is contained, in the most plain

¹ Socr. l. 7. c. 29.

^m Mark iv. 24.

and express Terms, the Doctrine of the *Jansenists*, condemned in our Days by the famous Bull *Unigenitus* of *Clement XI*ⁿ. It is true, some pretend those Articles to be falsely ascribed to *Celestine*. But they have passed for his, ever since the Sixth to the present Century: they have been placed among his Decrees, by *Dionysius Exiguus*; were quoted as his by *Petrus Diaconus* in 519. by *Cresconius* an *African* Bishop towards the End of the Sixth Century, and by all, who have had Occasion to mention them since that time.

The same Year died St. *Palladius*, the First Bishop of *Ireland*. He belonged to the *Roman* Church, and had been sent by *Celestine* some Years before into *Britain*, to stop the Progress of the *Pelagian* Herefy in this Island. From *Britain* he had passed over into *Ireland* (A); and, having converted there some of the Inhabitants, he returned to *Rome*, to beg of *Celestine*, that a Bishop might be sent thither. *Celestine* complied with his Request, ordained him First Bishop of *Ireland*, and sent him back into that Island. Thus *Prosper*, who lived at this very time^o. The *Irish* Writers tell us, that, finding their Countrymen, whose Conversion was reserved by Heaven for St. *Patrick*, very obstinate, he abandoned the Island, and died in the Coun-

Palladius the First Bishop of Ireland.

ⁿ See the Works of St. Leo, by F. Quesnel, and Du Pin, Biblioth. eccl. t. 3. part 2.
* *Prosp.* in Coll. c. 41. & chron.

(A) *Prosper* writes, that he was sent *ad Scotos*; whence the *Scotch* Writers conclude him to have been sent into *Scotland*, and the *Scots* have long looked upon him as the Apostle of their Nation. But that he was sent into *Ireland*, and not into *Scotland*, is manifest from *Prosper's* own Words. For speaking of *Celestine*, by whom *Palladius* was sent into *Britain* to make head against the *Pelagians*; while he endeavoured, says he, to maintain the Roman Island Catholic, he made a barbarous Island Christian (1). The Island therefore, which he made Christian, was a different Island from that of *Britain*; and consequently could not be *Scotland*. The Inhabitants of *Ireland* began, as early as the Fourth Century, to be known by the Name of *Scoti* or *Scots*; so that *Scoti* and *Hiberni* were but different Names of one and the same People. It is true, that St. *Patrick*, in such of his Wri-

tings, as have been judged by the Critics the most authentic, seems to distinguish the *Scoti* from the *Hiberni*: but that Distinction is only with respect to Merit and Rank; for he speaks constantly of the former as Men of a superior Rank to the latter. And indeed the Name *Hibernus*, tho' more antient by many Ages than that of *Scotus*, appears to have been in great Contempt among the neighbouring Nations in St. *Patrick's* Time (2). The *Hiberni* were perhaps the Mechanics, and the *Scoti* the Gentry, or Men who followed more noble Professions. By the latter was afterwards founded the Kingdom of *Scotland*. *Bollandus* is of Opinion, that the *Hiberni* came originally from *Britain*, and were the first Inhabitants of *Ireland*; and that the *Scoti*, a more warlike Race, come from some other Country, subdued the *Hiberni*, as the *Saxons* did the *Britons* (3).

(1) *Prosp.* in Col. p. 410.

(2) *Boll.* 17. Martii.

(3) *Boll.* *ibid.*

try of the *Picts*, that is, in *Scotland*, on his Return to *Rome* ^r. His Body indeed was long worshiped in *Scotland*; but that is no Proof of his having ever been there (A).

The same Writers tell us, that St. *Patrick* was at *Rome*, when *Celestine* received the News of the Death of *Palladius*; and that thereupon he ordained him Bishop, on the 30th of *July* 432. about a Year after the Ordination of *Palladius*, whose Room he was sent over to supply ^s. But that they are therein mistaken, and that St. *Patrick* was not ordained till many Years after the Death of *Celestine*, I shall shew hereafter.

Celestine did not long outlive *Palladius*; for he died the following Year 432. on the 26th of *July*, having governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, Ten Months, and Seventeen Days ^t. Both he and *Cyril* have been sainted, merely in Consideration of their extraordinary Feats against *Nestorius*, and those who adhered to him; for Cruelty to Heretics was now a cardinal Virtue, capable of atoning for the greatest Crimes. As for *Cyril*, he had no better Title to that Honour, than the Monk *Ammonius*, whom he sainted, and publicly commended as a holy Martyr, because he died on the Rack for having attempted, at the Head of Five hundred riotous Monks, to assassinate, and dangerously wounded, *Orestes* the Governor of *Alexandria*, in a Quarrel between him and *Cyril* (B). *Celestine* was buried in the Cœ-metry

^r Vid. Boll. 17. Martii.

^s Ib. ibid.

^t Prosper, ann. 432.

(A) The learned Archbishop *Usher* will not allow *Palladius* to have been the First Bishop of *Ireland*; alleging against that Opinion several Fragments out of the Lives of *Irish* Saints, some of whom are said to have been Bishops, and to have converted many of their own Countrymen, as early as the Middle of the Fourth Century (5). From the Fragments he produces I cannot judge of the Pieces themselves. But *Bollandus*, who seems to have perused them, maintains them to be of no earlier a Date than the Twelfth Century; and most of them to be fabulous, which indeed he proves undeniably by several Passages quoted from them (6). And can the Authority of such Pieces invalidate, or indeed any-ways affect

the Authority of *Prosper*, who tells us in express Terms, that *Palladius* was ordained by *Celestine*, the First Bishop of *Ireland*? As for what the Primate offers to elude the Authority of *Prosper*, it is scarce worthy of Notice; viz. that the Word *Primus* is not to be found in the Edition of that Writer by *Du Chesne*. For it is to be found, as *Usher* himself owns, in all the other Editions, and even in *Bede*, as well as in every other Author, who has copied *Prosper's* Chronicle.

(B) *The Bishops of Alexandria had begun*, says *Socrates* (1), *to exceed the Limits of the Ecclesiastical Power, and intermeddle in Civil Affairs, imitating therein the Bishop of Rome, whose sacred Authority had long*

(5) Ush. Brit. eccl. ant. p. 781—794. L. 7. c. 7.

(6) Boll. 17. Martii.

(1) Socr.

metry of *Priscilla*, where he is said to have caused the History of the Council of *Ephesus* to be painted ^u. In the Year 820. Pope *Pascal I.* caused

^u Anast. p. 547.

since been changed into Dominion and Empire. The Governors of *Alexandria*, looking upon the Increase of the Episcopal Power, as a Diminution of the Civil, watched all Opportunities of mortifying the Bishops, in order to restrain them within the Limits of the spiritual, and prevent their encroaching on the temporal Jurisdiction. But *Cyril*, from the very Beginning of his Episcopacy, bid Defiance to the civil Power, acting in such Manner as shewed but too plainly, that he would be kept within no Bounds. For soon after his Installation, he caused, by his own Authority, the Churches, which the *Novatians* were allowed to have in *Alexandria*, to be shut up, seized on the sacred Utenils, and plundering the House of their Bishop *Theopemptus*, drove him out of the City, stript of every thing he possessed (2). Not long after the *Jews*, who were very numerous in *Alexandria*, having one Night treacherously murdered several Christians there, *Cyril* next Morning, by Break of Day, put himself at the Head of the Christian Mob, and without the Knowledge of the Governor took Possession of the Synagogue, drove the *Jews* out of *Alexandria*, pillaged their Houses, and allowed the Christians, who were concerned with him in the Riot, to appropriate to themselves all their Effects. This the Governor highly resented, and not only rebuked *Cyril* very severely for thus entrenching on his Jurisdiction, and usurping a Power that did not become him; but writ to the Emperor, complaining of him for snatching the Sword of Justice from him to put it into the Hands of the undiscerning Multitude. This occasioned a Misunderstanding, or rather an avowed Enmity, between *Cyril* and *Orestes*. With the former sided the Clergy, the greater Part of the Mob, and the Monks; with the latter the Soldiery, and the better Sort of the Citizens. As the two Parties were strangely animated against each other, there happened daily Skirmishes in the Streets of

Alexandria. For the *Alexandrians*, as *Socrates* observes (3), and is well known, were of all People the most seditious and ungovernable. The Friends of the Governor, generally speaking, made their Party good, having the Soldiery on their Side. But one Day as *Orestes* was going out in his Chariot, attended by his Guards, he found himself very unexpectedly surrounded by no fewer than Five hundred Monks come from the Mountains of *Nitria*. The Monks were, in those Days, the standing Army of the Bishops; but are now of the Popes alone, who being sensible how serviceable such a formidable Corps might prove to the Apostolic See, not only against the Laity, but the Bishops themselves, exempted them from their Jurisdiction, and made them immediately dependent on themselves. But of the monkish Orders, their Founders and Institutions, I shall speak at length on occasion of their being first taken by the Popes into their Service. The *Nitrian* Monks in the Service of *Cyril*, having surrounded the Governor's Chariot, first dispersed, with several Volleys of Stones, the small Guard that attended it, then falling upon him, dangerously wounded him, and seem'd determined to put an End to the Quarrel between him and *Cyril*, by putting an End to his Life. But the Citizens, alarmed at his Danger, flew to his Rescue, put the cowardly Monks to flight at their first Appearance, and having seized on the Monk *Ammonius*, by whom *Orestes* had been wounded, delivered him into his Hands. The Governor to deter others from the like Attempts, and to mortify *Cyril*, whom he well knew to be at the Bottom of the Plot, caused the Monk to be tortured with so much Severity, that he expired on the Rack. But *Cyril*, partly out of Spite to the Governor, and partly to reward the Zeal, which the Monk had exerted in attempting to assassinate his Antagonist, caused him to be honoured as a holy Martyr, un-

caused his Body to be translated to the Church of St. *Proxedes*. And it is still worshiped both there and in the Cathedral of *Mantua* ^w.

Thus

^w Boll. Apr. 6.

der the Name of *Thaumafius*, being himself ashamed to pay him that Honour under the Name of *Ammonius* (4).

The Partisans of *Cyril*, alike mortified and enraged at the Death of *Ammonius*, resolved, at all Events, to revenge it; and the Person they singled out among the Friends of *Orestes* to wreak their Rage and Revenge on, was one, who, of all the Inhabitants of that populous City, deserved it the least. This was the famous, and so much celebrated, *Hypatia*, the Wonder of her Age for Beauty, Virtue, and Knowledge. She kept a public School of Philosophy in *Alexandria*, where she was born; and her Reputation was so great, that not only Disciples flocked from all Parts to hear her; but the greatest Philosophers used to consult her, as an Oracle, with respect to the most intricate and abstruse Points of Astronomy, Geometry, and the *Platonic* Philosophy, which she was particularly well versed in (5). Tho' she was very beautiful, and freely conversed with Men of all Ranks, yet those she conversed with were so awed by her known Virtue and Modesty, that none, but one of her own Disciples, ever presumed to shew in her Presence the least Symptom of Passion or Tenderneſs; and him she soon cured (6). *Orestes* entertained the highest Opinion of her Abilities, often consulted her, as the other Governors had done before him, and in all perplexed Cases governed himself by her Advice. As she was the Person in *Alexandria*, whom he most valued, and in whose Company he took the greatest Delight, the Friends of *Cyril* to wound him in the most tender and sensible Part, entered into a Conspiracy to destroy the innocent Lady, and by her Death deprive him of that Comfort. This barbarous Resolution being taken, as she was one Day returning Home in her Chariot, a Band of the Dregs of the People, encouraged and

headed by one of *Cyril's* Ecclesiastics named *Pe'er*, attacked her in her Chariot, pulled her violently out of it, and throwing her on the Ground, dragged her to the great Church called *Casareum*. There they stripped her naked, and with sharp Tiles, either brought with them, or found there, continued cutting, mangling, and tearing her Flesh, she bearing it with the greatest Firmness and Constancy, till Nature yielding to pain, she expired under their Hands. Her Death did not satisfy their Rage and Fury. They tore her Body in Pieces, dragged her mangled Limbs, with a thousand Outrages, through all the Streets of *Alexandria*, and then, gathering them together, burnt them in a Place called *Cine-ron* (7). Such was the End of the famous *Hypatia*, the most learned Person of the Age she lived in, and one of the best, tho' not a Christian. Who could believe Christians, nay, Ecclesiastics, not to say Bishops, capable in those early Times of such Barbarities? The Account which I have given from *Socrates* of the tragical End of *Hypatia*, is confirmed by *Damascius* in his Life of *Isidorus* the Philosopher, written towards the End of the present Century (8). He makes *Cyril* the Author of that barbarous Murder. But *Damascius*, say *Du Pin* and *Tillemont*, was a Pagan, and therefore deserves no Credit. I wish it could not be made out so easily as it may, that tho' a Pagan he deserves to be credited on his Occasion. The Mob was headed, in perpetrating that horrid Murder, by one of *Cyril's* Ecclesiastics; and I do not find, that he was ever punished, or even reprimanded, by his Bishop, on that Score. When the Emperor was first acquainted by *Orestes* with what had happened, he expressed the greatest Indignation, and a firm Resolution to punish the Offenders with the utmost Severity. But *Edeſius*, a Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, who resided

(4) Socr. l. 7. c. 14.

977.
P. 977.

(5) Soc. ibid. Theophan. p. 70, 71. Suid. p. 976, 977.
(6) Socr. et Suid. ibid.

(7) Socr. l. 7. c. 14.

(8) Suid.

Thus far the History of the Popes has been merely Ecclesiastical, and therefore less entertaining: but, in the next Volume, the Affairs of the Church will begin very soon to be so interwoven with those of the State, as to render the History both Ecclesiastical and Civil. The Popes will soon make a very different Figure from that which they have hitherto made; no longer mere Bishops, but Bishops and Princes; and the Bishop almost intirely lost in the Prince; no longer contending only with their Collegues for Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction, but, at the same time, with the greatest Monarchs for Dominion and Empire; nay, employing the Sword as well as the Keys, and heading, as directed by their Ambition or Interest, both Councils and Armies. We shall see the Western Empire utterly extinct, and *Italy* successively invaded, and partly held by the *Heruli*, by the *Goths*, by the *Greeks*, the *Lombards*, the *French*, the *Italians*, the *Germans*, and the *Normans*; and the Popes managing their Affairs, in all these Revolutions, with so much Art and Address, as to reap, from most of them, some considerable Advantage for themselves. Events more interesting, though, in reality, not more important, than those which the present Volume relates; and which, to the very End of this History, will be succeeded by others, equally proper to excite the Attention even of such Readers as seek for Amusement alone.

at *Constantinople*, with the Character of *Cyril's* Nuncio, having gained over the Ministers, with the large Sums that were remitted to him (not by the Mob, or the Ecclesiastical who headed them; for he was only a Reader), the Emperor was not only appeased, but prevailed upon to grant a general Pardon to all, who were concerned in that Riot (9). But, by pardoning them, he drew down Vengeance from Heaven upon himself, says the Historian, and was deservedly punished in the Persons of those, who were most dear to him (10). He alludes perhaps to the unhappy End of *Valentinian III.* his Cousin and Son-in-law, who was murdered on the 17th of *March* 455. and to the Misfortunes, which the

whole Imperial Family was involved in after his Death.

The Church of *Rome*, which has sainted this Man, may think herself concerned in Honour to justify all his Proceedings; but surely the Church of *England* is not. I shall not therefore attempt such a Vindication; but having truly and faithfully related the Facts from a contemporary Historian, shall leave the Character of *Cyril* to be judged of from them, and content myself with wishing, that one, whose Zeal for the Christian Religion was sometimes meritorious, had better understood the true Bounds of that Zeal, and the true Spirit of that Religion, than he appears to have done upon many Occasions.

(9) Suid. p. 977. Socr. *ibid.*

(10) Socr. *ibid.*

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